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FRENCH MARSHALS.

HISTORY
OF
THE WARS OF THE
FRENCH REVOLUTION,

FROM THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR, IN 1792, TO THE
RESTORATION OF A GENERAL PEACE, IN 1815;

COMPREHENDING
THE CIVIL HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE,
DURING THAT PERIOD.

BY EDWARD BAINES.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

*WITH NOTES, AND AN ORIGINAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR
BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND GREAT BRITAIN.*

EMBELLISHED WITH PORTRAITS
OF THE
MOST DISTINGUISHED CHARACTERS OF THE AGE, AND
ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS, PLANS, AND CHARTS

VOL. II.

PHILADELPHIA:
PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY M'CARTY & DAVIS,
South East corner of Ninth and Race streets.

1819.

Vol. 2

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D. CALDWELL,
Clerk of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

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HISTORY OF THE WARS

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1798-9.

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AMIDST the various calamities in which the wars of the French revolution had involved the continental states of Europe, it was the happiness of this country, surrounded by her guardian ocean, and defended by the prowess of her invincible navy, to escape all the heart-rending scenes of actual war, and to feel its influence chiefly or alone in her trade, and finance.

On the opening of the parliamentary session of 1798-9, on the 20th of November, the benches formerly occupied by the minority appeared still deserted; but as little could be effected, at the full flood of ministerial power and influence, either by their counsel, or their opposition, the absence of these statesmen was the less to be regretted.

The speech from the throne, spoke with just exultation of the late splendid triumphs of our navy, under Lord Nelson, “which had turned an extravagant enterprise to the confusion

of its authors, and afforded an opening which might lead to the general deliverance of Europe. The magnanimity of the Emperor of Russia, and the vigour of the Ottoman Porte, had shewn that these powers were impressed with a just sense of the present crisis, and their example would be an encouragement to other states, to adopt that spirited line of conduct which alone was consistent with security and honour. At home, our preparations, and the zeal of all ranks of people, had deterred the enemy from attempting an invasion of our coasts ; and in Ireland, the rebellion had been repressed, while the views of ill-minded people, who had planned the subversion of our constitution, had been fully detected and exposed. Under the pressure of protracted warfare, it was a great satisfaction to observe that the produce of the public revenue had been fully adequate to the increase of our public expenditure : the national credit had been improved, and commerce had flourished in a degree unknown." " Our situation," said his majesty in conclusion, " renders the continuance of heavy expenses indispensable, but the state of our resources, and the public spirit, will furnish the necessary supplies without essential inconvenience to the people, and with as little addition as possible to the burthens of the state. We have surmounted great difficulties ; our perseverance (in a just cause) has been rewarded with success ; and our situation in a period of danger, compared with that of other countries, proves that the security of the British nation depends, under providence, on its own constancy and vigour."

The address moved in the lords by the Earl of Darnley, and seconded by Lord Craven, was animadverted upon by the Marquis of Lansdowne, who exhorted the ministers of the crown " to draw from these victories, so justly celebrated, the advantages they were calculated to secure, and to make them the means of obtaining that most desirable of all objects, a safe and honourable peace. Instead of this, the continuance of war was announced, and our new alliances exulted in. But could we place any reliance on such a league as that which now subsisted with Russia and the Porte? Was it upon such allies that we could depend for a vigorous co-operation? It would be wise to lay aside all idle plans of conquest ; a spirit of moderation and disinterestedness should govern our conduct ; the true dignity of the nation would be consulted in making such concessions as were necessary for the restoration of the general tranquillity, at the moment of gratulation and victory."

Lord Holland observed, " that if the consequence of the victories we had gained were to be a revival of the horrors of

war, England had little cause to rejoice. The speech from the throne held forth the probable success of a powerful confederacy against France. We had heard such language before; but we had only seen devastations extended over the surface of the globe, with less and less prospect of procuring tranquillity. He felt the difficulty of succeeding in the hour of victory, to moderate desire. He knew that it was an unwelcome task to address their lordships on the subject of peace; but a sense of public duty influenced his conduct, and he perfectly coincided in opinion with his noble friend, that the greatest victories were useless, unless employed to obtain the legitimate end of war."

Lord Mulgrave was surprised, that any Englishman should think this was a moment for proposing peace. Occupying a proud station, we ought not to forget our superiority, by renewing negotiations which presented no prospect of honourable termination. Britain stood high among the nations of Europe; she ought to invite them to combine under her auspices, to resort to her banner for protection, and to confide in her efforts for security.

Lord Grenville expressed much satisfaction in supporting the sentiments of the last noble speaker. "The powers of the continent" his lordship said, "were now willing to adopt a line of conduct suited to their interests; and was this a moment for England to shew that she was actuated by little selfish politics? Instead of accelerating the fate of Europe, and abandoning the victims of French domination to their misery, it ought to be the business of Great Britain to animate their efforts, and contribute to their deliverance. It was the duty of ministers to promulgate this glorious purpose, to conciliate differences, to allay jealousies, and not, by reviving them, to prevent that co-operation which was necessary to the general safety, and so intimately connected with the true interests of the country." The question upon the address was then put and carried in the lords, as it had already been carried in the commons, without a division.

On the 11th of December, Mr. Tierney moved in the house of commons,

"That it is the duty of his majesty's ministers to advise him not to enter into any alliance with foreign powers, that may hinder his majesty from negotiating a peace with France, whenever she may be disposed to enter upon a fair and equitable negociation."

This motion, which was supported by Mr. Jekyll, and resisted by Mr. Canning and Sir James Murray Pulteney, was rejected without a division.

The bill for the renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act, was the next measure of importance that came under discussion; and on the second reading of this bill, which took place on the 21st of December, Mr. Courtney remarked, "that the Habeas Corpus act was the statute upon which the personal liberty of every Englishman depended. To the operation of that law, so justly the subject of universal panegyric, was solely owing to the paramount security possessed by the natives of this island above all other nations. There were at this moment above seventy persons confined in consequence of the suspension of this act. Had there not been time to bring the principal part of them to a trial? If guilty, why was not this done? Their trial and conviction would be the best reason for continuing to intrust such power to the executive government. The people confined under this suspension had been treated with unprecedented rigour and inhumanity. Desirous of obtaining some information upon the subject, he had procured an order to visit one of these state prisons, situated in Coldbath-Fields, and generally known by the name of the Bastile. The prisoners he found were locked up in damp and dismal cells, without fire, without candle—and the only opening for the admission of light, let in, at the same time, the cold and the rain. He had talked with many of the prisoners; among the rest with Colonel Despard, an officer who had been many years employed in the service of his country. Though lately removed to a different part of the prison, he had been long confined in the way now stated; and even his wife was never permitted to see him, but through an iron grate, for a few minutes at a time.* He appealed to the house

* In a subsequent stage of the bill for the renewed suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, Mr. Courtney produced a letter from Mrs. Despard, which was as follows:—

"Some mention having been made in the newspaper reports of the House of Commons, relative to the treatment of Colonel Despard, in the new prison, I think it necessary to state, that he was confined near seven months in a damp cell, not seven feet square, without fire or candle, chair, table, knife, fork, a glazed window, or even a book. I made several applications in person to Mr. Wickham, and by letter to the Duke of Portland, all to no purpose. The 20th of last month he was removed into a room with a fire, but not till his feet were ulcerated by a frost. For the truth of this statement I appeal to the honourable Mr. Lawless, and John Reeves, Esq. who visited him in prison, and at whose intercession he was removed. The gaoler will bear witness that he never made any complaint of his treatment, however severe it was. This statement of facts is without the knowledge of the colonel, who has served his majesty many years, and all his family are now in the army.

(Signed)

"CATHARINE DESPARD."

Berkley-Square, December, 1798.

whether such rigour ought to be practised, even to felons, and much less in relation to men who were deprived of the benefit of a trial; and who might, if tried, very possibly be able to prove their innocence. In the French bastille, prisoners had been treated much better than in this."

Mr. Secretary Dundas said the question before the house was, whether the bill suspending the Habeas Corpus act should be read a second time, or not, and that the observations of the honourable gentleman had no earthly connection with that question. They related merely to the good or bad conduct of a gaol, and had nothing to do with the power delegated by the legislature to the executive government. The management of gaols was under the care of sheriffs and magistrates; and to them the honourable gentleman, if induced by sympathy to deplore the sufferings of the seditious, should have made his complaint.

Mr. Tierney insisted that the observations of the honourable gentleman were perfectly relevant to the question. Whatever pretext of danger had induced the house to consent to the original suspension, it no longer existed. There was now no appearance of invasion, no appearance even of disaffection; and when, under the suspension contended for, a gentleman suspected of treason was treated as a felon convicted of crimes, it was a strong reason why a power so liable to abuse, and in fact so flagrantly abused, should be discontinued, unless better grounds than the house had yet heard were offered for its renewal.

Sir Francis Burdett corroborated the assertions of Mr. Tierney.

Mr. Wilberforce on the other hand contended, that nothing could be more satisfactory than the accounts he had heard of the situation and health of the prisoners. Many of the regulations which prevailed in this prison were recommended by the excellent Howard. Those who believed the country to be in danger ought not to relax their efforts, or deprive the executive power of the means of providing for its security. Nor should it be forgotten, that men who expose themselves to suspicion must often incur the disadvantages of guilt.

Mr. Pitt asked if this was a time to slumber, when there existed men who were hourly planning our destruction? men who never waked nor slept, nor walked abroad, without holding up to our view, as it were, a dagger streaming with blood! Ought we then to cast aside that shield which alone enabled us to defy its point.

The question was then put and carried, and the bill, which subsequently passed through its respective stages in both houses

of parliament, enacted, that the suspension should continue till the 21st of May, 1799.

During the present session, one of the most important subjects of finance that ever engaged the attention of parliament, was brought under consideration. The large and continually increasing expense of the war had induced the minister, in the course of the last session of parliament, to bring forward for the sanction of the house, "a new and solid system of finance;" the principle of which was to raise within the year a large proportion of the necessary supplies, which, aided by the operation of the sinking fund, should prevent any material addition being made to the public debt. The tax proposed for this purpose, called the triple assessment tax, was, however, found so inadequate to the purpose proposed, that the minister determined to abandon that unequal and oppressive impost, and to substitute in its stead a tax on income.

Accordingly, on Monday the 3d of December, the house having formed itself into a committee, the chancellor of the exchequer rose and said, that before he proceeded to open to the committee the very important subject to which their attention would in the course of the evening be directed, it would be proper to state, that the supplies which would be necessary for the service of the present year, amounted to the sum of thirty-one millions, towards which the usual ways and means would produce six millions one hundred thousand pounds. It remained then to be considered in what way the deficiency should be raised. And here two leading principles occurred for the guidance of the house—either to raise the whole by loan upon the old funding system, or to raise a considerable part of the supplies within the year, upon the principle adopted in the last session of parliament.

Mr. Pitt then proceeded to state his new plan of finance, which was a tax on income. The commissioners, who should be invested with the power of determining upon the rate of every one's income, should be persons of respectable situations in life, removed from any suspicion of partiality; men of integrity and independence. And in case the party was dissatisfied with the decision of these commissioners, another body of commissioners should be formed, to whom an appeal might be carried. The next point for consideration was the mode of contribution that should be adopted. Under this head it was his intention to propose, that no income under sixty pounds a year should be called upon to contribute, and that the scale of modification, up to two hundred pounds a year, as in the assessed taxes, should be introduced with restrictions. The quota which should then be called for should

amount to a full tenth of the contributor's income. The returns to be made by the person assessed, subject to the inspection of a surveyor, who should lay before the commissioners such ground of doubt as might occur to him on the fairness of the rate at which a party might have assessed himself. The party however should not be compelled to answer; his books should not be called for, nor his confidential clerks or agents examined; but if he declined to submit to the investigation of his books, and the examination of his clerks, it should be competent for the commissioners to fix the assessment, and their decision should be final. As to the exemptions or deductions, perhaps those who had families might in certain cases be fair objects of allowance, while those who had no families might with equal justice be called upon to contribute in an increased proportion. In forming a rough estimate of the product of the proposed tax, he should state, on the authority of the board of agriculture, that forty millions of acres of land were at present in cultivation in this kingdom, the average rent of which he should estimate at twelve shillings and sixpence an acre, which would give twenty-five millions a year. In this, as in every other denomination of property, he should propose that every thing under sixty pounds a year should be exempt, and that modifications up to two hundred pounds a year should be admitted, for which he had in his calculation made a deduction of one-fifth. The sums to which the tax of ten per cent. would apply would then stand thus:—

The land rental, after deducting one-fifth, he estimates at	£. 20,000,000
The tenant's rental of land, deducting two-thirds of the rack rent, he took at	6,000,000
The amount of tythes, deducting one-fifth	4,000,000
The produce of mines, canal navigations, &c. deducting one-fifth	3,000,000
The rental of houses, deducting one-fifth	5,000,000
The profits of professions	2,000,000
The rental of Scotland, taking at one-eighth that of England	5,000,000
The income of persons resident in Great Britain, drawn from possessions beyond the seas	5,000,000
The amount of annuities from the public funds, after deducting one-fifth	12,000,000
The profits of the capital employed in our foreign commerce	12,000,000
The profits on the capital employed in our domestic trade, and the profits of skill and industry	28,000,000
	<hr/>
	£. 102,000,000

Upon this amount a tax of ten per cent. would produce ten millions a year, and this was the sum he calculated to result

from the measure. The house would recollect that the assessed taxes were assigned to the payment of that part of the sum raised for the service of last year, which was not made a permanent debt, and of course this new tax upon income would be substituted in the room of those assessed taxes, and would be made applicable to the same purpose. He trusted that it would not be necessary for him to go into any detail of argument to convince the committee of the advantages of the mode adopted last session for raising a considerable part of the supplies within the year. "If," said Mr. Pitt in conclusion, "we had proved, that at the end of the sixth year of the war, unsubdued by all the exertions and sacrifices we have made, our commerce is flourishing beyond the example of any year even of peace; if our revenues are undiminished; if new means of vigour are daily presenting themselves to our grasp; if our efforts have been crowned with the most perfect success; if the public sentiment be firm, and united in the justice of the cause in which we are embarked; if every motive to exertion continue the same, and every effort we have made in the cause be a source only of exultation and pride to the heart; if by the efficacy of these efforts we have now the expectation of accomplishing the great object of all our sacrifices, and of all our labours; if despondency be dissipated at home and confidence created abroad, shall we not persevere in a course so fairly calculated to bring us to a happy issue?"

Mr. Tierney agreed with the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer, that the discussion of the house on the question that now engaged their attention was not only interesting to England, but also to all Europe; by this bold measure a tenth part of the property of England was put in requisition—a measure which the French had followed in their career of revolutionary rapine, and which the chancellor of the exchequer first condemned, and then imitated; and as a prelude to the project, a general disclosure of property must take place. Could the man who now declaimed so eloquently against the accumulation of debt, be the same person, who in the short space of five years, had added so enormously to the debt of the public? Did the minister mean to say that a life income, and an income arising from a disposable capital, were in fairness liable to the same impositions? The scale of taxation was also manifestly inadequate and unjust. If it were right that the scale should rise from sixty pounds to two hundred pounds per annum, why should it not continue to rise from two hundred upwards? The man of two hundred per annum would be deprived of a part of the comforts he possess-

ed, while the man of twenty thousand per annum would still riot in the enjoyment of all his luxuries. To seize the tenth of a man's income was like taking away the tenth of his stature. The overgrown in riches or in stature would not be hurt, but it would reduce those who were already diminutive to pigmies.

On the 14th of December, Mr. Pitt moved that the report on the income tax be now taken into further consideration; on which occasion Sir Francis Baring made some very important observations upon the commercial clauses of the bill, the justice of which time and experience sufficiently evinced. He affirmed, that under the veil of secrecy, which covered the commercial returns, the bill would be evaded and frauds committed, beyond any thing it was possible to conceive. But supposing the bill carried into effect, it was a tax upon industry and upon enterprise.

Mr. William Smith declared his decided approbation of the principle of raising the supplies within the year, which could alone preserve the public finances from impending ruin. But the provisions of this bill he deemed in the highest degree exceptionable. Where, or on what grounds of political economy, he enquired, had it been asserted in word, or imagined in thought, or by what criterion could it be adjudged fair and honest, to tax, in an equal degree, industry and indolence? A stock-holder who received five hundred pounds per annum from his capital in the funds, and a shop-keeper of small property, who by active exertions made the same sum in his business, were similarly rated! Even in the funds, proprietors of the long annuities, of perpetual annuities, and of the exchequer annuities, which expire in five years, were, by this sweeping and indiscriminate mode of taxation, placed precisely upon a level.

Sir William Pulteney said, while the Habeas Corpus act was suspended, we had no security for our personal liberty, and if the present bill passed, such were the inquisitorial powers vested in the commissioners, that we had no security for our property. It was hostile in its very nature to the radical principles of freedom, and made a most dangerous attack upon the vitals of our constitution.

The chancellor of the exchequer, in reply, said, it was a satisfaction to him to find that the propriety of raising a certain part of the supplies within the year had in general been conceded. If it were necessary for the efforts which we were called upon to make, if it were essential to the firm establishment of public credit, and to the future prosperity of the em-

pire, to obtain that supply which was requisite for the vigorous prosecution of the contest ; it was evident that it must be obtained by a sudden tax immediately productive. An honourable gentleman had said, that if two persons had each five hundred pounds per annum, one of whom derived his income from land, and the other from industry, they ought not both to be taxed equally at fifty pounds : but to complain of this inequality was to complain of the distribution of property ; it was complaining of the constitution of society. To attempt to remedy it would be to follow the example of that daring rabble of legislators in another country, from whom the honourable gentleman borrowed some of his political principles, and which, though he now reprobated, he still seemed inclined to follow. Mr. Pitt concluded with observing, that the consequence of this tax would be to all alike, and that whoever contributed a tenth of his income, under the bill, would have a tenth less to spend, to save, or to accumulate. The house then divided—for the further consideration of the report, 183 ; against it 17—majority, 166.

In the upper house, the bill was opposed by the Duke of Bedford, and by Lords Suffolk and Holland ; and defended by the Earl of Liverpool, the Lord Chancellor, Lord Grenville, and Lord Auckland. After undergoing all its amendments, the bill was passed into a law on the 18th of March, and the 5th of April, 1799, was fixed as the time for making the returns.

The amount of the whole of the supplies for 1799 was estimated at thirty-one millions, of which sum fifteen millions were to be raised by way of loan, and the produce of the income tax was calculated at ten millions ; the remaining sum was to arise from the new imposts on sugar, coffee, and stamps, aided by the recently imposed convoy-tax. One hundred and twenty thousand seamen and marines, and about two hundred and fifty thousand land forces, of different descriptions, were also this year voted by parliament.

Soon after the introduction of the bill for imposing a tax on income, the chancellor of the exchequer moved for leave to bring in a bill to enlarge the time prescribed by an act of the last session, for the redemption of the land tax, and to make certain regulations respecting ecclesiastical property, and the property devised for lives and for long terms. This measure, which seemed a necessary appendage to the act for the redemption of the land tax, advanced through its various stages without encountering any serious opposition, and on the 15th of March the bill was read a third time and passed.

On the 22d of January, 1799, a message from the crown,

touching the integrity of the empire, and involving one of the most momentous questions that was ever brought under discussion during the present long and eventful reign, was delivered to the house of commons, by Mr. Secretary Dundas, expressed in the following terms :—

“GEORGE R.

“His majesty is persuaded that the unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of effecting the separation of Ireland from this kingdom, cannot fail to engage the particular attention of parliament, and his majesty recommends it to this house to consider of the most effectual means of finally defeating this design, by disposing the parliaments of both kingdoms to provide, in the manner which they shall judge most expedient, for settling such a complete and final adjustment, as may best tend to improve and perpetuate a connection essential to their common security, and consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire.”

The late rebellion in Ireland seemed to point out the necessity of adopting a great political measure, which had frequently been recommended to the ministry, by writers on political economy, as well as by various parliamentary speakers, without making any permanent impression. But the risk of a revival of popular commotions, and the apprehensions of the designs of an ambitious enemy, labouring to separate that realm from the British empire, prompted the leaders of the cabinet to undertake the arduous task of effecting an union between the two kingdoms, which might give additional strength to both, and so improve and concentrate their power and resources, as to enable them to repel all hostile attempts, both foreign and domestic. Against a measure, which, in its nature, would extinguish the parliament of Ireland as an independent legislature, and which would withdraw a number of the most opulent inhabitants from the metropolis of Ireland to attend their public duties in the capital of the united kingdom, a strenuous opposition was anticipated; but it was hoped that the good sense of a great portion of the community, whose condition this measure was intended to improve, would take a more liberal and enlarged view of the subject, and afford their active co-operation towards its accomplishment; or, if it should be disapproved of by the majority of the people, little doubt was entertained of the efficacy of various means of influence and persuasion, to secure a plurality of votes, in an assembly so constituted as the parliament of the sister kingdom. In England, the deliberate opinion of a great majority of the nation appeared decidedly in favour of the union, including many of those who were in general adverse to the politics of Mr. Pitt's administration. But there were others, and those men of the highest abilities and integrity, who were extremely dubious as to the expediency of the measure, under existing

circumstances, and some of whom were decidedly hostile to its adoption.

The royal message was taken into early discussion on the 23d of January, when Mr. Secretary Dundas moved an address, importing that the house would proceed with all due despatch to the consideration of the several interests recommended to their serious attention in the message.

Mr. Sheridan declared, that he was perfectly ready, on this occasion, to give credit to ministers for purity of intention, as they could not be suspected of proposing a measure, which, in their own opinion, tended ultimately to the separation of Ireland from Great Britain. He said, that the object of this message was evidently an UNION, though the word itself was not to be found in it. But, did the people of Ireland manifest any wish to unite? On the contrary, they had unequivocally declared themselves hostile to this design; and if it were carried, it would be an union effected by fraud, corruption, and intimidation. He asked, how the terms of the *final adjustment*, made and agreed to by the parliaments of the two countries, came to fail? Before the recommendation contained in the message was attended to, it was incumbent upon ministers to shew, that the last pledge of the English parliament to the people of Ireland, by which their independence was recognized, and their rights acknowledged, had not produced that unanimity which the parliaments of the two countries sought to cherish. And he concluded with moving, as an amendment to the address proposed, "that the house, for the first time, learned from his majesty, with surprise and deep regret, that the *final adjustment*, which upon his majesty's gracious recommendation, took place between the two kingdoms in 1782, had not produced the effects expected from that solemn settlement: and further humbly to express to his majesty, that his faithful commons had strong reasons to believe, that it was in the contemplation of his majesty's ministers to propose an union of the legislatures of the two kingdoms, notwithstanding that final and solemn adjustment; humbly imploring his majesty not to listen to the counsels of those who should advise such a measure at the present crisis."

Mr. Pitt maintained, that a permanent connection between Britain and Ireland was essential to the true interests of both countries, and that, unless the existing connection should be improved, there was, he had strong reason to believe, great risk of a separation. The settlement of the year 1782, he said, was so imperfect, that it substituted nothing for that system which it demolished, and it was not considered as final even by the ministers of the time. It left the two realms with inde-

pendent legislatures, connected only by the identity of the executive power—a very insufficient tie, either in time of peace or of war, inadequate to the consolidation of strength, or the mutual participation of political and commercial benefits. The case of the regency exhibited a striking instance of the weakness of the connection; and if the two parliaments had differed on the subject of the war, the danger of a disjunction would have been seriously alarming. The entire dissociation of the two kingdoms was one of the great aims of our enemies; and, as their eventual success in Ireland would expose Britain to extreme peril, the establishment of an incorporate union, by which their views might be effectually baffled, was a necessary act of policy. Great Britain had always felt a common interest in the safety of Ireland; but that interest was never so obvious and urgent as when the enemy attacked the former realm through the medium of the latter. The French had shewn by their conduct, that they deemed Ireland the most vulnerable part of the empire; and this consideration alone ought to enforce the adoption of a measure which would tend to strengthen and secure that country. It ought to be noticed, that the hostile divisions of its sects, the animosities existing between the posterity of the original inhabitants and the descendants of the colonists, the rudeness and ignorance of the people, and the prevalence of jacobinical principles among them, had produced a state of distress for which there was no cure, but in the information of a general imperial legislature, free alike from terror and from resentment, removed from the danger and agitation, uninfluenced by the prejudices, and uninflamed by the passions of that distracted country.

Among the advantages which would accrue to Ireland from an incorporation with Britain, he mentioned, ‘the protection she would secure to herself in the hour of danger, the most effectual means of increasing her commerce, and improving her agriculture, the command of English capital, the infusion of English manners, and English industry, necessarily tending to meliorate her condition;’ adding, that ‘she would see the avenue to honours, to distinctions, and exalted situations in the general seat of empire, opened to all those whose abilities and talents enable them to indulge an honourable and laudable ambition.’ He further remarked, that the question was, not what Ireland would gain, but what she would preserve; not merely how she might ‘best improve her situation, but how she might avert a pressing and immediate danger.’ In this point of view, her gain would be the preservation of all the blessings arising from the British constitution.

After some commercial statements, tending to shew the

benefits derivable to Ireland from an union, he asserted the competency of the legislature, not by argument or demonstration, but by allegations of the danger of controverting such right. A denial of parliamentary competence, he said, would amount to a denial of the validity of the Scottish union, and of the authority under which the existing parliament now deliberated ; and it would even shake every principle of legislation. That a competency for any new or very important measure could only arise from the express directions or consent of the electors, or the great body of the nation, was a jacobinical idea, connected with the dangerous doctrine of the sovereignty of the people.

As the supposed loss of national independence formed, in the minds of many, a strong objection to the scheme, he argued, that the dreaded loss would be a real benefit ; that the Irish would rather gain than lose in point of political freedom and civil happiness ; and that, though a nation possessing all the means of defence, dignity, and prosperity, might justly object to an association with a more numerous people, Ireland, being deficient in the means of protection, and inferior in the requisites of political and civil welfare, could not be injured or degraded by such an union with a neighbouring and kindred state, as would connect both realms, by an equality of law and an identity of interest. Her people would not less be members of an independent state, or to any valuable or useful purpose, less free in the enjoyment of the benefits of society and civilization.

After some further debate, Mr. Sheridan withdrew his amendment, and the original motion was put and carried.

On the 22d of January, 1799, the very day on which the message on the union was delivered to the two British houses of parliament, the session of the Irish parliament commenced at Dublin ; and a speech on this occasion was made by the lord-lieutenant, which concluded with the following analogous declaration:—"The unremitting industry with which our enemies persevere in their avowed design of endeavouring to effect a separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, must have engaged your particular attention ; and his majesty commands me to express his anxious hope, that this consideration, joined to the sentiment of mutual affection and common interest, may dispose the parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the most effectual means of maintaining and improving a connection, essential to their common security, and of consolidating, as far as possible, into one firm and lasting fabric, the strength, the power, and the resources of the British empire."

The address brought forward in the house of peers was opposed chiefly by the Lords Powerscourt and Bellamont; who severally moved amendments, expressive of their disapprobation of a legislative union with Great Britain. On the first division, the numbers were 46 to 19, and on the last 35 to 17, in favour of the court. But it was in the house of commons that the grand battle was expected to be fought.

No sooner had the address of thanks been moved in that assembly, than Sir John Parnell, who had long filled, with high reputation, the office of chancellor of the exchequer, from which he had been recently dismissed, on account of his opposition to the projected union, rose to reprobate the measure while yet *in embryo*. As far as he could judge of the scheme, from what he already knew of it, he believed it to be adverse to the permanent interest of Ireland, and inconsistent with the rights of the people—rights, which having been delegated to the care of parliament, ought not to be surrendered by a representative body. It would affect the constitution, the trade and the property of the country. The constitution would be no more, when the legislature of Ireland was merged in that of Great Britain, and the concerns of the former country were to be intrusted to the care of men who would not be its representatives; who would have different interests, and would be too prejudiced and too remote, to conduct its affairs with justice and propriety. What would an Englishman say, if Ireland should propose to him the suppression of one half of the number of representatives of his country, and the substitution of Irishmen for them? Would he be satisfied with an assurance, that England would be as well represented by Irish as by English members? Yet even this would be a much fairer proposal than that which was now made to Ireland. By occasioning the absence of a great number of the nobility and gentry, it would diminish, in a serious degree, both the capital and the consumption of the country. It would lay a foundation for permanent discontent, which would increase with the increasing evils the people of Ireland would experience from this measure. That an union would secure the country against external attack he denied; for a foreign enemy would not be deterred from invasion by an act of parliament. He exhorted the house to disprove the popular charge of corrupt influence, by an unanimous rejection of the present proposal; and he concluded with the old and famous declaration, substituting Ireland for England, “*Nolumus leges HIBERNIÆ mutari.*”—(We are unwilling that the laws of Ireland should be changed.)

Mr. George Ponsonby, brother to the Earl of Besborough,

a barrister of high reputation and distinguished talents, opposed, in strong terms, every idea of a legislative union, as a scheme that would injure the prosperity, and destroy the liberties of Ireland. He even denied the competency of the legislature to the adoption of a measure invasive of the rights of the people, and subversive of the constitution of the country. But, if parliament had an undoubted authority to exercise such power, it would, he contended, be the height of folly to make such a sacrifice to the pride of Britain. What influence would a hundred Irish members have, absorbed in an assembly of 558 British members? They must be mere ciphers in the united legislature, and would be constrained, on every occasion, to submit to the dictates of a haughty and powerful majority. For six centuries, he affirmed, the Irish nation had been precluded, by a series of oppressions, from the enjoyment of those advantages with which nature had blessed them; and he deprecated the subjection of his country to the sway of a British parliament; declaring his fervent wishes for the preservation of that legislative independence, which was the best foundation of the national happiness. Mr. Ponsonby concluded by moving, as an amendment to the address, "that the house should declare its resolution of maintaining the right of the people of Ireland to a resident and independent legislature, as recognized by the British parliament in 1782, and finally settled at the adjustment of all differences between the two kingdoms."

Mr. Conolly, who was generally considered in point of property and influence, as the first commoner in Ireland, avowed his sentiments to be decidedly in favour of the measure of an union. He compared the absurdity of two independent legislatures in one empire, to the unnatural phenomenon of two heads on one pair of shoulders. Many of the evils of Ireland, he was convinced, had arisen from this source. Yet a hundred and sixteen placemen and pensioners, who had been known at one time to occupy seats in the house, shewed how little of the real spirit of independence existed among them.

The secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, remarked, that by an incorporation with Britain, a common interest would be established, and the welfare of one country would be that of the other. Religious dissensions would be allayed; jealousy and prejudice would subside; trade would greatly flourish; a respectable class of men, between the landlord and mere peasant, would arise; and the morals of the lowest order of inhabitants be improved. The increase of the number of absentees, and other incidental inconveniences, would be of very trifling import, compared with the safety and prosperity that

would result from the measure. He did not expect to hear, from constitutional lawyers, the allegation of parliamentary incompetence. It was clear to him, that a legislative body was at all times competent to the adoption of the most effectual means for promoting the general welfare. For that purpose the parliament was instituted ; and, as an union was calculated for such an object without violating the principles of the constitution, the denial of competency might justly be exploded.

This great and memorable debate lasted no less than twenty hours ; and, in the course of it, a very large proportion of the members delivered their sentiments. The contest was so close, that only a majority of ONE appeared against the amendment ;—the numbers being, on the division, 106 and 105 ; and when the question was put for agreeing to the address, the ministry had in their favour, 107 against 105 voices. During the latter period of the debate, which continued till noon on the second day, the avenues to the house were crowded with people anxious to hear the result ; which, when known, was hailed as a victory on the part of the anti-unionists, and the metropolis resounded with acclamations. The leaders of the opposition, elevated with hope, prepared for another conflict, which they did not doubt would give them a decided superiority.

The address was reported two days afterwards (January 24th ;) when Sir Lawrence Parsons rose, and with much force of eloquence opposed its being received. ‘ Were the union ever so good a measure,’ said he, ‘ why is it brought forward at this time ? Is it not evidently to take advantage of the strength of England in this island, and of our own internal weakness ? It is always in times of division and disaster that a nation avails itself of the infirmities of its neighbours to obtain an unjust dominion. That Britain should desire to do so is not wonderful ; for what nation does not desire to rule another ? That England should be aided by Irishmen in the attempt is not wonderful ; for what nation has not *traitors* and *parricides* in its bosom ? But if this assembly, to whom the rights of Ireland are intrusted, shall agree to such a treason, it will indeed be matter of wonder and indignation beyond the power of mind to conceive, or of language to express. In every period of our weakness and distress, English usurpation has trodden upon the heels of Irish infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burst the chain of usurpation. How ? by her parliament ; by her own parliament, aided and urged by a high-spirited people, whose hearts throbbed with liberty, and whose hands were strong with voluntary arms.—

It was within these walls that this assembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice, demanded the freedom of Ireland, and assumed supreme authority in the land. It was here, before the breath of the parliament of Ireland, that the usurping domination bowed its head, and dropped the sceptre of its power; and therefore it is that her parliament is to be utterly destroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, lest it should grow again, and shoot, and spread, and flourish; and lest Ireland, at some hallowed moment, should once more, through the medium of that assembly, recover its freedom. Annihilate the parliament of Ireland;—that is the cry that came across the water. Ireland is weak; Ireland is divided; Ireland is appalled by civil war; Ireland is covered with troops; martial law brandishes its sword through the land. Now is the time to put Ireland down for ever!—‘But,’ exclaimed this ardent speaker, ‘the parliament cannot be annihilated; for every gentleman in Ireland will sooner part with his life, than give up the independence of his country. Let then this scandalous and irritating measure be relinquished; and let the country, panting from its recent struggles, and its present alarms, repose at last in tranquillity!’

Lord Castlereagh, in reply, allowed that ministers did not intend to relinquish the measure, while they had any hope of success. If they should, they would be unworthy of the situation which they filled; and might be accused of a disregard to the interests of their country and of the empire.

Mr. John Beresford, the leader of a great and dominant party in Ireland, professed his desire of an union, as thinking it the best remedy for the miserable condition to which that country was reduced by the perpetual conflict of contending interests.

Sir John Parnell pronounced it degrading to the dignity of parliament, to entertain a question, whether it should put an end to its own existence. He animadverted on the absurdity of pretending, as some had done, that it was inconsistent or presumptuous to declare against an union, without knowing the terms, or understanding the true nature of the question.—Could any man be ignorant, that the question was, whether the parliament of Ireland and the independence of the nation should be given up for ever? As the ministers would not bind themselves by a promise to preserve these great objects, the parliament, he hoped, would determine the point, by voting that it would never surrender the legislative independence of the realm.

After a violent debate, scarcely inferior in strength or aspe-

rity to the former, a division took place, when the motion of Sir Lawrence Parsons, for the omission of the obnoxious clause in the address, prevailed by a majority of 111 to 106 voices.

The exultation of the metropolis, at this defeat of the ministry, was unbounded. The unionists were insulted and calumniated by every possible mode of attack. On the other hand, the chief speakers of opposition acquired a sudden and extraordinary increase of popularity. Their eloquence was extolled with hyperbolic praise, and their patriotism applauded in high-flown terms of admiration and gratitude. Attentive and calm observers nevertheless remarked, that the vehement enthusiasm of the capital did not extend to the nation at large. It was apparent, that the weight of the landed interest was in favour of the measure; that Cork, the second city of the kingdom, and the commercial towns in general, though greatly agitated and divided, were, upon the whole, rather friendly than hostile to it; that government had secured the chief political interests of the country, which added to the powerful means of influence, corrupt or constitutional, possessed by the crown, gave a mighty, and apparently irresistible force to his operations. But, above all, it was evident that the great mass of the Irish nation, consisting of the Roman catholics,—sunk into apathy, and almost into despair—made no effort in opposition to the measure. They were fully sensible that their condition could scarcely be made worse; and there was a possibility that it might be made better by an union. Upon the whole, it must be acknowledged, that the sentiments of a great majority of persons of weight and influence, who acted with government on this occasion, were powerfully biassed in favour of the measure, by the indelible impression of recent events; and it may be inferred, from the formidable efforts actually made by the opponents of this project in parliament, that the whole influence of government, vast and unbounded as it may seem, would in ordinary circumstances, have been found wholly unequal to the accomplishment of so daring and difficult a measure.

On the 31st of January, the subject of the union again came under consideration in the British parliament, when the order of the day being read, Mr. Pitt rose and said, that when he proposed to the house, to fix that day for the further consideration of his majesty's message, he indulged a hope that the result of a similar communication to the parliament of Ireland would have opened a more favourable prospect than at present existed, of the speedy accomplishment of the measure then in contemplation. He had, however, been disap-

pointed by the proceedings of the Irish house of commons. He was convinced that the parliament of Ireland possessed the power, the entire competence, to accept or reject a proposition of this nature, a power which he by no means meant to dispute. But while he admitted the rights of the parliament of Ireland, he felt, that as a member of the parliament of Great Britain, he had a right to exercise, and a duty to perform; viz. to express the general nature and outline of the plan, which, in his estimation, would tend to insure the safety and the happiness of the two kingdoms. Should parliament be of opinion that it was calculated to produce mutual advantages to the two kingdoms, he should propose it, in order to its being recorded on the journals of that house, leaving the rejection or adoption of this plan to the full and future consideration of the legislature of Ireland. Mr. Pitt remarked, that the union with Scotland was as much opposed, and by nearly the same arguments, prejudices, and misconceptions; creating the same alarms as had recently taken place in respect to Ireland: yet could any man now doubt of the advantages which Scotland had derived from the union? One of the greatest impediments to the prosperity of Ireland, was the want of industry and the want of capital, which were only to be supplied by blending more closely with Ireland the industry and capital of this country. In the present state of things also, and while Ireland remained a separate kingdom, no reasonable person would affirm that full concessions could be made to the catholics, without endangering the state, and shaking the constitution of Ireland to its centre. At the conclusion of a very able speech, he proposed the following series of resolutions, and moved that the house resolve itself into a committee to discuss the same in their proper order.

“I.—That in order to promote and secure the essential interests of Great Britain and Ireland, and to consolidate the strength, power, and resources of the British empire, it will be advisable to concur in such measures as may best tend to unite the two kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland into one kingdom, in such manner, and on such terms and conditions, as may be established by acts of the respective parliaments of his majesty’s said kingdoms.

“II.—That it appears to this committee, that it would be fit to propose as the first article, to serve as a basis of the said union, that the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland shall, upon a day to be agreed upon, be united into one kingdom, by the name of THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

“III.—That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the succession to the monarchy and the imperial crown of the said united kingdoms shall continue limited and settled, in the same manner as the imperial crown of the said kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland now stands limited and settled, according to the existing laws, and to the terms of the union between England and Scotland.

“IV.—That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the said united kingdom be represented in one and the same parliament, to be styled “the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland;” and that such a number of lords spiritual and temporal, and such a number of members of the house of commons, as shall be hereafter agreed upon by acts of the respective parliaments as aforesaid, shall sit and vote in the said parliament on the part of Ireland, and shall be summoned, chosen, and returned in such manner as shall be fixed by an act of the parliament of Ireland previous to the said union; and that every member hereafter to sit and vote in the said parliament of the united kingdom, shall, until the said parliament shall otherwise provide, take and subscribe the same oaths, and make the same declaration, as are by law required to be taken, subscribed, and made by the members of the parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland.

“V.—That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that the churches of England and Ireland, and the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government thereof, shall be preserved as now by law established.

“VI.—That for the same purpose it appears also to this committee, that it would be fit to propose that his majesty’s subjects in Ireland shall at all times hereafter be entitled to the same privileges, and be on the same footing in respect of trade and navigation, in all ports and places belonging to Great Britain, and in all cases with respect to which treaties shall be made by his majesty, his heirs, or successors, with any foreign power, as his majesty’s subjects in Great Britain; that no duty shall be imposed on the import or export, between Great Britain and Ireland, of any articles now duty free; and that on other articles there shall be established, for a time to be limited, such a moderate rate of equal duties, as shall, previous to the union, be agreed upon and approved by the respective parliaments, subject, after the expiration of such limited time, to be diminished equally with respect to both kingdoms, but in no case to be increased; that all articles which may at any time hereafter be imported into Great Britain from foreign parts, shall be importable through either kingdom into the other, subject to the like duties and regulations as if the same were imported directly from foreign parts: that where any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of either kingdom, are subject to any internal duty in one kingdom, such countervailing duties, over and above any duties on import to be fixed as aforesaid, shall be imposed, as shall be necessary to prevent any inequality in that respect: and that all other matters of trade and commerce other than the foregoing, and than such others as may before the union be speedily agreed upon for the due encouragement of the agriculture and manufactures of the respective kingdoms, shall remain to be regulated from time to time by the united parliament.

“VII.—That for the same purpose it would be fit to propose, that the charge arising from the payment of the interest, or sinking fund for the reduction of the principal, of the debt incurred in either kingdom before the union, shall continue to be separately defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland respectively. That for a number of years to be limited, the future ordinary expenses of the united kingdom in peace or war should be defrayed by Great Britain and Ireland jointly, according to such proportions as shall be established by the respective parliaments previous to the union. And that, after the expiration of the time to be so limited, the proportions shall not be liable to be varied, except according to such rates and principles as shall be in like manner agreed upon previous to the union.

“VIII.—That for the like purpose it would be fit to propose, that all laws in force at the time of the union, and that all the courts of civil or ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the respective kingdoms, shall remain

as now by law established within the same, subject only to such alterations or regulations from time to time, as circumstances may appear to the parliament of the united kingdom to require."

Mr. Sheridan, in reply, again avowed his utter dislike and disapprobation of the measure, and expressed his conviction, that in the present convulsed and disordered state of Ireland, it was not merely impolitic but unsafe to agitate the discussion of such topics; and considering the reception which the proposition in question had met with in Ireland, it could scarcely be imagined that the right honourable gentleman would persevere. Mr. Sheridan avowed his doubts, whether the increase of prosperity which Scotland had enjoyed during this last century was to be ascribed to the union. And the evils which were predicted from the possible disagreement of two independent legislatures, might with as much plausibility be supposed to result from the disagreement of two independent houses of legislature, such as the peers and commons of Great Britain: but experience refuted and proved the futility of these apprehensions. He then stated his intention of moving the two following resolutions: 1st, That no measures could have a tendency to improve and perpetuate the ties of amity between Great Britain and Ireland, which have not for their basis the fair and free approbation of the parliaments of the two countries. 2dly, That whoever shall endeavour to obtain such approbation in either country, by employing the influence of government for the purposes of corruption or intimidation, is an enemy to his majesty and the constitution.

Lord Hawkesbury denied that the people of Ireland, collectively taken, were adverse to the measure of an union. The inhabitants of Cork and Limerick had expressed themselves in favour of it; and he had no doubt, if it once came to be duly considered, that a great majority of the whole nation would view it in the same light. After some further debate, the house divided on the question of the speaker's leaving the chair; ayes 140, noes 15.

On the 7th of February, upon Mr. Sheridan's moving his resolutions in the house, Mr. Pitt observed, that the first was a mere truism, to which no one could refuse his assent. The second, he supposed, alluded to the case of a gentleman lately high in office in the Irish administration, who had quitted his post because of his disagreeing in sentiment with his colleagues. But how could any number of persons continue to act together if they differed in points of essential importance? Or what was there peculiar in a resignation or dismissal, under such circumstances? He deemed the first of these reso-

lutions superfluous, and the second improper ; and therefore moved the order of the day.

Mr. Grey said, he could see nothing but danger in the discussion of the question, and particularly as it would affect the public mind in Ireland ; and the house, in his opinion, should have resisted it in the first stage. The union which he wished for was not an union of legislatures, but of hearts, affections, and interests. Evils of which government was itself the parent, were made the pretext for depriving Ireland of her independency as a nation.

Mr. Secretary Dundas remarked, that it was impossible to imagine a remedy more appropriate to the political evils under which Ireland had so recently and severely suffered, than the measure of an incorporative union. The protestants would lay aside their jealousies and distrusts, being certain, that against any attempt to endanger the protestant establishment in Ireland, the whole strength of the united parliament would be exerted. And on the other hand, all those catholics who were friends to the connection with Great Britain, desirous of obtaining every indulgence, and of being admitted into a participation of every privilege consistent with that connection, would be confident that their cause would be candidly and impartially considered by an united parliament. In the case of the Scottish union, many melancholy pictures, in the shape of prophecies, were presented to the public view, and he adverted particularly to the celebrated speech of Lord Belhaven on that occasion. Scotland, he asserted, could not, without the advantages she derived from the union, ever have advanced so rapidly in wealth and prosperity as she had done since that æra. The Irish house of commons had expressed what they thought of an union ; and it was the duty of the British parliament to express their opinion.

Mr. Tierney wished to know what advantages could be obtained by an union which could not be obtained without it. He did not contend that the measure was radically a bad one ; but he thought, that after the opinion which had been expressed in the Irish parliament, the right honourable gentleman ought to abstain from pressing it. After a lengthened debate, the house divided—for the speaker's leaving the chair 149, against it 24.

At the next meeting of the house, February 11th, Mr. Sheridan asserted, that all the advantages which were professed to be expected from an union, would be more certainly attained by the parliament of Great Britain setting the example of abolishing all civil incapacities on account of religious distinctions ; and for this end he moved, " that it be an in-

struction to the committee, to consider how far it would be consistent with justice or policy, and conducive to the general interests, and especially to the consolidation of the strength of the British empire, were civil incapacities, on account of religious distinctions, to be done away throughout his majesty's dominions."

Mr. Pitt asked, what probability there was that the adoption of such a measure by the parliament of Great Britain would induce that of Ireland to adopt it? whether their acceding to it would have the desired effect of annihilating religious animosity? and, supposing these two objects accomplished, how far this would go towards strengthening the connection between the two countries? Mr. Pitt concluded by moving the order of the day; and Mr. Sheridan declined taking the sense of the house upon the subject of his proposition.

On the following day, Mr. Pitt's eight resolutions were put in their proper order, and carried by large majorities. On the 14th of February the report of the committee was brought up, when, on the motion of Mr. Pitt, it was ordered, that a message be sent to the lords, requesting a conference respecting the means of perpetuating and improving the connection between the two countries.

The subject which had so long and so deeply engaged the attention of the commons, had been at the same time introduced into the house of peers by a similar message from the king, delivered by Lord Grenville. The address in answer to this message was voted unanimously by the house, which then adjourned. From this period the business remained dormant in the upper house, till Monday, February the 18th, when the message from the commons was delivered by Earl Temple. A conference accordingly taking place in the painted chamber, the lords deputed on this occasion soon returned with a copy of the resolutions moved by the house of commons.

On the 19th of March, their lordships having been previously summoned, Lord Grenville moved, that the house do agree with the resolutions of the commons. He said, that no diversity of opinion could possibly arise on the two chief preliminary points: first, that whatever steps they should take on the present occasion, the sole and exclusive rights of the Irish legislature should be duly respected, and considered upon the same footing as those of Great Britain; and secondly, that it was essential to the interests of the empire at large, that the connection between the two kingdoms should be strengthened and improved to as high a degree of perfection as the nature

of the case admitted. There was, he said, however, another preliminary to the main subject, started by some who appeared generally to approve of the measure ; and that was, whether, under the present state of things, it was proper at all to enter into the discussion? In answer he asked, whether it would not be wise and politic to urge, with as little delay as the case would admit, a fair and temperate survey of the general question, in order to do away the mistaken prejudices and unfounded impressions which had prevailed against the measure in Ireland? Here his lordship took occasion to remark upon the manner in which the question stood in the parliament of Ireland. The resolution of the Irish commons certainly was not conclusive. Far from amounting to any thing like a law, it was, in fact, a mere dead letter upon their journals. In such a case, the British parliament surely ought not to be precluded from doing what wisdom and prudence dictated. His lordship then entered into an elaborate argument, to shew the expediency and necessity of the measure proposed ; similar in substance to that of Mr. Pitt in the house of commons.

Earl Fitzwilliam objected to the whole proceeding, as improper, impolitic, and unseasonable. Adverting to the subject of catholic emancipation, he acknowledged that he never had ORDERS, when intrusted with the government of Ireland, to bring that question forward ; but he had explicitly declared that it should have his full support if it came under discussion ; and he believed, in his conscience, that the events which occurred at that period had led to the evils which now existed.

The Marquis of Lansdowne avowed it to be his opinion, that it was morally impossible that things should go on as they were now conducted. Upon the general utility of the measure, both in a commercial and political view, he entertained no doubt ; but as to the mode of carrying the project of an union into execution, he had some hesitation. He exposed the fallacy of making the proceedings of 1782 an objection to the present measure. There was no analogy in respect to the objects in view. The adjustment of 1782 aimed to establish the independency of the two legislatures ; and as to that point, it was unquestionably designed to be final. The resolutions before them tended towards the effecting an incorporation of the same legislatures ; to which the proceedings of 1782 could never have been intended to operate as a bar. He acknowledged himself somewhat startled at the idea of adding a hundred members to the British house of commons ; but if others

were satisfied as to this matter, he was disposed to acquiesce in it.

Lord Camden, late Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, denied that the late distractions in that country arose in any manner from the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, for the kingdom was quiet for nine or ten months after that event! The present situation of Ireland was, however, such as to render it absolutely necessary that some steps should be taken for the re-establishment of public order and tranquillity; and no measure was so likely to produce a permanent and beneficial effect as that of an incorporative union.

Marquis Townshend, the Earls of Westmoreland and Carlisle, and the Duke of Portland, who had all occupied the highest office of government in Ireland, declared also, in explicit terms, their approbation of the measure.

On the other side, the Earl of Moira rose to oppose the resolutions. There was no person, he said, who would more heartily than himself concur in the measure, were he assured that it was founded on the wishes of the majority of the people of Ireland. But was it not manifest that the opposition to it was not limited to the Irish parliament only, but that it had been treated by the nation at large with an abhorrence amounting almost to a degree of frenzy? After this marked reprobation of the proposal, what could be more calculated to add fuel to the flame, than our persevering in it? It had been stated, in support of the resolutions, that Ireland could not go on in its present state. He had predicted that the system of government which had been pursued in that country could not go on; and he had unfortunately proved too true a prophet: that, however, was not a consequence flowing from the constitution of Ireland; but the result of a frantic exercise of severities on the part of government. The noble lord (Grenville) had expatiated on the benefits which an union would confer on Ireland. Possibly he might be right, but the immediate question respecting which it was necessary to decide, related to the expediency of bringing forward these resolutions. Whether justly or not, it appears that the opposers of them think the demand upon Ireland to be nothing less than to sacrifice the whole body of her laws, her rights, her liberties, and her independent parliament. Under these circumstances, how does the mass of the Irish nation weigh such a demand? Disgusted as they have been by recent outrages, and smarting from the lash of late severities, how could it be supposed that they would meet with temper the proposition for drawing closer the ties to which they have been taught to attribute all their sufferings? In the nature of the union, there

was not any thing that held forth to the inhabitants of Ireland a security against the violence of the executive government ; but, on the contrary, many checks upon that government would be withdrawn.

The Earl of Moira was seconded in these remarks by Lord Holland, who animadverted with some severity on the assertion of Lord Grenville, that it was necessary to exhibit to the people of Ireland what the terms were upon which this country proposed to unite the two legislatures. Such, he said, might very naturally be the desire of his majesty's ministers ; but if they had imprudently involved themselves, by bringing forward this question, that was no reason why their lordships should be implicated with them.

After various other lords had spoken, the original motion was put and agreed to without a division.

On the 11th of April, the house being again summoned, Lord Grenville moved an address to the throne, similar to that already voted by the commons ; upon which, Lord Auckland immediately rose to express his entire approbation of the measure.

The Bishop of Llandaff stated to the house, that the Duke of Rutland, when Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, had honoured him with his confidence. In writing to the duke, about the time the Irish propositions were under discussion, he perfectly well remembered having said, " You and your friend, the minister of England, would immortalize your characters, if, instead of a mere commercial arrangement, you could accomplish, by honourable means, a legislative union between the two kingdoms." If he were to express his sentiments of the utility of an union in a few words, he should say, that it would enrich Ireland without impoverishing Great Britain ; and that it would render the empire, as to defence, the strongest in Europe.

Lord Minto, (late Sir Gilbert Elliot,) in an eloquent and argumentative speech, supported the measure, and contended that the notion, that a legislative union would derogate from the honour and national independence of Ireland, was " an airy, unsubstantial sentiment ; a transient, evanescent, metaphysical point, to which the two countries were called upon to sacrifice their permanent and perpetual interests."

The question was at length put upon the address, and carried without a division ; but a protest, very ably drawn, was signed on this occasion by the Lords Holland, Thanet, and King.

A committee was then named, consisting of Lord Grenville, Lord Minto, Lord Auckland, and the Bishop of Llan-

daff, to draw up an address conformable to the motion ; which being effected, the commons, in a second conference, (April 12,) were invited to join in the same, and to agree that it should be presented to his majesty as the address of both houses of parliament, which was accordingly done in the most solemn manner, and thus the business rested for the remainder of the present year.

After several animated debates in the Irish parliament, the further consideration of the bill was postponed till the first of August ; it was, however, manifest, that the court were determined to persevere in their original designs ; and the lord-lieutenant, on the occasion of the termination of the session, announced, " that a joint address of the two houses of parliament of Great Britain, had been laid before his majesty, accompanied by resolutions proposing and recommending a complete and entire union between Great Britain and Ireland." And he further declared, " that his majesty, as the common father of his people, must look forward, with earnest anxiety, to the moment when, in conformity to the sentiments, wishes, and real interests of his subjects in both kingdoms, they may all be inseparably united, in the full enjoyment of the blessings of a free constitution."

The subject of the slave trade was again agitated in the British house of commons, and with the usual success. On the 1st of March, Mr. Wilberforce introduced a motion for the appointment of a committee, by observing, that it was now eleven years since he had first held out this system of cruelty and wickedness to the indignant reprobation of that house. He was for a time cheered under his labours by the hope of ultimate success ; but he now almost despaired of seeing the abolition effected by a British parliament : and with respect to the colonial legislatures, it was the vainest of expectations that they would enforce any system of reform which might render the further importation of slaves unnecessary. We were engaged, Mr. Wilberforce observed, in a war with a nation which had thrown off all regard for those sacred principles which almost all men professed to venerate : yet France had abolished the slave trade ; while we, contrary to our own acknowledgments of the nefariousness of this traffic, still continued to support and encourage it. In Africa, we were only known as corrupters and destroyers ; and, if there existed an overruling Providence, it might surely be expected that the moral government of the universe would in some mode be signally vindicated. For himself, he had performed his duty : he solemnly protested against the consequences which should ensue from this obstinate and daring perseverance in guilt ; and he

washed his hands of the blood which might be shed both in the eastern and the western world.

After an animated debate, the house divided, when Mr. Wilberforce's motion was lost by a minority of 54 to 84 voices.

The parliament was prorogued on the 12th of July (1799;) upon which occasion his majesty was pleased to declare, "that the decision and energy which distinguished the councils of his ally the Emperor of Russia, and the intimate union and concert so happily established between them, would enable him to employ, to the greatest advantage, the powerful means intrusted to him by parliament, for establishing, on permanent grounds, the security and honour of this country, and the liberty and independence of Europe. His majesty, on the same occasion, expressed his satisfaction in seeing that internal tranquillity was in some degree restored to his kingdom of Ireland, the ultimate security of which could alone be insured by its intimate and entire union with Great Britain."

CHAPTER XIV.

FRENCH HISTORY. *Portentous Situation of the Government—The Rights of Election violated—Schisms between the Directory and the Councils—Revolution of the 30th Prairial—Efforts to retrieve the Affairs of the Republic—Law of Hostages—The Country plunged into a State of general Insurrection—Sieyès projects the Overthrow of the Directorial Constitution—REVOLUTION OF THE 18th AND 19th OF BRUMAIRE.—Decree transferring the Sitzings of the Councils from the Thuilleries to St. Cloud, and appointing Bonaparte Commander-in Chief of the forces—Conduct of the General on receiving his Appointment—Tumultuous Sitting of the Council of Five Hundred—Bonaparte's memorable Speech in the Council of Ancients—Attempt to assassinate him in the Council of Five Hundred—Lucien Bonaparte rescued from the Fury of the Assembly by the Military—The hall cleared by a File of Grenadiers at the sound of the Pas de Charge—Appointment of a Committee to form a New Government—Directory dissolved—Decree appointing a Provisional Executive Consular Government—The Revolution effected without Blood-shed—New Constitution.*

THE proceedings of the French legislature during the year 1798 were trifling in the extreme, and scarcely worthy the notice of the historian. It was obvious however that the directorial government was verging rapidly towards its dissolution, and that imbecility and corruption had given to the infant institutions of the republic the weakness and decrepitude of old age.

It has already been seen* that the directory, disregarding the rights of the people, and intent alone upon the advancement of their own purposes, had the temerity, in the month of May, 1798, to expel from the legislative body a number of representatives legally elected, and to place in that situation the creatures of their own choice. So flagrant a violation of the rights of election could not fail to produce very general dissatisfaction, and the embarrassments in the finances, combined with the means adopted to replenish them, increased the difficulties of the governors, and inflamed the disaffection of the governed. Scarcely a month elapsed without messages from the directory to the legislative assemblies on the decayed state of the revenue; and a tax on salt was proposed to supply the deficit, which was estimated at fifty millions of livres. This impost was extremely unpopular, from its resemblance to the *gabelle*—one of the most odious and oppressive exactions of the old government. While this measure was under discussion in the council of five hundred, another message from the directory informed them, that instead of fifty millions, the deficiency amounted to one hundred and twenty millions, and that every department of the republic was in a state of dissolution. This intimation induced the council of five hundred to adopt the measure proposed; but it had not the same effect in the council of ancients, where it was asserted, that the supplies already granted were adequate to all the demands of the public service, and that further grants would only swell the civil list of depredation; and the tax on salt was accordingly rejected.

So pointed an imputation on the integrity of the executive, produced a deep-rooted hostility between the directory and the legislative body, which time could not heal, and which terminated in the ruin of both. As the period for electing the new third approached, each party took such measures as seemed best calculated to secure a preponderance in the national councils. But the great struggle lay in the choice of a new director. Among the directors themselves the lot of succession had fallen upon Reubel, whose conduct in office had been such as to cover him with opprobrium, insomuch, that, when this public despoiler subsequently took his seat in the council of elders, the bench where he placed himself was instantly deserted. The person elected as his successor was the famous Abbe Sieyes, at that time ambassador to the court of Berlin. This choice, made in avowed opposition to the utmost exertions of the directory, portended some great

and important change in the political system. The power of the directory thus received from the impression of public opinion an alarming shock ; for the sentiments of the new director were well known to be in the highest degree inimical, not merely to the conduct of his colleagues, but to the whole plan of the directorial constitution. The liberty of the press had been placed under the special protection of the directory by an article of the law of the 19th Fructidor ; and the council of five hundred now ventured to declare, that under this restraint great abuses had been committed by the agents of those in power, who were thus secured against all denunciations. The vengeance of the opposition, of which Sieyes was considered as the head, appeared to be levelled against the three directors, Merlin, Lepaux, and Treilhard ; Barras, though equally corrupt, had averted the storm by seconding the views of Sieyes. Treilhard, a man of mild disposition, unwilling and unfit to engage in those scenes of violence, which seemed approaching, availed himself of an informality in his election to withdraw from the directory, and Gohier, who had formerly filled the office of minister of justice, was chosen his successor. The two other obnoxious members, after an ineffectual struggle, were prevailed upon to resign their offices, and by a kind of compromise with the councils, Roger Ducos, an ex-legislator, and Moulins, a general officer, were chosen in their stead. This was styled the Revolution of the 30th Prairial.

On the 26th of June, the new directory sent a message to the council, enumerating the disorders and necessities of the state, and inviting them to adopt the most speedy and effectual measures for warding off from the political body the dissolution with which it was threatened. This message the council submitted to the commission of eleven, by whom a law was proposed to the assembly, to levy the conscriptions on every class, from the age of twenty to twenty-five years ; and to obtain a loan of one hundred millions, to be raised from the more opulent classes of society, upon the mortgage of the unsold national domains. The adoption of this measure was accompanied by an address to the people inviting them to co-operate with their representatives in the work of regeneration.

The republic still continued to be the prey of factions, and in order to restore the public tranquillity, a most tyrannical law was enacted on the 12th of July, known by the appellation of the law of hostages. By this law it was decreed, that when any department, or commune, was in a state of disorder,

the relations of emigrants and cidevant nobles, should be responsible for all robberies, and assassinations, that might be committed; that the administrators of departments should take hostages from these classes; that such hostages should surrender themselves within ten days, under pain of being placed under close arrest, or punished as emigrants; that if any public functionary, or any purchaser of national domains, should be murdered or carried off, four of these hostages should be banished for every individual that should be murdered or carried off, which four hostages should be liable to pay a fine of six thousand livres to the public treasury, six thousand to the widow, and three thousand to the children of any murdered republican citizen. This indemnity was also made to extend to every person mutilated, and the responsibility to apply to all damage done to property. This law, so repugnant to the principles of justice and sound policy, raised a violent ferment in every part of France, and in the western departments it served as the signal for almost universal revolt. About the end of August, a general insurrection broke out in the department of the Mayenne, where the insurgents, after taking possession of several towns, deposed the constituted authorities and declared for the old government. So rapidly did the spirit of disaffection spread, that in a short time no less than twenty departments were in a state of insurrection, and the obnoxious laws proposed by the councils and sanctioned by the new directory, prepared the public mind for the overthrow of the existing government.

All France felt the full force of her past and present evils, and the imperious necessity of establishing a better order of things. She required a government capable of repairing the ruins of the political edifice; or rather of re-constructing it upon more solid and durable foundations; but by what miraculous interposition was this to be accomplished? Sieyes, it appears, was never perfectly satisfied with the constitution of the third year, and from the moment he attained to the directorial dignity, his mind was occupied with plans for its subversion. General Joubert was the man at first fixed upon to carry these designs into execution; but Joubert had neither the requisite courage nor popularity to engage in so hazardous an enterprize.

At this critical moment, General Bonaparte arrived from Egypt, and was received in Paris with every possible demonstration of public favour.* Sieyes was secretly gratified with

* Book II. CHAP. XI. Page 562.

the popularity enjoyed by Bonaparte. He welcomed him to his apartments in the Luxembourg, and after disclosing to him his projects, solicited his powerful aid, for the purpose of carrying them into execution. Various secret conferences were now held, at which the director Sieyes, Roger Ducos, Talleyrand, Fouche, Volney, Rœderer, Reinhard, and Bonaparte, with his brothers Lucien and Joseph, were present; a few others were trusted with the secret, but all those to whom it was confided, managed the business with great discretion. In order to prepare the public mind for the events now in contemplation, rumours were industriously circulated, that a new plan of government was forming for the republic; this change was generally talked of and desired, though few were aware from whom it was to proceed, or who were to sustain the principal parts in the new revolutionary drama. Bonaparte, in the mean time, seemed to court seclusion; he appeared very little in public, but he was actively employed in attaching to his fortune, men of talents and enterprise; and at the public entertainment given to him by the directory, he endeavoured to lull their apprehensions by giving as a toast, "An union of all parties." On the evening of this festival, Bonaparte assembled the conspirators at the house of M. La Mercier, the president of the council of ancients, and on that occasion each individual had assigned to him the part that he was destined to act in the conspiracy against the directory.

At five o'clock in the morning of the 18th Brumaire (November 9,) a committee of inspectors belonging to the council of ancients, sent messages to one hundred and fifty of that body, selected for that purpose by Bonaparte and his adherents, requiring them to meet in the Thuilleries at eight o'clock. At this meeting it appeared that the most violent of the jacobin party were not assembled, and that having received no summons, they were ignorant of the meeting. Carnet, the reporter of the committee, opened the meeting with a speech, in which he expatiated upon the dangers of the republic, and the designs of the factious, and in conclusion proposed, that the assembly should, in virtue of the 102d and 103d articles of the constitution, adjourn to St. Cloud; that General Bonaparte should be charged to put the decree in execution; and that for that purpose, he should be appointed commander of all the forces. This decree being passed by a great majority, Bonaparte, who had been in waiting, immediately appeared at the bar, attended by the Generals Berthier, Moreau, Lefebvre, and Macdonald, and several other general officers. His appointment was no sooner communicated to Bonaparte than he addressed the assembly as follows:—

“CITIZENS REPRESENTATIVES,

“The republic was perishing, but your decree has rescued it from destruction.—Woe be to those men who wish for anarchy! Aided by my brave companions in arms, I will arrest their course. Let us not seek in the past, for examples to retard your progress, nothing in history resembles the conclusion of the 18th century, and nothing in the close of the 18th century resembles the decisions of the present moment. Your wisdom has issued this decree—our arms shall execute it. We demand a republic founded on a just basis, on true liberty, and we will have it. We will have it; I swear it, in my own name, and in the names of my brave comrades.”

As soon as the plaudits which followed this speech had subsided, the president replied :—

“GENERAL,

“The council of ancients receives your oath; there is no doubt of your sincerity and your zeal. He who never promised victories to the country in vain, cannot fail to fulfil his new engagements to serve her with fidelity.”

The sitting was then dissolved amidst loud cries of “Long live the constitution of the third year!” The next concern of Bonaparte was to issue two proclamations, the first addressed to the national guard of Paris, and the latter to the soldiers of the republic, announcing his appointment to the command of the city guard, and of the army, and inviting them to support their general in his endeavours to restore to the republic the blessing of “liberty, victory, and peace.” These proclamations, which were issued on the morning of the 18th of Brumaire, had been prepared previous to the event they were intended to announce, and were immediately succeeded by a similar document for Fouche, the minister of general police, intended to tranquillize the public mind, and threatening the instigators to revolt, and the abettors of royalty, with condign punishment.

The instant the decree of the council of ancients had passed, Bonaparte marched ten thousand troops to the Thuilleries, and guarded every avenue to that place so effectually, that no one was permitted to pass either into the courts, the gardens, or within the walls of the castle. He had previously formed all his dispositions, and was haranguing his troops in the great court, while three of the directors, and all the citizens of Paris, were in complete ignorance of the proceedings that had taken place, and were made acquainted with them for the first time, by the proclamations with which the walls of the capital soon became placarded. The directors, Sieyes and Roger Ducos, the latter of whom was entirely governed by the former, waited in silence the result of the meeting of the council of ancients, but so sooner were they informed of the decree for removing the sittings of the councils to St. Cloud, and for in-

vesting Bonaparte with the command of the army, than they repaired to the Thuilleries, and joined the committees of inspection, who were at that moment in deliberation upon the measures to be taken for carrying into effect the decree of the council. The director Barras, who had in the morning of the 18th refused to give in his resignation, was exiled to his country seat under a guard of cavalry, while Gohier and Moulins remained almost passive spectators of the events which deprived them of power, and imposed a new form of government upon their country. Previous to his departure, Barras sent in his resignation to Bonaparte, by his secretary Botot, who, on handing the paper to the general, enquired in a low voice, what Barras had to expect from him?

"Tell that man," said Bonaparte, "that I desire to hear no more from him, and that I will cause the authority I am intrusted with to be respected." Then raising his voice loud enough to be heard even into the anti-chamber, he continued thus to address the astonished secretary: "What have you done," said he, "with the country which I left so flourishing? I left you at peace, and I have found you at war: I left you victory, and I have found defeat: I left you conquest, and the enemy are passing our frontiers: I left you the treasures of Italy, and I find nothing but oppression and poverty. Where are the hundred thousand heroes, my companions in arms, whom I left covered with glory? What is become of them? Alas! they are no more! This state of things cannot continue; in three years it will end in despotism: but we will have a republic, founded on the basis of equality, civil liberty, and political toleration."

In the mean time, the council of five hundred had assembled, filled with astonishment and distrust. And while they were fluctuating between the conjectures and expectations which vague and contradictory rumours had served to excite, the president, Lucien Bonaparte, entered the hall. No sooner had he seated himself, than eager expectation was depicted in every countenance. From the recently elected president, they expected an authentic account of the proceedings of the morning, and of the objects to which they were directed. The *proces verbal* being read, the president rose and read the decree from the council of ancients, which removed the sittings of the legislative body to the palace of St. Cloud. He then dissolved the assembly, and quitted the hall amidst a violent clamour. The remainder of the day, as well as night of the 18th, was occupied by Bonaparte and the other generals and public men, with Sieyes at their head, in preparing and arranging the concerns of the following day. Already the dictatorial government was dissolved; Barras had retired to his estate at Gros Bois; Gohier and Moulins were placed under confinement at the Luxembourg; and the other two directors, Sieyes and

Ducos were employed in overturning the late government, and in promoting the establishment of the new order of things.

The 19th Brumaire (the 10th of November) was a day big with events of importance. The castle of St. Cloud was surrounded by troops in the morning before day break, and the council of five hundred, as well as the council of ancients, assembled at that place at two o'clock in the afternoon. In the council of five hundred, the proceedings were opened by Gaudin, a member of the council, who proposed that a committee of seven members should be appointed to take into consideration the best means of providing for the public safety. This motion was vehemently opposed by several members of the jacobin party, who, darting forward into the tribune, exclaimed, "Down with the dictators"—"The constitution or death!" These exclamations were followed by a motion, that every member should renew his oath to preserve the constitution of the third year, which was carried by acclamation. No sooner had the ceremony of renewing the oath been performed, than another violent debate arose, upon the motion, that the assembly should proceed to the election of a new director, to fill up the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of Barras.

Bonaparte, on being informed of the tumultuous discussion in the council of five hundred, repaired in great agitation to the council of ancients, and having entered the hall, he thus addressed the assembly:—

"REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE!

"You are placed in no common circumstances; you are on the mouth of a volcano, which is ready to devour you. Permit me to speak to you with the frankness of a soldier, and the ardour of a citizen, zealous for the welfare of his country.

"I was living peaceably at Paris when I received your decree; but when I was informed of your dangers I hastened to your assistance, along with my brethren in arms. Is not the blood which we have shed, a sufficient guarantee for our attachment to the republic, and for the purity and disinterestedness of our motives? Have they, who dare to lift their voices against us, given stronger pledges? As a reward for our services they load us with calumnies, and talk of a modern Cæsar, a second Cromwell. They speak of a military government, and declaim against conspiracies. Alas! the most dangerous of all conspiracies is that which every where surrounds us, that of continually increasing public misery. Have not ignorance, folly, and treason reigned long enough in our country? Have they not committed sufficient ravages? Have they not in turn inflicted misery on every class of the community? Have not Frenchmen been divided long enough into parties, eager and desirous to oppress one another? The time is at length arrived to put an end to these disasters. You have charged me to present you with the means, and I will not disappoint your expectations. I wish to serve the French people alone. Let us not then be divided. Unite your wisdom and firmness to the force with which I am surrounded, and I will devote myself to the safety of the republic."

“And to the safety of the constitution,” exclaimed Moreau de l’Yonne.

“The constitution!” replied Bonaparte, with indignant warmth, “do not name it. What is the constitution but a heap of ruins? Has it not been successively the sport of every party? Have you not trampled upon it on the 18th Fructidor, the 28th Floreal, and the 30th Prairial? The constitution! has not every kind of tyranny been exercised in its name? Who has been, or who can be safe under its delusive protection? Is not its insufficiency manifested by the numerous crimes which have been committed in its name, even by those who are swearing to it a contemptuous fidelity? All the rights of the people have been violated. To re-establish those rights on a firm foundation, we must labour to consolidate the republic, and to secure the liberty of France. As soon as these objects are attained, and the dangers of the country have subsided, I will abdicate the command which has been committed to me, and will become the supporting arm of the magistracy, whom you may think proper to nominate.”

Cornudet here confirmed the assertions of Bonaparte, and said, “I am acquainted with some criminal opinions, which are entertained of the general, but which can only be developed and discussed in the absence of strangers.” At this intimation the spectators were ordered to withdraw, and as soon as the hall was cleared, Bonaparte continued:

“Criminal opinions!” exclaimed he, “I could reveal to you circumstances which would confound my calumniators. But it is enough to tell you, that two of your late magistrates, the directors, Barras and Moulins, themselves advised me to overturn the government, and to put myself at the head of affairs. I repulsed their overtures, because liberty is dearer to me than life. Several factions have tendered to me their services, but I have rejected all their advances as unworthy of the ear of a republican. I speak with the frankness of a soldier. I am a stranger to the art of eloquence; I have always followed the God of war, and fortune and the God of war are with me. Be not afraid, representatives of the people, of criminal plots; I and my brave comrades shall ever be ready to defend you and to support the republic. (*Then glancing his eyes towards the soldiers, who were on duty within the walls, he cried,*)—“I appeal to you, fellow soldiers—you, before whom the jacobins desire to make me appear the enemy of liberty—you, who have so often been employed under me in laying the foundation of republics; and should you ever behold me abandon the cause of liberty, I intreat you to turn those dreadful bayonets, which have so often been directed to the shame and confusion of our enemies, against my own breast. Representatives! I conjure you to adopt the most prompt and energetic measures to save the country.”

Bonaparte now retired from the council of ancients, and suddenly entered the hall of the council of five hundred, accompanied by a few grenadiers without arms. Advancing towards the top of the hall, the council was instantly in motion—“A general here!” exclaimed they, “Down with the tyrant!”—“Outlaw the dictator!”—“Kill him, kill him!” Several of the members, rushing towards him, drew forth their poniards; and Arena, one of the deputies, and a native of Corsica, aimed a blow at him with a dagger, which Thome, a grenadier, parried with his arm, and was wounded.

The president, Lucien Bonaparte, having with great diffi-

culty obtained an audience, exclaimed, "The general has undoubtedly no other intention than to impart to the council very important information respecting the present situation of affairs." The general, with all his heroism, stood for a moment astonished and speechless ; for though he had expected opposition, he was not prepared for such a scene of frantic violence. General Lefebvre at length rushed into the hall with a body of armed grenadiers, to rescue their chief from the dangers with which he was environed ; and Bonaparte was prevailed upon to quit the hall of the orangery where the council was assembled, and to return to the soldiery drawn up in the court of the palace.

As soon as the soldiers had left the hall, the members instantly decreed, that the council of ancients had no power to invest Bonaparte with the command, as that authority could be conferred by the directory alone. The president animadverted with great energy on the disorders of the day, and on the ferocious insults offered by some of the members towards an illustrious general, who had rendered the most signal and permanent services to the republic. "Outlaw him !" exclaimed several of the members, "he has this day disgraced his military renown, and deserves death from the hand of every patriot." The assembly had now become a mob, and the president was assailed on every side. His authority being at an end, and his life exposed to the most imminent peril ; he darted from his chair, and divesting himself of the insignia of his office, placed his toga and his scarf upon the bench, and rushed to the tribune. His voice was instantly drowned in exclamations against the military usurper, and tears of agony and indignation started from his eyes. Immediately pistols and poniards were presented to his breast, to compel him to resume his office, and to pronounce the decree of outlawry against his brother, but he remained inflexible, and General Lefebvre being at that moment deputed by Bonaparte, entered the hall at the head of a detachment of the military, and surrounding the president, conducted him in safety into the court of the palace.

The troops, animated by the presence of their general, but by no means unanimous in their opinions, listened with profound attention to the president, while he declared to them, in glowing language, that he, as well as his brother, had been threatened with assassination ; that the council of five hundred no longer existed ; that the minority had become rebels, and were holding the poniard of sedition and despotism over the heads of the unarmed majority ; and he, as president, invoked the aid of the military force to expel those "representatives

of the poniard" from the council chamber, where they were at that moment exercising acts of despotism and violence, and were on the point of overthrowing the republic. The president concluded this harangue by exclaiming, "Long live the republic." To which his military auditors replied, "Long live the republic!"—"Long live Bonaparte!"

The general now perceiving that the critical moment had arrived, ordered the troops to enter the hall of the council of five hundred. The grenadiers instantly advanced; when a deputy exclaimed: "Is it thus, soldiers, you tarnish the laurels you have gained in battle? Do the guardians of the national representation dare to menace its safety and independence?" Many of the other members, addressing the soldiers, conjured them, in the name of liberty, not to follow their leaders; when on a sudden the *pas de charge* was heard, and the voices of the speakers were drowned in the sound of military music. At the word of command the grenadiers brought their muskets to the charge, and a dreadful scene of alarm and dismay pervaded the whole assembly. The chamber was soon cleared of the members of the council, and cries of "Long live the republic!" "Long live Bonaparte!" sent forth by the military, shook the lofty domes of St. Cloud.

The first imperfect intelligence of these events had filled the metropolis with apprehension, but no sooner were the circumstances attending this military usurpation made known, than the Parisians appeared overjoyed at the final subversion of the jacobin power, and cherished the hope of a new and better government, administered in equity, and founded on the principles of justice and humanity. The council of ancients, animated by the same hopes, issued a decree to the following effect:

"In consideration of the *retreat* of the council of five hundred, and the resignation of four of the directory, the fifth, Gohier, being confined, a temporary executive commission of three members shall be appointed. The legislature is adjourned to the 1st of Nivose next, (December 21st) when it will again assemble in Paris without further convocation. During the recess there will be an intermedial commission of the council of ancients, in order to protect the rights of the national representation. The sitting is adjourned till nine o'clock in the evening of this day, when the council shall proceed to the appointment of the committee.

At nine o'clock in the evening the council of five hundred, as well as the council of ancients, again assembled in their chambers, but the former, from which the jacobins had withdrawn, now appeared of a very different complexion from that which it had worn in the early part of the day. Lucien Bonaparte, their president, congratulated the members present on the deliverance they had obtained from the dominion of de-

magogues and assassins. The president then proposed a resolution to the effect, That General Bonaparte, and the other generals and officers, as well as the troops, had deserved well of their country. This resolution, which was carried without opposition, was succeeded by a proposal from Chazal, one of the deputies, that a committee of five members should be appointed, to consider the propriety of forming a new government ; on which the president, mounting the tribune, pronounced an animated harangue on the disasters of the republic, arising from the misconduct of the late government, and insisted strongly on the necessity of a change. At the close of the president's speech, Boulay de la Meurthe presented a report from a secret committee, containing the project of a decree for appointing a new government, and prefaced his motion for the adoption of the report by an animated address, in which he enlarged on the profligacy and incapacity of the directory, on the defects of the constitution itself, and on the necessity of a strong executive power, capable of giving solidity to the state, and preventing the return of anarchy. The council then decreed, that the executive directory no longer existed ; that certain deputies, to the number of sixty-one, on account of their excesses, particularly in the sitting of that morning, were no longer members of the national representation ; that an executive consular committee should be provisionally appointed, consisting of citizens Sieyes, and Roger Ducos, ex-directors, and General Bonaparte, under the designation of consuls of the French republic ; that they should be invested with the full powers of the directory ; that the two councils should each name twenty-five commissioners, charged to prepare the changes in the organic dispositions of the constitution, the object of which changes was to consolidate and guarantee inviolably the sovereignty of the people.

This decree was instantly communicated to the council of ancients, by whom it was passed at midnight ; on which the three consuls being summoned to the hall of the council of five hundred, were thus addressed by the president :—

“ CITIZENS !

“ The greatest people upon earth intrust you with their destinies ; within three months the public opinion shall judge you. Domestic happiness, general liberty, the direction of the armies, and peace itself, all are intrusted to you. You must have courage and zeal, to accept such an important trust, and such high functions. But you are supported by the confidence of the nation and of the armies ; and it is well known to the legislature, that your souls are entirely devoted to the welfare of the people.”

The consuls then took the oath to preserve liberty and equality, and proclamations communicating the events of the

18th and 19th Brumaire were promulgated without delay in all the departments of the republic. Thus terminated this military revolution. It was a revolution of force without bloodshed. Bonaparte and the army were the founders of the new government; and the power obtained by the sword, the sword alone could destroy.

The three consuls entered upon their public functions the following day, at the palace of the Luxembourg; and the legislative commissioners at the same time commenced their sittings. The first objects which engaged their attention, were the repeal of the law imposing a forced loan, and the law of hostages—the former of which had annihilated the remains of public credit, and the latter once more lighted up the flames of civil war in the departments. Bonaparte's first concern was to tranquillize the departments of La Vendee, where the standard of insurrection was once more unfurled. In this arduous undertaking he succeeded rather by lenient than coercive measures, and in a short time peace was again restored to that desolated portion of the republic. In the interior, Bonaparte made every effort to pacify and unite the contending factions; regularity succeeded to trouble and disorder; the several branches of the military establishment were re-organized; the civil administration experienced great and essential ameliorations; and the tribunals of justice regained their activity. The list of emigrants—till this period kept open in order to be occasionally exercised as a rod of terror and of vengeance, was finally closed, and the threat of proscription lost much of its terror. Under the sanction of the powers vested in the consular commission, a decree was issued eight days only after the revolution, whereby fifty-nine of the most furious and inveterate jacobins were condemned to banishment; thirty-seven of them to Guiana, and the remainder to the isle of Oleron. It appeared, however, that this arrete was intended merely to strike terror into the terrorists, for the decree of banishment was soon after provisionally changed into an arrete, placing the individuals in question under the inspection of the minister of police, and even this restraint was in a short time removed.

The mildness and policy of the consular government also signally displayed itself in the termination put to the legal proscription of the catholic priesthood. Such administrations as had been active in the persecution of priests were broken, and the churches, which had been converted into places of municipal festivity, restored to their primitive use. The recall of such citizens as had been banished in pursuance of the revolution of the 19th Fructidor, next engaged the attention

of government, and a consular decree was passed, recalling the greater number of those individuals, among whom were Barthelemi, Carnot, Pastoret, and many others. In forming the new administration, Lucien Bonaparte was constituted minister of the interior; and M. Talleyrand reinstated in his office of minister for foreign affairs, in which capacity he had displayed great talents, and, in concert with Sieyes, was supposed to have meditated, in his retreat, that revolution in the state, of which Bonaparte arrived in France so opportunely to undertake the execution.

At length, the fabric of a new government was completed by the legislative commission, and approved on the 13th of December by the consuls and members of the legislative committee. This constitution was accordingly submitted to the suffrages of the citizens of the French republic at large, and received the express and avowed assent of upwards of three millions of the people, while the votes against its acceptance amounted only to fifteen hundred and sixty-two. On the 29th of December, 1799, (4th of Nivose, year VIII.) the new constitution was proclaimed at Paris with great solemnity, and the people by their acclamations seemed to cherish the hope that the institutions arising out of the revolution of the 18th and 19th Brumaire, would confer upon them the enjoyments of tranquillity, prosperity, and peace.

The new constitutional code was comprised of ninety-five articles, divided into seven chapters, and dated at Paris, the 22d Frimaire, (Dec. 13.) in the 8th year of the republic. This extraordinary production was in substance as follows:—

CHAPTER I.—The French republic is one and indivisible; but its European territory is distributed into departments and communes. Every man born and resident in France, of the age of twenty-one years, who has had his name inscribed in the civil register of his communal district, and afterwards remained a year on the French territory, is a French citizen. The citizens of every communal district shall appoint, by their suffrages, those whom they think most worthy of conducting public affairs. There shall be a list of confidence, containing a number of names, equal to a tenth of the number of citizens possessing the rights of suffrage. From this communal list the public functionaries of districts shall be taken. The citizens comprised in the communal lists of a department shall appoint a tenth of their number; and from this departmental list the public functionaries of each department shall be taken. The citizens included in the departmental list shall also appoint a tenth of their number, who shall be eligible to public national functions. Every third year vacancies are to be filled; and the names of those who may have forfeited the confidence of their constituents to be withdrawn.

CHAPTER II.—An assembly shall be formed under the appellation of the conservatory senate; consisting of sixty members, chosen for life, to be gradually increased to eighty, by an addition of two members for ten successive years, with fixed salaries amounting to 25,000 francs, (1041*l*.) Four persons named in the constitutional act, viz. Sieyes, Ducos, Camba-

ceres, Le Brun, shall appoint the first thirty-one members, being the majority of the senate, which shall afterwards complete itself. Subsequent vacancies shall be filled up by the senate, who shall make their choice out of three candidates separately presented to them, by the legislative body, the tribunate, and the chief consul. From the national list, transmitted by the different departments, shall be elected by the conservative senate, who shall themselves be ineligible to any other function, the legislators, the tribunes, the consuls, and the judges of cassation. The senate shall also possess the power to confirm or annul every act referred to them as unconstitutional by the tribunate or the government. The sittings of the senate are not public.

CHAPTER III. treats of the legislative power.—No new law shall be promulgated unless the plan shall have been first proposed by the executive government to the legislative body ; communicated by the legislature to the tribunate ; considered and discussed by the members of that assembly ; and finally decreed by the legislative body. The executive government is at liberty, in any stage of discussion, to withdraw the plan or project of any law proposed, and to present it again in a modified state. The tribunate is composed of a hundred members ; one-fifth renewable every year ; and indefinitely re-eligible while they remain upon the national list. This assembly, after discussing the plan of every law proposed, shall vote for its adoption or rejection ; and shall send three members, chosen from their body, by whom the motives of their decision shall be stated and supported before the legislative body. The legislative body shall be composed of three hundred members, to be also renewed annually by fifths. It shall commence its session every year, 1st Frimaire (Nov. 21.), and shall continue sitting at least four months ; and it determines by secret scrutiny, without discussion, upon the plan of the laws argued upon in its presence. The sitting of the legislature and tribunate to be public ; and the members of both to possess fixed salaries—the tribunes 15,000 francs, (625*l.*) and the legislators 10,000 francs, (416*l.*)

CHAPTER IV.—The executive government is intrusted to three consuls, appointed for ten years, but indefinitely re-eligible. For the present time General Bonaparte is appointed chief consul ; citizen Cambaceres, now minister of police, second consul ; and citizen Le Brun, member of the committee of ancients, third consul. The first or chief consul alone has the power of promulgating laws. He is to name or displace at pleasure the members of the council of state, the ministers, the ambassadors, the officers of the army by sea and land, the members of local administration, and the commissioners of the government at the tribunals. He is to appoint all judges, criminal and civil, as well as justices of the peace, and the judges of cassation, without the power of afterwards superseding them. Even in the inferior acts of government, the second and third consuls have deliberative voices only, and the liberty of countersigning their opinions ; after which the determination of the first consul shall follow. The salary of the first consul is fixed at 500,000 francs, (20,820*l.*) and that of the second and third at 75,000 francs, (3,123*l.*) each.

The executive government is to manage political relations abroad ; to conduct negotiations ; to declare war ; to sign and conclude all treaties of peace, alliance, truce, neutrality, commerce, and other conventions. Such declarations and treaties to be proposed, discussed, and decreed, in the same manner as laws ; and no act of government can have effect till it is signed by a minister. The minister charged with the administration of the public treasury is not at liberty to make provision for any branch of the public expenditure, except by virtue of a law, and only to the extent of the funds provided by law for that purpose ; and the detailed accounts of every minister, signed and certified by him, are to be made public.

CHAPTER V. relates to the judicial authorities.—Every communal *arrondissement* shall have one or more justices of the peace, elected immediately by the citizens, for the term of three years, whose office it shall be to endeavour to reconcile the parties applying to them, by arbitrating between them. In civil matters, tribunals shall be established of first instance, and tribunals of appeal; the judges of which shall be taken from the departmental list. In criminal cases, a first jury admits or rejects the charge, a second jury pronounces on the fact, and the judges apply the punishment. Those crimes which do not amount to corporal punishment are tried before the tribunals of correctional police, with an appeal to the criminal tribunals. There is for the whole republic one tribunal of cassation; the judges composing which are taken from the national list. This tribunal pronounces on appeals against judgments in the last resort. It does not, however, decide upon the merits, but merely reverses judgments given on proceedings in which the constitutional forms are violated—sending the case back for a re-hearing. The judges of all descriptions remain in office for life, unless condemned to forfeit their places, or unless discontinued on the list of eligibles, corresponding with their functions.

CHAPTER VI. relates to the responsibility of the public functionaries.—The functions of members, whether of the senate, tribunate, legislative body, or council of state, including ministers of the executive power, are all responsible. Personal crimes committed by citizens of any of these descriptions, are prosecuted before the ordinary tribunals, after a deliberation of the body to which the person under accusation belongs has authorised such prosecution. The ministers of state are moreover responsible for every act of government signed by them; and also for any orders contrary to the constitution, laws, and ordinances. The judges, civil and criminal, for crimes relating to their functions, shall be prosecuted before the tribunals to which the tribunal of cassation may send them after having annulled their acts.

CHAPTER VII.—Of general dispositions. The house of every person inhabiting the French territory is an inviolable asylum. It can only be entered in the day, for a special purpose determined by the law, or an order emanating from a public authority. The arrest of a person must first express in form the causes for such arrest, and the law in virtue of which it is ordered. 2dly, It must issue from such functionary only as the law has invested with the power. 3dly, It must be notified to the person arrested, and a copy of it left with him. All severities used in arrest, detentions, or executions, other than those commanded by the laws, are crimes.

Every man has a right of addressing petitions to every constituted authority;—the public force is necessarily in a state of obedience; no armed body can deliberate;—military crimes are subjected to special tribunals, and particular forms of judgment;—a national institute is charged with receiving discoveries, and perfecting the arts and sciences;—a committee of seven, chosen by the senate from the national list, regulates and verifies the accounts of the receipts and expenses of the republic.

This consular constitution exhibited, undoubtedly, indications of political ability and wisdom far exceeding any discoverable in the directorial system, and its analysis, as given by Rœderer, is deserving of being preserved. Out of an aggregate of thirty-three millions and a half, of which the population of France at that time consisted, he estimates the male inhabitants of age, and qualified to vote, at five millions; who reduce themselves to five hundred thousand notables of de-

partments ; reduced again to five thousand notables of France ; from whom are chosen five hundred legislators of the senate, tribunate, and legislative body ; one grand consul, and two puisne consuls. The senate and tribunate are chosen not *by* the five thousand notables of France, but *out* of that class. A body of eighty members, first constituted representatives of the nation, either by a competent election or by the acquiescence of the people, under the title of conservators, choose first, all the members called to exercise the legislative power ; and secondly, (the consuls) the three chiefs of the executive power, the first of whom afterwards chooses the ministers and the other agents of the government.

Accustomed to change, and charmed with novelty, the Parisians received the new constitution with delight, and viewed the pomp and the splendour of the consular government with surprise and self complacency. They reasoned little, but hoped much. Bonaparte was their idol, and from him and him alone they expected every thing !*

CHAPTER XV.

Situation of Europe at the Commencement of the Nineteenth Century—Bonaparte's Letter to the King of England—Lord Grenville's official Reply—Correspondence—Debates and Decision of the British Parliament thereon—Proposal for an Inquiry into the Expedition to Holland—Supplies—Ways and Means—Subsidy to the Emperor—Renewed Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act—Affairs of India—Renewal of the Bank Charter—Meeting of the Irish Parliament—Discussions on the Union—Duel between Mr. Grattan and the Irish Chancellor of the Exchequer—Assent to the Union—The Act of Union finally passed—Ratified by the Irish Parliament—Investigation into the Means of remedying the Evils of the existing Scarcity—Prorogation of Parliament—Escape of his Majesty from the Attempt of a Maniac Assassin.

THE eighteenth century, the latter part of which had been rendered so memorable by the revolution of states and em-

* This disposition to aggrandize the chief consul was well satirized by a hand-bill, of which the following is a copy, and with which the streets of Paris were placarded on the night of his elevation to the consular dignity :—

“ POLITICAL SUBTRACTION.

From	5	Directors
Take	2	
<hr/>		
and there remain	3	Consuls :
From which take	2	
<hr/>		
and there remains	1	BONAPARTE !”

pires, had now closed in blood. Not a glimpse of peace presented itself to cheer the mind after so long and so sanguinary a contest: on the contrary, every thing seemed to forbode a prolongation of public calamity, and a renewal of individual misfortune.

The coalition against France, although weakened in consequence of those jealousies which have generally rendered combinations of this kind of little avail, had certainly achieved great events. The republic had beheld her armies moulder away, and her best generals beaten in succession, during the preceding campaign. The house of Austria, justly proud of her late acquisitions, had covered Italy with troops; the adjoining seas and straits swarmed with British cruisers; the fleets of France and Spain were rendered useless, by being shut up in their own ports; and the army of Egypt was not only cut off from all intercourse with Europe, but also deprived of its boasted leader. Such was the situation of France, when it was the fortune of one of her generals to overturn the constitution of the commonwealth, at the same time that he rescued her allies from ruin, and her armies from ignominy and disgrace.

Bonaparte, having in a great measure united in his own person all the authorities both civil and military, determined on entering into negotiations for peace. However slender his hopes of success, he resolved if possible to throw all the odium arising from the further prosecution of the war, on the enemies of France, and accordingly commenced his career by professing his horror of the calamities to which Europe had been so long exposed. Having addressed himself without success to the court of Vienna, he next determined to sound the intentions of the King of Great Britain. Talleyrand, formerly Bishop of Autun, and now secretary of state for foreign affairs, accordingly transmitted a despatch to Lord Grenville, who occupied a similar situation in England, with a request that it might be delivered into his majesty's own hand. Of this letter, which was in the hand writing of the first consul, the following is the official translation:—

“ FRENCH REPUBLIC—SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE—
LIBERTY—EQUALITY.

“ BONAPARTE, First Consul of the Republic, to the King of Great Britain and Ireland.

“ *Paris, 5th Nivose, 8th year, Dec. 25, 1799.*

“ Called by the wishes of the French nation to occupy the first magistracy of the republic, I think it proper on entering into office to make a direct communication of it to your majesty.

“ The war which for eight years has ravaged the four quarters of the world, must it be eternal? Are there no means of coming to an under-

standing? How can the two most enlightened nations of Europe, powerful and strong beyond what their safety and independence require, sacrifice to ideas of vain grandeur, commerce, prosperity, and peace? How is it that they do not feel that peace is of the first importance, as well as the highest glory?

"These sentiments cannot be foreign to the heart of your majesty, who reigns over a free nation with the sole view of rendering it happy. Your majesty will see in this overture my sincere wish to contribute efficaciously, for the second time, to a general pacification, by a step speedy, entirely of confidence, and disengaged from those forms which, perhaps necessary to disguise the dependence of weak states, prove, in those that are strong, only the desire of deceiving each other.

"France and England, by the abuse of their strength, may still for a long time, for the misfortune of all nations, retard the period of their being exhausted; but I will venture to say it, the fate of all civilized nations is attached to the termination of a war which involves the whole world.

"Your majesty's, &c.

"BONAPARTE."

To this communication, Lord Grenville returned an official answer, addressed to M. Talleyrand, and expressed in these terms:—

"SIR,

"I have laid before the king the letter which you have transmitted to me, and his majesty, seeing no reason to depart from those forms which have long been established in Europe for transacting business with foreign states, has commanded me to return in his name the official answer which I send.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"GRENVILLE."

OFFICIAL NOTE.

London, Jan. 4, 1800.

"The king has given frequent proofs of his sincere desire of re-establishing tranquillity in Europe. He neither is nor has been engaged in any contest for vain glory. He has had no other view than that of maintaining against all aggression the rights and happiness of his subjects. For these he has contended against an unprovoked attack, and for the same objects is still obliged to contend. Nor can he hope that the necessity could be removed by entering at the present moment into negotiation with those whom a fresh revolution has so recently placed in the exercise of power in France; since no real advantage can arise from such negotiation to the desirable object of general peace, till those causes have ceased to operate which originally produced the war, by which it has been since protracted, and in more than one instance renewed. The same system to which France justly ascribes all her present miseries, has also involved Europe in a destructive warfare, of a nature long unknown to the practice of civilized nations. For the extension of this system, and the extermination of all established governments, the resources of France have been lavished and exhausted. To this indiscriminate spirit of destruction, the Netherlands, the United Provinces, and the Swiss Cantons, have successively been sacrificed. Germany has been ravaged—Italy has been the scene of unbounded rapine and anarchy. His majesty himself has been compelled to maintain an arduous contest for the independence and existence of his kingdom.

"Nor have these calamities been confined to Europe alone: they have been extended to the most distant quarters of the world, and even to countries so remote, both in situation and interest, from the present

contest, that the very existence of such a war was probably unknown to those who suddenly found themselves involved in its horrors.

“Whilst such a system therefore prevails, and whilst the blood and treasures of a powerful nation can be lavished in its support, experience has shewn that no defence but that of open and steady hostility can be availing. The most solemn treaties have only prepared the way to fresh aggression, and it is to determined resistance alone that whatever remains in Europe of stability, for property, for personal safety, for social order, or the exercise of religion, can be preserved. For the security, therefore, of these essential objects, his majesty cannot place reliance on the mere renewal of general professions for pacific dispositions. Such professions have been repeatedly held out by all who have successively directed the resources of France, to the destruction of Europe, and whom the present rulers have declared all to have been incapable of maintaining the relations of amity. Greatly will his majesty rejoice whenever it shall appear that the danger to which his own dominions and those of his allies have been so long exposed, has really ceased; whenever he shall be satisfied that the necessity of resistance shall be at an end; that, after so many years of crimes and miseries, better principles have prevailed, and the gigantic projects of ambition, endangering the very existence of civil society, have at length been relinquished. But the conviction of such a change can result only from the evidence of facts.

“The best pledge of its reality and permanence would be the restoration of that line of princes which, for so many centuries, maintained the French nation in prosperity at home and consideration abroad. Such an event would at once remove all obstacles in the way of negotiation or peace. It would confirm to France the unmolested enjoyment of its ancient territory, and give to all other nations that tranquillity, that security, which they are now compelled to seek by other means.

“But it is not to this mode that his majesty limits the possibility of solid pacification. He makes no claim to prescribe to France what shall be the form of her government, or in whose hands she shall vest the authority necessary for conducting the affairs of a great and powerful nation.

“His majesty only looks to the security of his own dominions, of his allies, and of Europe. Whenever he shall judge it can be in any manner attained, he will eagerly embrace the opportunity to concert with his allies the means of an immediate and general peace.

“Unhappily, at present no such security exists; no sufficient evidence of the principles by which the new government will be directed; no reasonable grounds of its stability appear. In this situation, therefore, it remains for his majesty to pursue, in conjunction with other powers, those exertions of a just and defensive war, which a regard to the happiness of his subjects will never permit him to continue beyond the necessity in which they originated, or to terminate on any other foundation than such as would contribute to the secure enjoyment of their tranquillity, their constitution, and their independence.

(Signed)

“GRENVILLE.”

This repelling reply, which afterwards subjugated the ministers to severe animadversions, provoked an animated rejoinder. Talleyrand, on the 14th of January, intimated in an official note, written by direction of the consuls, that so far from France having been the aggressor in the present war, she had from the first moment of the revolution solemnly proclaimed her love of peace, and her respect for the independence of all governments. Incessantly occupied in the melio-

ration of her internal affairs, she would have avoided all interference in the concerns of other states, had not nearly the whole of Europe leagued against her. The provocation was real before it became public; the nation was outraged in the person of her agents, and England in particular had set this example by the dismissal of the minister residing at her court. The evils which France had suffered, as well as those which afflicted Europe, are in this document attributed entirely to the projects of subjugation entered into against France: assailed on all sides, the republic had on all sides exerted herself for the maintenance of her independence; but no sooner had her enemies renounced their schemes of invasion, than she in her turn manifested a sincere desire for peace. "If, however," continues the French minister, "the views of the King of England accord with those of France in respect to the re-establishment of tranquillity, why not attempt to terminate the war, instead of attempting its apology?" "The first consul of the French republic," said M. Talleyrand, "cannot doubt that his Britannic majesty recognises the right of nations to choose the form of their government, since it is from the exercise of this right that he himself holds his crown. But the first consul has been unable to comprehend how, to this fundamental principle, upon which rests the existence of political societies, the ministers of his majesty could annex insinuations which tend to an interference in the internal affairs of the republic; and which are no less injurious to the French nation and to its government, than it would be to England, and to his majesty, if an invitation were held out in favour of that republican government, of which England adopted the forms in the middle of the last century; or an exhortation to recall to the throne that family which had been placed there by birth, and made to descend from it in consequence of a revolution." It was asked, if at other times his majesty had been eager to propose conferences for peace, why he should now refuse to renew the negotiations? And in order to put an end to the calamities of war, it was proposed to agree to a suspension of arms, and immediately to nominate plenipotentiaries, who might repair to Dunkirk, or any other place calculated for the celerity of communication.

In a despatch from Lord Grenville, dated the 20th January, this proposal was declined on the part of the English government; and while that of France was accused of having entered into a systematic defence of the unprovoked aggressions that had taken place on her part, an attempt was made to wipe away the insinuation respecting the restoration of the Bourbons, by protesting once more, that the King of Great

Britain had no desire whatever to prescribe to any foreign nation the form of its constitution.

In the session of 1799—1800, parliament assembled at the early period of the 24th of September, and after having passed a bill through all its stages, for engrafting a large proportion of the militia into the regular army, the two houses adjourned to the 21st of January, 1800. After the adjournment, the first subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, was the correspondence which had recently taken place between the British and the French governments.

Ministers inquired what possible advantage could result from a negotiation with France at this moment? They asked whether the consular government presented a greater certainty of a favourable termination of a treaty, than any of the revolutionary governments which had preceded it? They recapitulated the proceedings of Bonaparte at Milan, Modena, Genoa, Venice, Malta, and Egypt, and recurred to them as so many unanswerable arguments against any confidential reliance on the advances now made by that general.

Mr. Pitt, with his accustomed eloquence, declaimed against the injustice and rapacity of republican France: "You cannot," said this statesman, "look at the map of Europe, and lay your hand upon that country against which France has not either declared an open and aggressive war, or violated some positive treaty, or broken some recognized principle of the law of nations. The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Europe, and to every quarter of the world, in which can be found any object of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition; nothing too small for the grasp of its rapacity. This is the spirit which animated its birth, and this is the spirit which will not desert it till the moment of its dissolution.—This system arose out of the nature of the revolution, and has been invariably pursued, under Brissot, and under Robespierre, by Sieyes, as well as Barras. At present, a supreme power is placed at the head of this nominal republic, with a more open avowal of military despotism than at any former period. The different institutions, republican in form and appearance, are now annihilated. They have given way to the absolute power of one man, concentrating in himself all the authorities of the state, and differing from other monarchs only in this, that he wields a sword instead of a sceptre."—"Under these circumstances," said Mr. Pitt, at the close of an elaborate speech, "I see no possibility of such a peace as will be attended with established tranquillity; and as I cannot

be content with its nominal attainment; I will not grasp at the shadow, when the reality is beyond my reach."

Lord Grenville maintained that Bonaparte had two objects in his late proposition: the one, to slacken the efforts of the British nation; the other, to sow jealousies among the allies of England. "This same individual, now so desirous of peace," added the foreign secretary, "was formerly eager to conclude the treaty of Campo Formio, for the express purpose of employing all the forces of France against England. It was he who, contemplating our ruin as the last exploit of his military career, sent his two confidential agents, Berthier and Monge, to the directory, and charged the latter to declare, that the French republic and the government of England were incompatible with each other."

The minority, on the other hand, animadverted on the precipitation of ministers, in closing the door at once to all hopes of pacification. The Duke of Bedford reproached them with a design of retarding the return of peace, until the moment when, passing through a series of revolutions, the monarchy of France should be restored. Considering this project as chimerical, he complained of the unnecessary prolongation of the war on account of the allies, whose disinterestedness and constancy had not been experienced, and at a time too, when the situation of Ireland was eminently critical, and the taxes were becoming daily more burthensome.

Mr. Whitbread, in the house of commons, endeavoured to prove, by a recurrence to the history of the contest, that the French republic was not the only country which had infringed the law of nations; but even supposing this actually to be the case, that consideration did not prevent a titled ambassador from repairing both to Paris and to Lisle, for the express purpose of treating for a peace with a government avowedly jacobinical. Without pretending to justify the usurpation of Bonaparte, he remarked that too general a stain had been thrown on his conduct as a magistrate. Was it he who had infringed the preliminaries of the treaty of Leoben, and the armistice with the Archduke Charles? Was it he to whom was to be imputed the transgression of the treaty of Campo Formio? In whatever light the late expedition to Egypt might be surveyed, it ought not to be forgotten, that the project originated with the government which had been destroyed by the late revolution; and if this event interdicted negotiation with the first consul, the dismemberment of Poland, by the Emperors of Russia and Germany, and the King of Prussia, ought equally to preclude all connection with these monarchs.

Mr. Fox, in reply to Mr. Pitt, said, " All parties are agreed in opinion, that the present is a new æra of the war : yet the right honourable gentleman does not seem to think any new arguments necessary to induce us to persevere in it. All the topics which have so often misled us—all the reasoning which has so invariably failed—all the lofty predictions which have been so constantly falsified by events—all the hopes which have amused the sanguine, and all the assurances of the distress and weakness of the enemy, which have satisfied the unthinking, are again enumerated and advanced as arguments for our continuing the war. I must lament, in common with every genuine friend of peace, the harsh and unconciliating language which ministers have made use of in their answer to a respectful offer of negociation. Such language has ever been reprobated and considered as extremely unwise, by the most celebrated diplomatic characters. But ministers tell us they have not refused all discussion. They have declared the restoration of the house of Bourbon to be an event which would immediately remove every obstacle to negociation. If the restoration of that house be the wish of the French nation, I, for one, shall be perfectly content to acquiesce ; but as an Englishman, actuated by English feelings, I cannot wish for their restoration to the power which they abused. I feel for their situation ; I respect their distresses ; but I cannot forget, that the history of the century is little more than an account of the calamities arising from their intrigues. But it is held to be a degradation to treat with an usurper, a military despot, whose power, it is taken for granted, will be short-lived. Was not the government erected by Julius Cæsar, a military despotism ? and yet, it lasted for five or six hundred years. Cromwell was an usurper, yet France and Spain did not refuse to treat with him upon that account. We are told again, that Bonaparte has declared it as his opinion, that the two governments of Great Britain and of France cannot exist together. Suppose it to be true that this absurd and puerile assertion was actually made by Bonaparte, has not the right honourable the chancellor of the exchequer said the same thing in this house ?—In this at least they resemble one another ; they have both made this assertion, and they are, perhaps, the only two persons upon earth who have adopted this preposterous sentiment. If we are to reason from facts instead of assertions, I should think it equally the interest and the inclination of Bonaparte to make peace. His measure of military glory is full : it may be tarnished by a reverse of fortune, and can hardly be increased by any new laurels ; peace would secure to him what he has achieved, and fix the con-

stancy of fortune. And if peace be of so much importance to him, the terms of peace would be advantageous to this country. But if another appeal be made to the sword, and if the events of war should be unfavourable to Great Britain and to her allies, does the right honourable gentleman think that Bonaparte will grant to baffled insolence, to humbled pride, to disappointed imbecility, the same terms which he would be ready to give now?" Mr. Fox concluded this memorable speech, which embraced a wide field of argument, and comprehended a retrospect of the events of the last ten years, in these words: "I have discharged my duty, I have told you my opinion. I think you ought to have given a civil, clear, and explicit answer to the overture which was fairly and handsomely made to you. If you were desirous that the negotiation should have included all your allies, as the means of bringing about a general peace, you should have told Bonaparte so; but I believe you were afraid of his agreeing to the proposal. I know that public opinion, if it could be collected, would be for peace as much now as in 1797; and I know that it is only by public opinion, not by a sense of duty, not by the inclination of their minds, that ministers will be brought, if ever, to give us peace."

The conduct of his majesty's ministers, in rejecting the overtures made by the first consul, was approved by decided majorities in both houses, and it was accordingly determined to carry on the war on a large and extensive scale. To enable the allies to bring the greatest possible number of troops into the field, negotiations were immediately entered into with the Emperor, the Duke of Wirtemberg, and the Elector of Bavaria; the army of Conde, and the Swiss regiment of Rovera, were also taken into the pay of England, and it was proposed and agreed to by parliament, to enable the treasury to advance the sum of half a million of money, until the subsidiary treaties had been signed and adjusted. It occasioned, however, no small surprise, to find that the Russian forces, which, after serving in Holland, had been quartered during the winter in Guernsey and Jersey, were not mentioned upon this occasion; and some began to surmise that the Emperor Paul was already tired of a war from which he had hitherto derived neither benefit nor glory.

The question of the expediency of continuing the war, was not only incidentally introduced in most of the debates respecting the foreign subsidies, but was made the subject, on more than one occasion, of direct and formal motions by the minority. On the 28th of February, Mr. Tierney moved, 'that it is the opinion of this house, that it is unjust and unne-

cessary to continue the war for the purpose of restoring monarchy in France.' Ministers indignantly repelled the insinuation conveyed in these terms, and denied that the restoration of monarchy was the object of the war; they opposed, however, Mr. Tierney's motion, which was negatived by a very large majority. And two other motions of similar tendency underwent the same fate in the course of the session.

The late expedition to Holland, which had terminated in many respects so inauspiciously to the British nation, became another subject of inquiry and crimination against ministers; and on the 10th of February, Mr. Sheridan prefaced a motion for examining into the causes of the failure of the late expedition, by a very copious speech, in which he acquitted the commander-in-chief, the officers and the army, who had been sent to the Helder, of all blame; and attributed their misfortunes solely to the impolicy and rashness of ministers.

Mr. Dundas took the lead in opposing the motion: he insisted on the advantages which had accrued to Britain from the Dutch expedition, particularly the capture of the Dutch fleet, and the diversion of the French arms from the Upper Rhine to Holland: he objected to the motion, however, on more general grounds, as it consigned to parliament the task of publicly criticising military operations, which was not their duty or department. Such investigations, he contended, could produce no good, and would only clog and harass the measures of government.

Mr. Tierney, in supporting the motion, declared, "that the capitulation seemed to fix an indelible stain on the national character, and inflict a deep wound on the British soldier's honour. We owed it to our sovereign and our country, to inquire into the causes of the disgrace; and if the expedition had failed through the folly of those who had planned it, to drag their delinquency to the light."

Mr. Percival allowed, "that capitulation, abstractedly considered, was not an honourable conclusion to a military expedition: but, this was a mere abstract consideration. Two of the grand objects of the expedition had been attained. The Dutch fleet was captured, and a strong diversion effected in favour of the allies. The third object had been found unattainable, and the expedient which had been adopted for saving the troops, was not disgraceful, because it was merely an adaptation to the imperious necessity of circumstances, and because much benefit had been already reaped from the invasion of Holland." On a division of the house there appeared for Mr. Sheridan's motion 45, against it 216.

The subject excited a still more animated discussion in the

house of peers, where a similar motion was introduced by Lord Holland. "We know," said his lordship, "that it is natural to impute the blame of unsuccessful expeditions to the commander-in-chief. In this country it may not be so imputed; but in Europe the charge will be made, and it stands supported by the statements of a Russian general in the *Petersburgh gazette*. It is necessary to demonstrate the truth by a fair investigation. At a moment especially, when it is decided that the war is to be renewed, and when new expeditions are rumoured to be in view, it is more than ever important to prove how much, or how little, of the public confidence is due to the errors of those who are to sketch the outlines of our future warfare."

Earl Moira coincided with the sentiments of the noble lord who had made the motion respecting the conduct of the illustrious personage who had headed the expedition, but objected to the motion, as tending to elicit information respecting the state of our secret friends in Holland, which ought not, in justice to them, to be brought forward. The hopes of the expedition were confessedly built on the co-operation of the Dutch; to determine the peculiar causes why the expected aid from that quarter had been disappointed, would produce the disclosure of wants and circumstances, which it would be cruelty to our partizans in Holland to make public, and impolitic with regard to ourselves, as it might defeat the eventual success of similar operations.

The military and naval forces appointed for the service of the year 1800, were nearly the same as in the former year. Mr. Pitt, in detailing the means for raising this supply, estimated the income tax at five millions three hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of one million seven hundred thousand pounds, appropriated to the payment of interest for thirty-two millions and a half, but he expressed the strongest expectation, that it would turn out to a better account. He had negotiated a loan of eighteen million pounds, but the assignment of one million seven hundred thousand pounds of the income tax, to the payment of a part of the interest, rendered three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sufficient for the remainder. The consolidated fund he reckoned at about four millions; exchequer bills three millions; and an advance of three millions, bearing no interest for six years, from the bank, as a premium for the renewal of the charter for twenty-one years, which, together with the loan, made up the sum of thirty-nine millions five hundred thousand pounds. These financial proposals, which underwent a variety of strictures from

the vigilant observation of Mr. Tierney, were ultimately carried.

On the 17th of February, Mr. Pitt having moved for an advance of five hundred thousand pounds to the emperor ; it was opposed with great energy by Mr. Tierney ; who conjured the house to recollect that the war had now continued seven years, at the expense of two hundred millions, on the pretext of its being just and necessary. Just it could not be, if the object of it were to force upon the French nation the restoration of the Bourbons ; nor necessary, because we had refused to negotiate when the opportunity was presented to us. If this sum were granted, much larger demands would follow ; and thus we were to lavish our blood and treasure in a cause for which no one plain, satisfactory, intelligible reason could be assigned, and he defied the minister to name it.

Mr. Pitt rose, and declared that he found no difficulty in stating the object of the war in a single sentence, nay, even in a single word—SECURITY. It was also more than this : it was security against a danger the greatest that had ever threatened the world : a danger which never existed before in any period of society ; which had been felt and resisted by all the nations of Europe, but by none so successfully and uniformly as our own. Our resistance had not been confined to external force, it had joined internal policy and wise legislative measures, to oppose jacobinism in the bosom (he was sorry to have found it there) of our own country. How was it discovered that jacobinism had disappeared in France ? It was now centered in one man, nursed in its school, who had gained celebrity under its auspices, and was at once the child and the champion of its atrocities—Bonaparte. Our security in negotiation was to be this man, who was at the present moment the organ of all that was destructive in the revolution. Granting that two hundred millions had been expended for the words “just and necessary,” they had been expended for the best of causes—to protect the dearest rights, to defend the most valuable privileges,—the laws, the liberties, the happiness of our country ; and, for such objects, as much more would we spend, and as much more could we find.

On the annual motion for the renewal of the Habeas Corpus suspension act, in the course of this month, a warm debate ensued ; and it was declared by Mr. Sheridan to be better to repeal the Habeas Corpus act at once, than thus insiduously to undermine it. No conspiracy, as ministers well knew, at this time existed ; and it was monstrous, that persons should be confined for so many years without being

brought to trial, or scarcely knowing of what they were accused.

Sir Francis Burdett said, he had not language to express his feelings on these repeated suspensions of the Habeas Corpus. When that act was removed, little difference was left between our own and any other government. He solemnly protested his belief, that ministers were afraid to bring the persons accused to trial. He affirmed, that, so far as he could judge, their innocence was their crime; and who, he asked, could doubt of their being brought to trial, if any traitorous design could be proved against them? He demanded a trial for them; and enforced this natural claim of justice, by relating to the house divers horrid abuses of power, which to his own knowledge had been committed under the suspension.—“What,” exclaimed this ardent patriot, “would the immortal Chatham have said, on the recital of such oppression? The thunder of his eloquence would have shaken the house. In his estimation, the cottage of the peasant was as sacred as the palace of the king. He would have raised a storm, from which ministers would gladly have screened their heads.

In the house of lords this measure was again vigorously opposed, by the Lords King and Holland; but it finally passed both houses by great and decided majorities.

Towards the end of March, Mr. Dundas stated, in a committee of the whole house, the prosperous condition of the East India company. He admitted the increase of debts and the decrease of *assets* in India and China to the amount of two millions seven hundred thousand pounds; but the increase of *assets* and the decrease of debt in Europe he computed at about three millions eight hundred thousand pounds; so that the company had gained, upon the balance, a million and upwards, in the course of the year: but the charges of the late war were not yet ascertained!

The virtual rejection by the Irish parliament, during the last session, of the overture made by Great Britain towards the accomplishment of a legislative and incorporative union of the two kingdoms, would have sufficed to deter a less intrepid and persevering minister than Mr. Pitt, from the prosecution of so great and difficult a project; but it was the characteristic of his genius to arm and fortify itself against all resistance, to condemn all obstacles, and to defy all opposition.

On the 15th of January, 1800, the Irish parliament met at Dublin. In the speech delivered by Lord Cornwallis on that occasion, he made no allusion to the project in contemplation. As it was, however, well known that it would at a very early period be revived, a resolution was taken, by the members in

the contrary interest, to oppose it *in limine* ; and when the address of thanks was proposed by Lord Loftus, Sir Lawrence Parsons moved an amendment, annexing to the wish of perpetuating a constitutional connection with Great Britain, an equal solicitude for the preservation of an independent resident parliament. A violent debate ensued, which was rendered very memorable by a most able and ardent speech of Mr. Grattan, who supported the amendment with all the powers of his superior talents and eloquence. In the first part of this elaborate harangue, he endeavoured to prove that the final adjustment of 1782 excluded the idea of any ulterior arrangement ; and he absolutely denied the competency of parliament to annihilate its own existence. The incompatibility of independent legislatures in the same empire, had been, he affirmed, the doctrine which lost America ; and an imperial parliament was once more to take its bloody station in the pages of the minister. “ How strange were the ideas which the minister entertained of the functions of an Irish parliament !—it was incompetent to regulate the commerce of the country—it was omnipotent to overturn her constitution ; it was inadequate to protect—almighty only to subvert and destroy.

“ The constitution which he is now attempting to destroy, is one of the pillars of the empire ; dear from its violation—dear in its recovery. Its restoration cost Ireland her noblest efforts. It is the habitation of her loyalty, as well as of her liberty ; her temple of fame, as well as of freedom. But the field of imagination is that in which the British minister delights to rove ; and by holding out visionary prospects and promises, he hopes ultimately to accomplish his designs. Where, indeed, he is to extinguish our power of legislation, to abrogate our highest court of judicature, to extort from us, by a financial agreement, a perpetual tribute, he is altogether a matter-of-fact man : but when he is to provide a compensation for all this prodigality of concession, then he becomes wholly poetic and prophetic ; fancy gives him her wand—Amalthea takes him by the hand—Ceres follows in his train : the English capitalist and manufacturer will leave his mines, his machinery, his comforts, and his habits ; he will conquer his prejudices and prepossessions, and come over to Ireland with a generous design to give her commerce for her lost constitution. A man who reasons, may be answered by reasoning ; but the minister in all this does not argue, but foretel : now you cannot confute a prophet—you can only disbelieve him. It forms the genuine harmony of the state, when the rich encourage and employ the poor, and the poor with confidence look up to the watchful care and guardian protection of the

rich ; both concurring to the same end, form that grand column of society, ' where all below is strength, and all above is grace.' How does the minister's plan accomplish this ? He takes away our gentlemen and nobles, and supplies their place by English factors and commercial adventurers. This minister proposes to you to give up the ancient inheritance of your country—to proclaim an utter incapacity to make laws for your own people ;—and is this no attack upon the honour and dignity of the kingdom ? The thing which he proposes to buy, cannot be sold—liberty ! and his propositions are built upon nothing but your dishonour. I have heard of parliaments impeaching ministers, but here is a minister who impeaches parliament ; nay, the parliamentary constitution itself : and he proposes to you to substitute the British parliament in your place ; to destroy the body which restored your liberties, and to restore that body which destroyed them. Against such a proposition, were I expiring on the floor, I should beg to utter my last breath, and to record my dying testimony."

This brilliant declamation was answered, in a speech less eloquent than argumentative, by the new chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Corry ; and the debate was prolonged till ten the next morning, when there appeared to be 96 votes only in favour of the amendment, to 138 who supported the address in its original form.

On the 5th of February, a message from the lord-lieutenant was delivered to each house of parliament, intimating the king's desire that the resolutions passed by the parliament of Great Britain should be submitted to the attentive consideration of the Irish legislature ; and expressing his hope that the great object to which they related, might be matured and completed by the wisdom of the two parliaments, and the loyal concurrence of the people. On this great occasion, the secretary of state, Lord Castlereagh, to whose able management the business was intrusted, arose, and, in a well-digested speech, entered into a very comprehensive view of the measure proposed, recommending it by arguments analogous to those of Mr. Pitt and other advocates of the union in the British parliament. On the other hand, those arguments were contested, with at least equal ability, by the principal leaders of the opposition.

On moving the first resolution, after a vehement debate, the numbers were, in favour of the court 158, against it 115. The tumults of the populace of Dublin were upon this occasion very alarming ; and a military guard of cavalry was found necessary to preserve the parliamentary advocates of the union from personal insult and violence.

On the 10th of February, the business was once more introduced into the house of peers by the Earl of Clare, late Lord Fitzgibbon, chancellor of Ireland, in a speech of extraordinary ability, and, in certain points of view, of distinguished excellence; but contaminated by a wretched spirit of bigotry and malignity, and abounding with personalities unknown to the dignified and decorous proceedings of the British house of peers, and which it would pollute the page of history to notice. On moving the first resolution, this nobleman declared himself "satisfied in his judgment and conscience, from an attentive observation of what had passed in Ireland for the last twenty years, that the existence of her independent parliament had gradually led to her recent and bitter calamities." And he avowed that he had, for the preceding seven years, pressed upon ministers the urgent necessity of union, as the last remaining resource to preserve this country to the British crown.

No peer in opposition ventured on this occasion formally to enter the lists against this distinguished orator. The Lords Dillon, Powerscourt, Farnham, and Bellamont, however, declared in successive speeches their disapprobation of the measure; which was defended by the law Lords Carleton and Kilwarden, and various other peers: after which, the question upon the first resolution was put, and passed the house by a majority of seventy-five to twenty-six voices.

The succeeding resolutions were in the course of a few weeks carried through this house with the same or greater facility. The discussion of the fourth resolution, upon the 22d of March was signalized by a masterly speech of the Lord Chief Baron Yelverton, whose characteristic liberality had happily preserved him, throughout the late scenes of distraction, from the disgrace of perverting his talents to serve the purposes of any party. "The great value of the arrangement of 1782, which he had assisted in forming," his lordship said, "was, that it placed the Irish on a proud footing of national and legislative independence, and enabled them to say upon what terms they were willing to unite; whereas, if that adjustment had not occurred, they would, perhaps, before this time, have yielded to an union of subjection, not an union of equality. Their independence had never since been violated; and they were not now desired to give up their legislative rights, but to perpetuate them by union. Their liberties would not be annihilated, but would be rendered immortal, by being placed on the same broad basis with those of Great Britain. His lordship asserted the perfect competence of the two parliaments to enact the proposed measure, if conducive to the

welfare and happiness of the two nations. To doubt the competency of the two legislatures to frame such a law, was to doubt their competency to answer the ends of their institution. The question was then put, and carried by a great majority, that twenty-eight temporal and four spiritual peers should represent Ireland in the imperial parliament ; with an amendment, importing that, on the extinction of three Irish peerages, one might be created, till the number was reduced to a hundred, and afterwards one for every failure.

In the course of these debates three different protests, drawn with vigour and ability, were entered upon the journals of the house, signed by the Duke of Leinster, the Marquis of Downshire, the Lords Pery and Moira, the Bishop of Down, and about twenty other peers, expressive of their highest indignation at these proceedings.

On the 17th of February, the house of commons being in a general committee, Mr. Corry, chancellor of the exchequer, made an able speech in vindication of the measure, blended however, agreeably to the too frequent custom of the Irish parliament, with virulent party and personal reflections. Mr. Grattan retorting in high and bitter language, a vehement altercation arose, which was, in the sequel, productive of a challenge from the chancellor of the exchequer to that gentleman ; and a duel ensued, in which five shots were exchanged, and by which Mr. Corry was wounded, though not dangerously.

After a debate no less vehement than any of the former, the question of adjournment was put and negatived ; and the first of January following fixed as the æra whence the union of the two kingdoms was to date its commencement. From this period the debates, referring merely to the details of the treaty, cease to be the proper topics of general history. The last great effort on the part of the opposition was made on the 13th of March, when Sir John Parnell moved that the king should be requested to convoke a new parliament before any final arrangement of the union should be adopted. And Sir Lawrence Parsons, arguing in support of the motion, declared, " that, sensible as he was of the great influence of the crown in the choice of members, he was nevertheless willing to put the fate of the question on the election of a new parliament. The venerable Saurin, the father of the Irish bar, also, on the same side, urged the expediency of attending to the sense of the nation ; and, in the spirit of Somers and Locke, he maintained, that if laws should be enacted in opposition to the public will constitutionally expressed, they would not be obligatory, and the right of resistance would revert to the people.

The solicitor-general, rising in the warmth of passion, accused the father of the bar of unfurling the bloody flag of rebellion : however, Mr. Egan not only vindicated the expression, but retorted the accusation, by charging the ministry with unfurling the flag of prostitution and corruption. On the division, there appeared 104 voices for the motion, against 150 who opposed it. On the 27th of March, the whole business being completed, Lord Castlereagh moved an address to his majesty from the commons, declaratory of their approbation of the resolutions transmitted to them, “ which they considered as wisely calculated to form the basis of a complete and entire union of the two legislatures : that by those propositions they had been guided in their proceedings ; and that the resolutions now offered were those articles which, if approved by the lords and commons of Great Britain, they were ready to confirm and ratify, in order that the same might be established for ever by the mutual consent of both parliaments.” This address being agreed to by the two houses, was immediately transmitted by Marquis Cornwallis, the lord-lieutenant, to England.

On the 2d of April, the joint address of the Irish legislature was the subject of a message from his majesty to both houses of the British parliament. The measure was opposed in the house of peers by Lord Holland. He contended that an union would not operate as a remedy for the discontents of the various descriptions of the Hibernian community. It would not insure a redress of grievances, but would increase that influence which was already the object of general complaint. It was evidently offensive to the great body of the Irish ; and if it should be carried into effect against the sense of the people, it would endanger the connection between the countries, and might produce irreparable mischief.

Lord Grenville thought it unnecessary to debate the principles of an union, as no question had ever been more amply discussed in the history of parliament. He defended the measures as beneficial to both kingdoms. Adverting to the argument of the noble lord, that the introduction of Irish members would fortify the influence of the crown, he observed, that the mode chalked out for the election of members was such, under the genuine principles of the British constitution, as would render them free from the shadow of corrupt imputation. The mode of electing the peers was equally unobjectionable ; it rendered their seats as independent of the crown as those of the British aristocracy, as they were chosen to sit for life. On a division, only three peers, the Earl of

Derby, and the Lords Holland and King, voted against the motion, while eighty-two supported it.

On the same day, Mr. Pitt delivered his sentiments in favour of the union, to the house of commons, assembled in committee. Assuming the sense of the house to be determinately favourable to the measure, he proceeded to discuss the particular manner of carrying it into effect. As to the propriety of allowing one hundred Irish members to sit in the imperial parliament, though the particular number might not be of the first importance, he thought it sufficiently suited the proportional contribution of the two countries to the public exigencies of the empire. The mode of selection was the next point. He wished not to augment the influence of the crown. The selection adopted by the parliament of Ireland, was rather calculated to favour the popular interest. The members for counties and principal cities, would be sixty-eight; the rest would be deputed by towns, the most considerable in population and wealth. Thus, the choice would provide at once for the security of the landed interest, and for the convenience of local information; and as the proposed addition would not make any change in the internal form of British representation, it would entail none of those dangers which might attend innovation. It would not expose us to the dangers of political experiments, under the specious name of reform; experiments which, whatever his opinion respecting reform might have once been, he was now convinced would be hazardous in the present circumstances.

As it might be wished that very few of the members thus sent from Ireland should hold places under the crown, he proposed that the number entitled to be placemen, should be limited to twenty, and that the imperial parliament should afterwards regulate this point, as circumstances might suggest.

The number of peers who should represent the whole body of Irish nobility, was fixed, he thought very properly, at thirty. Four would suffice to inform the parliament of the state of the church; and the rest would form a fair proportion, considered with reference to the case of Scotland, and to the number of the Irish commoners. The election of the temporal peers for life, he recommended as a mode more conformable to the spirit of nobility, than that which was settled at the Scottish union. The right reserved for Irish peers, to sit in the house of commons, as representatives of the counties or towns of Great Britain, would furnish them with opportunities of acquiring parliamentary and political experience, and would render them fitter to serve their country, when called to a higher assembly. The permission of creating new

peers for Ireland, he also justified ; for though in Scotland the peerage might long maintain itself without any accession, from the great extent of inheritance allowed by the patents, there was a risk of the Irish peerage fast diminishing, unless it were recruited, on account of the very limited nature of the successions.

In the article respecting the church, he noticed the clause introduced by the parliament of Ireland, providing for the presence of the clergy of that country at convocations which might be held in this island, and the propriety of leaving to the imperial legislature the discussion of the claims of the catholics to future emancipation.

The next article, he observed, would grant a general freedom of trade, with only such exceptions as might secure vested capital, and prevent a great shock to any particular manufacture, or to popular fears and prejudice. It was stipulated, that almost all prohibitions should be repealed, and that only protecting duties to a small amount, should be imposed on some few articles. If the British manufactures should sustain partial loss, in consequence of any of the new regulations, their liberality would induce them to consider it as compensated by general advantage.

These observations convey the substance of many of the leading arguments of the great speaker who thus developed the plan of the union, although they are stripped, in their present shape, of those graces which enforced them.

The most elaborate answer to the minister, in opposition to the plan of the union, was delivered by Mr. Grey. His principal objections were founded on the unpopularity of the union among the Irish people ; on the means of corruption and intimidation which had been used to accomplish the measure ; and the great dissimilarity between the case of Ireland and that of Scotland, with respect to incorporating with England ; an argument which he chiefly directed against those supporters of the measure, who had ascribed the progress of Scottish prosperity to the dissolution of her native parliament. A motion of Mr. Grey, for limiting the number of Irish place-men, who should sit in the united parliament, to nineteen, instead of twenty, was negatived without a division.

On the 28th of April, the house proceeded to the consideration of the sixth article, respecting the fair participation of Ireland in commercial privileges ; upon which occasion Mr. Law and Mr. Plumer appeared at the bar, as counsel for certain petitioners concerned in the woollen manufactures established in the north and west of England, who were filled with most alarming apprehensions at that part of the resolution

which legalized the exportation of English wool in its raw state to Ireland. A capital of twenty millions, according to the statement made to the house, was engaged in the woollen trade; and if the resolution now proposed were to pass into a law, this immense property might be nearly annihilated. A great number of witnesses were examined in support of the allegations of the petition; and Mr. Wilberforce, as member for Yorkshire, expatiated largely on the pernicious consequences of permitting this proposed unlimited exportation. He allowed, that to expect Ireland, as at present, to suffer the exportation of her wool to England, would be unreasonable, while that of English wool to Ireland was prohibited; but all that the English manufacturers asked, was, that each country should henceforth enjoy the use of all the wool it might produce.

Mr. Pitt observed, that the radical policy of the union, so far as it regarded commerce, was to make the intercourse of the two countries, with respect to raw materials, and the whole of the trade between all parts of the united kingdom, as free as possible: and the tenor of the evidence confirmed him in the opinion, that no necessity existed for making the article of wool an exception to this general rule. He believed that the unrestrained and mutual intercourse of the two countries, in this as in all other respects, would be found equally beneficial to both.

On the division which took place in consequence of an amendment subsequently moved by Mr. Wilberforce, the numbers were, fifty-three only in its favour, against one hundred and fifty-three, who gave their voices against it; and this was the greatest effort made in the English parliament on the part of those whose sentiments were hostile either to the general principle, or the specific terms of the union.

Early in May, the remaining articles having been severally investigated and approved by very decisive majorities, Mr. Pitt moved that an humble address be presented to his majesty, acquainting him that the house had proceeded through the great and important measure of a legislative union, which they had the satisfaction to see was nearly in strict conformity with the principle laid down in his majesty's message. This was carried without a division; and the address and resolutions being forthwith transmitted to the house of peers, the assent of that assembly was obtained without any material alteration. And a joint address, as usual on great occasions, was presented to the throne. A bill, grounded upon the resolutions, was then introduced, and passed through both houses with great facility—the first day of the new year, January 1st,

1801, being the æra from and after which the union of the two kingdoms was to take effect.

On the 2d of July the royal assent was given to this important bill; and on the 29th of the same month the session was terminated by a speech from the throne, in which his majesty expressed the peculiar satisfaction with which he congratulated the two houses of parliament on the success of the steps which they had taken for effecting an entire union between the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland. "This great measure," said the monarch, "on which my wishes have been long earnestly bent, I shall ever consider as the happiest event of my reign; being persuaded that nothing could so effectually contribute to extend to my Irish subjects the full participation of the blessings derived from the British constitution, and to establish, on the most solid foundations, the strength, prosperity, and power of the whole empire."

The Irish session also, which had been prolonged till the union bill passed in England, in order to its ratification with the several alterations and additions made by the British parliament, with other necessary regulations respecting the election of the Irish representatives to the imperial legislature, was terminated on the 2d of August, and with it the existence of the parliament of Ireland.

The uncommon failure of the harvest of 1800, rendered this year memorable for the pressure of wide spread and real distress, as well as for the gloomy anticipations of severe scarcity. The interference of the legislature, when parliament again assembled, in attempting to remedy, or at least to palliate, the public calamity, was judiciously confined to recommendatory, rather than to coercive measures. The committee appointed to deliberate upon the subject, suggested in their reports such methods of relief as appeared most effectual for diminishing the consumption of corn by economy and substitution, and held out encouragement to the extended growth of potatoes at home, and the importation of corn from foreign countries. The committee at the same time suggested the granting of bounties for the encouragement of fisheries; and proposed the temporary but entire disuse of corn in the distilleries. To give effect to the proceedings of the legislature on this important subject, his majesty issued a proclamation towards the close of the present year, recommending the greatest economy and frugality in the use of every species of grain, and "exhorting and charging all masters of families to reduce the consumption of bread in their respective families by at least one-third of the quantity consumed in ordinary

times, and in no case to suffer the same to exceed one quartern loaf for each person in each week."

In the month of May, in the present year, the life of our venerable sovereign was once more attempted ; but that providential protection which had hitherto been extended over him, was again graciously manifested in his deliverance. On the 15th of May, just at the moment when the king had entered the royal box at Drury-lane theatre, and while he was bowing to the audience, with his usual condescension, a person, who sat near the middle of the pit, rose up and fired a horse pistol apparently at his majesty. For some seconds the house remained in a silent agony of suspense, but no sooner had they begun to recover from their surprise, than the man who fired the pistol was dragged into the orchestra, and carried into the music room behind the scenes. On the Duke of York entering the apartment, the prisoner, who proved to be a discharged soldier of the name of Hadfield, exclaimed, "God bless your royal highness ! I know you !" He added, that he had been with the Duke ever since the battle of Farnham—that he was tired of his life, and wanted to get rid of it—and once or twice repeated, "the worst has not happened yet." On examining the royal box, a perforation was discovered in the canopy about fourteen inches above his majesty's head, and a flattened slug, which had rebounded from that place, was found in the orchestra. The veneration and affection which the nation bore to his majesty were on this occasion awakened into enthusiastic joy at his escape, and addresses of congratulation were presented by both houses of parliament, by the universities, and in fact by the whole kingdom. On the 26th of June, Hadfield was arraigned for high treason, but it was clearly proved that he had for some years laboured under a degree of insanity, in consequence of several desperate sabre wounds in his head, which he had received when acting as a sergeant in the British army in Holland, in 1794. He was therefore pronounced "not guilty, being under the influence of insanity at the time the act was done," but he was very properly ordered to be detained and kept in custody.

CHAPTER XVI.

Insurrection in the Western Departments of France—General Brune enters the Insurgent Districts at the Head of an Army computed at 60,000 Men—Defeat of the Rebel Force—Arrest of the Chiefs—Extinction of the Rebellion—CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: The Turks assemble an Army of 80,000 Men—Treaty of El-Arisch, by which the French consent to evacuate Egypt—Rupture of the Treaty—Signal Defeat of the Turks at Heliopolis—Assassination of General Kleber—General Menou appointed his Successor—Hostile Policy of Menou. CAMPAIGN IN ITALY AND GERMANY: Siege of Genoa—French Army of Reserve collected at Dijon—Battle of Paullendorf—Bonaparte's Passage of the Great St. Bernard—Advances to the Relief of Genoa—Surrender of Genoa to the Austrians—Battle of Montebello—Battle of Marengo—Death of General Dessaix—Armistice—Battle of Blenheim—Preliminary Treaty between France and Austria signed at Paris—Ratification Refused—Failure of the Negotiations for a Naval Armistice—Renewal of the Armistice between Austria and France—The French invade Tuscany and besiege Leghorn—Battle of Hohenlinden—Critical situation of the Austrian Monarchy—The Emperor obliged to sue for a separate Peace—Peace restored on the Continent by the Treaty of Luneville.

BONAPARTE, as yet uncertain of his destiny, cultivated the confidence and affection of all classes of the people of France. Among the first objects of his attention were the disturbances which raged in the western departments of the republic, and the leading feature of his policy in effecting their suppression, was mildness and conciliation. With this view he published a proclamation addressed to the Vendéans, replete with paternal admonitions, and in which an amnesty was offered to all those who should within a given time lay down their arms and return to their allegiance to the republic.

Notwithstanding the endeavours of the first consul, and the exertions of General Houdoville, who had before contributed to the pacification of La Vendee, three chiefs only, and those not of the first consequence, could be prevailed upon to submit. The rest, who still kept up a communication with Great Britain, from whence they were supposed to receive money, ammunition, and even artillery, appeared still desirous of carrying on the war, more especially as they imagined that the veteran troops of the republic would be marched into Italy, and that a body of English and Russians would be sent to their assistance in the spring. To the unavailing offers of clemency and pardon succeeded the most energetic and vigorous measures against the insurgents; and while an army, stated to amount to sixty thousand men, commanded by General Brune, advanced by rapid marches into their country, the five insurgent departments of the North Coast, Vilaine,

Morbihan, the Low Loire, and the Mayenne and Loire, were declared subject to military law, all correspondence either on the part of officers or public functionaries were interdicted, and such of the inhabitants as might be taken in arms were ordered to be instantly executed.

Alarmed at these measures, the chouans of Brittany proposed an accommodation, and the terms were settled at Mont-faucon. Immediately after this the troops entered the department of Morbihan, in the mountains and forests of which forty thousand men were said to be intrenched. After clearing the departments on both sides of the Loire, and driving the insurgents, who had not submitted, before him, General Brune so disposed his forces as to surround the main body under the intrepid Georges, whom he defeated with great loss near Vannes. Georges, finding further resistance unavailing, at length laid down his arms, on the conditions proposed by the victor, which imposed upon him the necessity of disbanding his forces, and giving up all his arms. One of the insurgent chiefs still held out; this was Louis de Frotte, a gentleman of Lower Normandy, who, notwithstanding his youth, had often found means to signalize his military talents. In consequence of the gallantry of this heroic chieftain, he had obtained the command of the extensive district of Lower Normandy; and as he was one of the last to accede to the former pacification, so he was among the first to recur to arms on the present occasion. Perceiving at length that his cause had become hopeless, he withdrew with the officers of his staff and an aid-de-camp to a deserted castle, in the department of Orne, where he endeavoured to open a treaty with General Brune; but the armistice being allowed to expire before he had made his peace, and the place of his retreat having been discovered, he and his companions were immediately arrested. On his trial, on the 17th of February, before a military commission at Verneuil, Frotte exhibited the most undaunted resolution, and having called for a glass of wine during his trial, he gave as a toast his favourite sentiment of "*Vive le roi.*" The next day he and six other officers, his followers, were conducted to the place of execution without exhibiting the least symptom of trepidation; on the contrary, they insisted upon looking death in the face, and met their fate with their eyes unbandaged.

The capture and execution of this chieftain were considered by the first consul as the conclusion of the civil war; he accordingly notified to the committees of legislature, "that the portion of the French territory which had been put out of the law, was restored to the republic," and he did not fail to in-

form them that, on the seizure of Frotte, "a cross of St. Louis, a seal with the arms of France, and some poniards, of the manufacture of England," were found concealed about his person.

Bonaparte was now enabled to employ the whole of his forces against the allies. The insurgent departments, which had so lately threatened to occupy the attention of a large portion of his troops, contributed greatly to his subsequent success, by supplying him with levies, who, being accustomed to war, were unwilling to resume their former peaceful occupations. But amidst this splendid and successful career of ambition, the attention of the first consul was frequently averted towards the scene which he had so recently left; and although invested with supreme authority on the banks of the Seine, he could not recollect the borders of the Nile without a pang.

The army of Egypt, abandoned to its fate, considered the conduct of its former leader as treacherous, and the soldiers, losing all their respect for his person, loaded him with execrations. Notwithstanding the progress that had been made in mechanics and chemistry, the troops already experienced a deficiency of fire-arms, gun-powder, and lead, which were but inadequately supplied by means of the manufactures of Cairo. In addition to this, the soldiers, as yet unaccustomed to the food and climate of the country, were subject to frequent maladies, and while they all languished to return to France, numbers perished by fatigue, disease, and the sword.

The Turks, solicitous to obtain possession of a country which had been wrested from them by force of arms and false pretences, were occupied in making immense preparations for invading Egypt anew; nor did the defeats which they had lately experienced at Damietta and Cosseir, nor the overthrow of Mourad Bey, induce them to relax their vigorous exertions. The Grand Vizier, ambitious of rescuing a favourite province of the empire from the hands of the infidels, had assembled a numerous but undisciplined army for this purpose, and the pachas were repairing to his standard from every part of Asiatic Turkey. After a lapse of some months, the greater part of which time was spent in useless encampments, he reached Gaza, and was now occupied in obtaining camels and provisions, with a view of crossing the desert.

Although Kleber, now appointed to the command of the French army of the east,* appeared conscious that but little danger was to be dreaded from an armed mob of eighty thou-

* See Book II. Chap. XI. page 562.

sand Mussulmans, when opposed to French veterans, yet as he was at the same time aware that the ports of Egypt were blockaded by the English, so as to prevent the arrival of succours from Europe, his situation was far from being enviable. Within the space of a single year, nearly one third of the army had been cut off; and as many hundred miles of a newly conquered country were to be defended, it was difficult for him to assemble more than nine or ten thousand men at one place. In this dilemma the commander-in-chief, perceiving the plague was beginning to exhibit symptoms of unusual malignity, deemed himself at liberty to renew, or rather to continue the negotiations begun by his predecessor. Accordingly, on the express invitation of Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, who possessed the entire confidence of the Turkish government, he deputed General Dessaix and citizen Pousielque, who repaired on board the *Tigre*, to settle the terms on which the French army was to evacuate Egypt.

While this treaty was pending, the Ottoman army appeared before the fortress of El-Arisch, with fifty pieces of cannon; and the garrison of that place, like the rest of the French troops, discontented at their situation, and considering themselves abandoned, surrendered after an attack of seven days, carried on under Colonel John Douglas, although General Regnier had marched at the head of a strong detachment with the intention of raising the siege. This unexpected event contributed greatly to facilitate the treaty, which was at length concluded on conditions highly favourable to both nations; for while the French were allowed to return home with all the honours of war, Egypt, the object of contention, was to be restored to the Ottoman Porte.

The convention, which was signed in the camp of the Grand Vizier, before El-Arisch, on the 24th of January, 1800, was introduced by a preamble, in which it was stated, that "the French army in Egypt, willing to give a proof of its desire to stop the effusion of blood, and to terminate the unhappy difference which had arisen between the French republic and the Sublime Porte, consented to evacuate Egypt, agreeably to the terms of the present convention, hoping that this concession might lead to the general pacification of Europe." By the stipulations of the treaty of El-Arisch it was provided, that the French army should withdraw, with arms, baggage, and effects, upon Alexandria, Rosetta, and Aboukir, in order to be embarked and transported into France, as well in the vessels belonging to that country, as in those that should be furnished by the Sublime Porte; that there should be an armistice for three months in Egypt; that commissioners

should be named by General Kleber, and the Sublime Porte, to make the regulations relative to the transport of the French army; and that in case of any differences arising, such differences should be adjusted according to the maritime regulations of England, by a commissary named by Sir Sidney Smith; that the places evacuated by the French army should be surrendered to the Porte, in the state in which they were; that the Porte should take every means in its power to prevent the French being molested in their retreat to the head-quarters, and that none of the inhabitants should be called to account for their connexion with the French; that Catieh, and Salahieh, with Mansoura, Damietta, Suez, and Belbeis, should be surrendered at stated periods, and Cairo, the capital, delivered up within forty days. It was further agreed, that passports should be delivered to the French army, signed not only by the Sublime Porte, but also by Russia and Great Britain; that the means of subsistence till the instant of embarkation should be provided for the French army, the amount of which, in money, was stipulated; and that such of the French troops as were afflicted with the plague, should remain in the hospitals of Egypt, until they were cured, under the protection of the Grand Vizier, who engaged that they should be treated with all the attention and care due to humanity.*

The wisdom of this convention was at that period obvious; and its policy was afterwards abundantly confirmed by the test of experience: had it been permitted to be carried into effect, it would have immediately stopped the effusion of human blood, and prevented an enormous expenditure of treasure. But the English ministry, actuated by the apprehensions of the consequences to be expected from the return of a veteran

* General Kleber transmitted without delay a copy of the convention, addressed to the directory, accompanied by a letter, vindicating, in an able and satisfactory manner, the policy and propriety of his conduct. In this letter, he stated, that the Grand Vizier had advanced against El-Arisch, and had, on the 30th of December, possessed himself of that fort. The most recent accounts, he said, stated the Turkish army at eighty thousand men, and it must still have increased. Forty-five thousand of these forces were already before El-Arisch, having fifty pieces of cannon, and waggons in proportion. Twenty other pieces of cannon were at Gaza, with the corps de reserve. The remainder of the troops were at Jaffa, and in the neighbourhood of Ramli. Active foraging parties supplied the Vizier's camp with provisions; all the tribes of the Arabs were emulous to assist this army, and by their contributions it was furnished with more than fifty thousand camels. These forces were directed by European officers; and from five to six thousand Russians were every moment expected. To this army, General Kleber proceeds to state, that he had only to oppose eight thousand five hundred men, divided on the three points of Catieh, Salahieh, and Belbeis, and that his whole disposable force in Egypt, did not exceed fifteen thousand men.

army to Europe, at this critical period of the contest, transmitted secret orders to Vice-admiral Lord Keith, who then commanded in the Mediterranean, enjoining him "not to consent on any account, to the return of the French army to France, or to their capitulating in any other manner than jointly to the allied powers, whose forces were employed against them, and surrendering as prisoners of war." These orders, which were dated the 15th of December, 1799, were afterwards revoked by a despatch, dated March 28th, 1800, in which, after expressing his majesty's disapprobation of the terms entered into by the capitulation of El-Arisch, and declaring Captain Sir Sidney Smith, not to have been authorized either to enter into, or sanction any such agreement, Lord Keith was informed, that "his majesty, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, had judged it proper that his officers should abstain from any act inconsistent with the engagement to which Captain Sir Sidney Smith had erroneously given the sanction of his majesty's name."* But it happened most unfortunately, that in the interval of these two despatches, the war had been renewed, and the army of the Grand Vizier overthrown in the battle of Heliopolis.

No sooner did Kleber receive intimation, that the treaty of El-Arisch would not be ratified, but that, on the contrary, the British admiral had sent a squadron to continue the blockade of the Egyptian ports, than he determined to act with promptitude and decision. He accordingly published an address to his army, in which he accused the English of perfidy and injustice, and concluded with this laconic sentence, "Soldiers! to such insults we shall reply by victories. Prepare for battle." This appeal was promptly obeyed, and an army of ten thousand men was collected in a few days. The event equally justified the hopes of the French general, and the fears of the British commodore.

On the 20th of March hostilities recommenced. The advanced posts of the Turkish army were then at Mataria, the Heliopolis of the ancients, within five miles of Cairo. At break of day, a heavy fire from sixty pieces of cannon apprized them of their danger. The French army, drawn up in two strong lines, extending from El-Kubbi towards Boulac, was flanked on the right by a wood of date trees; here they received the attack of the Turks, who had advanced into the plain between the villages of Mataria and El-Hanka. About noon, the French began to advance in lines, with a terrible

* See a Collection of State Papers, relative to the War with France, Vol. XI. page 53.

fire of artillery and musketry ; and immediately the whole Turkish army was seen flying in all directions. All attempts to rally proved abortive ; and at one o'clock the Grand Vizier himself was obliged to fly, to prevent the enemy from cutting off his retreat. The whole loss of the French in this engagement amounted only to ten men killed, and forty wounded ; while the Turks, who fought without order and without effect, sustained a loss in killed and wounded amounting to eight thousand. The next day, the French army, which had kept up a destructive fire upon the rear of the retreating foe during the whole night, took possession of Belbeis, from whence the Turks retreated with precipitation to Jaffa, having lost half their army, by the united operation of hunger, desertion, and the sword.

The French, rendered confident by their late victory, repaired to Cairo, which had been previously evacuated, and immediately laid siege to that populous city. After some skirmishes under the walls, a body of Turks, to the amount of nearly six thousand, abandoned the capital, which immediately surrendered, and the recent revolt of that city was punished by a fine of two millions of livres, levied upon its inhabitants. The first concern of General Kleber was to augment the fortifications, and all the other garrisons having been recaptured, the French army of Egypt appeared to be in a better situation than it stood previously to the late convention. These advantages were considerably increased by the friendship of a formidable enemy : The commander-in-chief had the address, at this period, to conciliate Mourad Bey, by ceding to him the provinces of Girge and Assuan, on the condition that he should hold them as tributary to the French, and pay to the republic the same yearly subsidy that was formerly received by the Ottoman Porte.

In consequence of the declaration of Lord Keith, made on the receipt of his last despatches from England, that he had "received instructions to permit the French troops to return to France without molestation," General Dessaix, with a number of other officers, was permitted to return to France, and the negociations recently broken off were resumed ; but a horrid and unexpected catastrophe interrupted their progress, and terminated at once the life and the military career of the commander-in-chief. On the 14th of June, while General Kleber was walking with citizen Protain, an architect, on the terrace of the great square Esbequier, at Cairo, a wretch suddenly approaching, struck him with a poniard, and inflicted a mortal wound. The assassin, still unsatisfied, repeated his stabs, and M. Portain, who had endeavoured in vain to ward off the blows,

received no less than six wounds, none of which however proved fatal. The murderer, on the alarm being given, endeavoured to conceal himself in a heap of ruins near the spot, but upon being dragged from his place of concealment, and put upon his examination, he confessed that he was solicited to commit this crime by the Aga of the Janissaries of the Ottoman army, under the command of the Grand Vizier. This infatuated man, who came from Aleppo, and had lately arrived at Cairo, had intrusted the secret of his murderous intention to four petty scheiks of the law, who, as they asserted, endeavoured in vain to dissuade him from his purpose, but did not give any information calculated to prevent the perpetration of his crime. A commission being forthwith appointed for the trial of the delinquents, the assassin was condemned to be impaled, and the four scheiks were all beheaded.

General Menou, who, affecting the habits and manners of a Mussulman, had taken the name of Abdallah Bey Menou, succeeded to the command of the French army. Elated by the recent successes of the troops, now placed under his command, and aspiring to the fame of being the defender and preserver of Egypt, he adopted a system of policy very different to that of his predecessor, and in a letter addressed to Sir Sidney Smith, on the subject of the pending negociations, he said, " You demand the ratification of your court to the convention concluded at El-Arisch ; I must also demand that of the consuls, who now govern the French nation, for any treaty that may be concluded with the English and their allies." On this point Sir Sidney Smith replied : " As General Kleber (for whose tragical fate he expressed the most heart-felt sorrow) did not, in the late preliminaries, which were agreed to, give us to understand that it was necessary the treaty which was to have followed them should be ratified by the consuls, this condition, now introduced by you in your preliminaries, has the appearance of a refusal to evacuate Egypt ; and the Grand Vizier has commissioned me to require of you, on that head, a clear and precise answer." Notwithstanding this forcible representation, General Abdallah Menou persisted in his resolution to obtain the ratification of the consuls to the treaty now in contemplation, which was considered as equivalent to a declaration of war, and on this ground the negociations were broken off and hostilities resumed.

While the armies of France regained their former influence in Egypt, the house of Austria was anxious to prevent the French legions from renewing their conquests in Europe. The cabinet of Vienna, confident of its own strength, in consequence of recent successes, and enabled by the treasure of

England to redouble its exertions, displayed, at this period, no small share of vigour and alacrity. The plan adopted for the campaign of the present year, differed entirely from that of the former, and appeared to spring out of the new situation of affairs. In Germany it was determined to remain entirely on the defensive, and by making Italy the theatre of war, to free the whole of that country from the dominion of France. Russian co-operation was no longer to be expected, for the Emperor Paul had already recalled his armies,* and was in effect no longer a member of the coalition; but a powerful diversion was intended to be made in the southern provinces of the French republic, by means of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, while the western departments were to be agitated at the same time, and the latent spark of insurrection fanned once more into a flame. Early in the spring, the number of the imperialists in Lombardy, Tuscany, and Piedmont, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand men; and General Melas, who was now invested with the command, considered the success of his operations as certain; for, being in possession of all the strong places that defended the entrance to the Alps, from the fort of Bard to the citadel of Coni, he could oppose a superior force to the enemy, now commanded by General Massena, whose sphere of action was chiefly confined within the Ligurian frontiers.

The French army in the neighbourhood of Genoa did not exceed forty-five thousand men. The greater part of the cavalry had perished during the winter, and the infantry were exposed to privations of all kinds, being destitute of accoutrements, clothes, and even the proper quantity of food.

The Austrian general, after assembling his troops at Milan, marched with an army of eighty thousand men to obtain possession of Genoa. His first operation was directed against the Bochetta, and on the 6th of April, General Soult, after an obstinate, but ineffectual defence, was obliged to fall back towards Genoa; while Massena, perceiving it to be in vain to contend for the possession of this post, soon after withdrew to the Ligurian capital, where he determined to hold out to the last extremity.

The scarcity in Genoa soon became so extreme as to induce the council of war to liberate all the German officers who had been taken prisoners; and a squadron of British ships, under Lord Keith, appearing at this juncture off the port, landed heavy cannon for the siege, and prevented the possibility of the arrival of any supplies by sea. While this fleet prepared to add the horrors of famine to those resulting from a bombardment,

* See Book II. Cap. X. Page 535.

the Austrians gained several advantages, in consequence of which they were enabled to enter the suburbs of St. Peter d'Arena, and to take by surprise one of the gates of the city. Finding the French army reduced to this extremity, Melas, the Austrian General, transmitted a letter to Massena, stating that he had made a sufficient resistance for the support of his own glory, and that all further efforts must be unavailing, he offered to the French general an honourable capitulation. With this offer Massena refused to comply, and in the mean time, the imperialists, who now surrounded the city on every side, determined on a general assault. This operation was accordingly undertaken at three o'clock in the morning of the 30th of April; and while General Ott attacked Quarto and St. Christino, General Gottesheim pressed the enemy close up to the wall, near the shore, within range of the fire of several sloops of war and launches belonging to the British fleet. But it happened unfortunately that the Austrians had not been able to obtain possession of the little fort of St. Martino, and as most of the posts seized on this occasion were retaken during the night, General Melas, who did not anticipate so strenuous an opposition, was forced to trust to famine, rather than to the sword, and from this time the siege was converted into a blockade.

Having left the Generals Ott and Hohenzollern before Genoa, he marched in person against Suchet and Rochambeau, who, with a body of twenty thousand men, defended the principalities of Oneilla, St. Remo, and the county of Nice. As all resistance to a force so overwhelming would have been useless, the French generals, after placing garrisons in the forts, retired beyond the Var, and were employed in defending the entrance into Provence, when the first intelligence of the approach of Bonaparte reached the enemy's camp. Such was the incredulity of the Austrian general, that it was some time before he would give credit to the news; but the arrival of fresh couriers dissipated his ill-timed confidence, and he who had projected the invasion of France had soon to contend for the possession of Italy.

While General Brune was occupied in tranquillizing the western departments, and General Massena in the defence of the Ligurian capital, orders had been issued from Paris for the formation of an army of reserve, on which all the hopes of France, and much of the attention of Europe, were speedily to be fixed. The troops to be assembled on this occasion were to consist of sixty thousand men, composed partly of conscripts, from the various departments of the republic, and partly of veterans who had received permission to retire from

the perils and fatigues of war, but who, in this exigency of their country, were again summoned to the field. Dijon was the spot to which the volunteers of all descriptions were invited to repair, and the names of the ten departments which should send the greatest number were to be solemnly proclaimed as most attached to the glory of the nation. The first consul, who was to assume the command of this chosen body, immediately published an address, in which he did not fail to resort to every topic that could inspire and animate the people :—

“You are desirous of peace,” said he, “your government desires it with still greater ardour ; its most earnest wishes, its constant solicitude, is for that, and that alone. But the English ministry, eager to debase France to the rank of a secondary power, and anxious to keep all the continental states at variance, on purpose to seize on their spoils, still reject the idea. The government, however, which was not afraid to offer, and even solicit, this blessing, is well aware that it belongs to you to command it ; and to command it, money, steel, and soldiers, are necessary.

“Let all, therefore, be eager to participate in the common defence. Let the young men fly to arms : it is no longer for the support of a faction, it is no longer for the choice of a tyrant, that they are called upon to take the field ; it is for the safety of all that is dear to them, it is for the sacred interests of humanity, for the support of liberty, and for the honour of France.

“Already have the armies assumed that imposing attitude which is the constant presage of victory ; and if some powers are still desirous of trying the fortune of war, the first consul, who has already promised peace, is about to conquer it, at the head of those warriors, whom he has conducted more than once to victory. But, in the midst of battle he will invoke the object of his wishes ; and, in the mean time, he solemnly engages to contend alone for the repose of France, and the happiness of the world.”

While Bonaparte was thus preparing to relieve Genoa and over-run Italy on the one hand, he determined on the other to carry the war into Germany ; and in conformity to the genius of the nation over which he presided, and to the plans of Carnot, who was now once more reinstated in the office of minister of war, it was resolved that the French should act upon the offensive in both countries. Moreau, no less celebrated for his memorable retreats, than for his brilliant victories, was selected upon this occasion to command the army of the Danube ; and, by occupying the attention of the Austrians in that quarter, to prevent them from detaching any more forces into Lombardy. The great outline of the present campaign did not differ materially from the two that preceded it ; but the means were now better proportioned to the end : it was intended to act with large masses against inferior numbers, and by means of a combined movement with the armies of Switzerland, of Germany, and of Italy, to end the contest with the capture of Vienna.

To accomplish this grand achievement the troops were immediately put in motion. One column, commanded by General St. Suzanne, crossed the Rhine on the 25th of April at Kehl, and another, led by St. Cyr, passed the same river at Neu-Breisach. The former, after a sharp action, assumed a position with his right at Vilstett, Giessen, and Tandt, and his left at Boderverer, Velassen, and Appenvir; while the latter rendered himself master of Friberg. A body of reserve, commanded by General Richepanse, soon after effected a passage at Basle, and opened a way by which Generals Delmas and Le Clerc penetrated at the same time into the German empire.

A division, which at this critical period took place in the cabinet of Vienna, proved peculiarly inauspicious to the affairs of the house of Austria. The Archduke Charles, whose courage and patriotism had rendered him extremely popular, finding himself thwarted in his plans, had determined to resign; and as the chief effort was to be made in Italy, Field-marshal Kray was left to defend Germany with an ill-appointed army.

After a number of marches and counter-marches, made with extraordinary celerity, the two columns, under the command of Generals St. Suzanne and Lecourbe, effected a junction with the main army under General Moreau, and a French force, amounting to one hundred and ten thousand men, were thus concentrated in the encampment of General Richepanse, between the Rhine and the Danube. Marshal Kray, who had been deceived with respect to the intentions, as well as to the force of the enemy, was thus placed under the necessity of recurring to defensive operations. He accordingly retired to a formidable position on the heights of Psullendorf, which being strongly fortified, and defended by no less than sixty thousand men, was considered as impregnable. Here he was attacked on the 3d of May, by the centre and right of the French army, but after a long-contested and obstinate engagement, they were obliged to retire, and the imperialists remained masters of the field. On the following morning at sun-rise the combat was renewed with increased vigour; and the centre of the Austrians obtained some advantage over the assailants; but a part of the right wing, commanded by Prince Joseph of Lorraine, was chased from Stockach, and their magazines were relinquished to the enemy. On the 9th, the action was resumed with increased obstinacy, but the Austrians, finding their intrenchments forced on every side, were at length obliged to retreat, first to Biberach, and afterwards under the cannon of Ulm.

Thus Moreau, after overcoming all opposition, had penetrated into the heart of Germany, where he was employed in levying contributions, and exacting supplies of corn and provisions. In the mean time the cabinet of Vienna, kept in constant alarm by his movements, and as yet uncertain of the final intentions of such an enterprising chief, was prevented from sending supplies to Italy, now become the scene of that contest which was to decide the future fate of Europe.

At the period when the gallant achievements of Moreau in Germany were preparing future conquests for Bonaparte in Italy, the army of reserve, under the command of Berthier, had reached the borders of the lake of Geneva. The first consul, having concerted with Carnot the plans of the campaign, left Paris suddenly on the 3d of May, and posting to headquarters, at the expiration of six days reviewed his troops in the neighbourhood of Lausanne. Marching along the right bank of the Rhone, they arrived at the confluence of the Durance; but before they could enter the valley of Aosta it became necessary to traverse twenty Italian miles of a mountainous region, nearly impervious to man, and over which a carriage had never passed. Yet it was determined on this occasion not only to march an army of sixty thousand men across the Great St. Bernard, but also to conduct ammunition, provisions, and even artillery, by this route, although the soldiers must be obliged to pass in single files, exposed to perpetual danger in consequence of the narrowness of the path that conducted them along the brink of immense precipices.

General Marmont, in compliance with the commands of the first consul, caused an offer to be made by sound of trumpet in the town of St. Pierre, situated on the declivity of the mountain, that a reward of from six hundred to a thousand livres would be given for the conveyance of each piece of cannon over the mountain. Influenced by this offer, a crowd of peasants flocked from every side, bringing their respective beasts of burthen. Multitudes of the soldiers united their efforts with those of the rustics, and contributed to achieve this most arduous enterprise. General Marmont, who commanded the artillery, ordered trees to be felled, and hollowed in such a manner as to present a bed for the eight-pounders and howitzers. To each of these vehicles one hundred men, harnessed with ropes, attached themselves; while others, by means of levers, prevented them from falling over the craggy summits. The chief of brigade, Gassendi, also contrived sledges, which supported cannon of large dimensions. The gun carriages were all taken to pieces and carried separately, except those belonging to four-pounders, each of which was





Painted by David

Engraved by Hooker.

Napoleon crossing the Alps.

borne on a kind of litter by ten men. Winding along the sides of mountains covered with pines, they began to leave the habitations of men, and beheld the clouds forming below them, while above they only perceived regions clothed with eternal snow, and heard only the ominous sounds of the *avalanches* (masses of snow,) which, being precipitated from the summits of the mountains to the abysses below, consign every object that comes in their course to inevitable destruction.*—The soldiers, fainting with fatigue, at length reached the summit of St. Bernard, where they found a banquet prepared by the hospitable monks, the business of whose life it is to rescue the traveller from danger, and to administer to his necessities. Tables placed upon the snow, presented bread, victuals, and wine; and the monks presiding over this unexpected but grateful repast, pressed the willing soldiers to partake of what they called their frugal fare. The descent to Verney, the first village in Piedmont, was accomplished with less exertion, but with still greater danger; several horses fell over the precipices, and every division occupied three hours in the march. Some of the soldiers, economists of time, glided along the surface of the polished snow to the foot of the precipice in the space of a few minutes, and Bonaparte himself was the first to set the example of this new mode of descending into Italy. The whole of the army and artillery having at length passed the mountain, after three days of unexampled danger and exertion, the advanced-guard, commanded by General Lannes, took possession of Aosta on the day of their arrival, which was the 14th of May.

On the 18th, the French forces entered the town of Bard after a feeble resistance, and the fortress itself was obliged to surrender in the course of a few hours, after which the invaders established their head-quarters at Ivera. Having thus, with uncommon celerity and unexpected success, obtained a passage into the heart of Piedmont, Bonaparte determined to advance to the relief of Genoa, by the circuitous route of Milan, Lodi, and Placenza. Hitherto the march of the invaders had resembled a triumph; Masserano, Chivasso, and all the towns between the Chiusella and the Sessia, were in possession of the French; while the inhabitants, either taught to dissemble by experience, or dazzled with the blandishments of liberty, received the French army with open arms, and termed them their deliverers. At this period too the army was increased

* By one of these *avalanches*, a cannon and three artillery-men in Bonaparte's army were carried away and never more seen.

by means of numerous succours ; for General Turreau had arrived from Briançon, by the way of Suze, while the recent victories of Moreau enabled him to detach twenty-five thousand men, under the command of General Moncey, who had already entered the Cisalpine territories by the Simplon and Mount St. Gothard. A junction having been effected soon after, the first consul forced the passage of Tesino, and after carrying the intrenched village of Turbigo, entered Milan, on the 30th of May. Thus, within the space of a fortnight, Bonaparte, descending from the summit of the Alps, found himself in the midst of territories which he had before conquered, and was now employed in re-establishing the Cisalpine republic, the provisional government of which he confided to citizens Marliani, Sacchi, and Goffredo. All these splendid achievements were however incompetent to avert, or even to retard the fall of Genoa. A population of one hundred thousand inhabitants had consumed the provisions within this city, while the close blockade by the British squadron intercepted all supplies by sea. For the last fourteen days the citizens had been entirely destitute of bread, and the soldiers who composed the garrison were restricted to a daily allowance of six ounces of bread each, composed partly of bran and partly of Indian corn. The horses had been devoured for some time before, and such was the pressure occasioned by the scarcity, that the people resembled skeletons, and vast numbers perished by hunger. In this extremity General Massena received a message from General Melas, inviting him to an interview with Lord Keith, and the Generals Ott and St. Julien, who offered him a capitulation on the most honourable terms ; but the French commander declared that no negociation would be entered into if the word *capitulation* were mentioned. After a short delay, the overture being renewed and modified, a *convention* was signed on the 4th of June ; on the bridge of Cornegliano, by the terms of which, the right wing of the French army, charged with the defence of Genoa, headed by the general-in-chief and his staff, were allowed to march out of the garrison, to the number of eight thousand one hundred men, and to take the route by Nice to France, while the remainder of the army, with their artillery and ammunition of all kinds, was to be transported by sea to Antibes.

But notwithstanding the conquest of Genoa was calculated to diffuse a momentary splendour over the arms of the imperialists, it appears evident, that the prolonged siege, and gallant defence of that city, produced all the subsequent misfortunes of the campaign, and occasioned the loss of Italy.

General Melas had long imagined the army of Dijon to be

as fabulous as the soldiers of Cadmus; and when its existence was ascertained, so defective was his intelligence, that he deemed it to be composed at most of eighteen or twenty thousand men, intended to make a diversion in Italy, for the purpose of drawing off the Austrians from the blockade of Genoa. Roused at length from his dreams of security, he repaired in the beginning of June, and while Genoa was yet blockaded, to Piedmont, and assembled in haste the main body of his army, in order to defend the passage of the Po, and the approaches to Turin and Rivoli; but here he found to his surprise that the first consul, instead of proceeding immediately to the relief of Genoa, had crossed the Tessino, and established himself in the Milanese. On the receipt of this intelligence, the Austrians, under General Ott, fell back upon Montebello, near Voghera. The French, after concentrating their forces, took a strong position on the north banks of the Po, and on the 8th of June, the vanguard of the army, under General Lannes, passed that river opposite to San Giovanni, after a vigorous resistance. On the following day, urging their march to Montebello, they were furiously attacked by the flower of the Austrian army, consisting of fifteen thousand men, under the command of General Ott. For some time the conflict was doubtful; but at length, the position of the imperialists on the right being turned by the force under General Victor, and their centre pierced by the bayonets of the ninety-sixth brigade, the fortune of the day was decided, with a loss on the part of the Austrians of four thousand men, and twelve pieces of artillery.

This victory served as a prelude to one of the most decisive actions recorded in history. After a variety of skirmishes, which now occurred daily, the Generals Lannes, Victor, and Murat, who commanded the advanced guard, succeeded in driving the Austrians across the Bormida; but notwithstanding these partial successes, General Melas, having at length formed a junction with the scattered detachments of his army, and concentrated his forces at Alexandria, determined to attack and give battle to the enemy. The Austrian army being divided into three columns, the right ascended along the banks of the Bormida, while the centre followed the great road leading to the village of Marengo, and the left advanced towards Castle Ceriolo. The action commenced exactly at eight o'clock in the morning of the 14th of June, and the attack of the Austrians, equally impetuous and irresistible, was supported by one hundred pieces of artillery, loaded with grape. Frequent charges of horse and infantry

also took place, and the sabre and the bayonet were recurred to by turns.

General Berthier, perceiving the force and intention of the imperialists, brought up the centre and the van-guard of the French army; and Bonaparte, riding along the ranks, encouraged the troops to withstand the fury of the enemy, who had already assailed the line no less than four times, without being able to make any considerable impression. At length, exactly at noon, while fortune was yet wavering, General Melas determined by one bold movement to secure the victory of the day. Having accordingly assembled ten thousand infantry, supported by a body of cavalry and artillery, he rushed into the plain of Marengo, against the right wing of the French. The grenadiers of the consular guard for some time resisted the shock, but the Austrian horse, and several squadrons of the light artillery, having made an evolution, as if to turn the flank of the enemy, the French, who had already begun to give way, fell into disorder, and their line was broken. General Victor, afraid lest a total rout should ensue, and learning at this crisis that the village of Marengo had been carried by the Austrians, ordered a retreat. This necessarily produced a correspondent movement on the part of the division under General Lannes, on which the enemy, now considering themselves certain of a triumph, took advantage of so fortunate an event to redouble their fire, and to increase their impetuosity.

While the imperial general was sending off couriers to publish the news of his victory throughout the different cities of Italy, Bonaparte, whose power, reputation, and perhaps life itself, depended upon the fate of this contest, rode along the line, recalled the fugitives to their duty, invoked the memory of his former exploits, and assured the troops, "that it was his custom to sleep upon the field of battle." Behind the centre of the French line was a defile, having a wood on one side, and on the other a chain of vineyards, extending to the village of Marengo. Here the first consul determined to make his final stand, and to defend the entrance to this pass to the last extremity. The Austrians, animated by success, redoubled their efforts, and the ground was every where strewed with the dying and the dead. To retreat was certain ruin to the French, as the Austrian cavalry were posted at the other extremity of the defile, eagerly waiting the issue of the combat, and ready to complete the victory that their gallant comrades began to consider as already achieved. At four in the afternoon, after an astonishing struggle, the French still maintained their position. General Melas, irritated at the obsti-

nate resistance made to his phalanx of veterans, resolved, in a fatal moment, to extend his wings, in order to turn the centre of the enemy, and by throwing his infantry into the vineyards and woods, to inclose the French, and to cut off their retreat. At this most critical moment the divisions of Generals Dessaix and Monnier, forming the reserve of the French army, were descried at a distance. Bonaparte, whose eagle-eye nothing could escape, seeing these seasonable succours approaching, and perceiving the Austrian line dangerously weakened by the last movements, determined upon one grand effort, to retrieve the fortune of the day. As the battalions of reserve came up, they formed in line of battle on the right. What had now happened had been foreseen: the battalions burnt with impatience; the drummer's eye waited for the signal; the trumpeter with his arm raised prepared his breath! The signal was given, and the terrible *pas de charge* was heard. Dessaix, at the head of his troops, threw himself with impetuosity into the midst of the Austrian ranks, and charged them with the bayonet. Although twice repulsed, and even dismounted from his charger, he rushed into the hottest of the fight; the main body of the French, which had halted at his approach, on this once more assumed an imposing attitude; and the consular guard, both horse and foot, conducted itself with extraordinary valour, while the ninth demi-brigade of infantry determined to merit their appellation of "the incomparable." At the same moment, the younger Kellermann attacked the Austrian cavalry, and having thrown that force into confusion, the first line of the imperialists was broken, and obliged to retire on the second. Instead of giving way, the united column advanced, and endeavoured to retrieve the disaster by executing a charge with the bayonet; but the whole of the French army had now moved forward to support the reserve, and an Austrian division, consisting of no less than six thousand grenadiers, being surrounded, were forced to lay down their arms. In the midst of all these successes General Dessaix received a mortal wound from a musket ball. This served only to inflame still higher the military ardour of the troops, who were impatient to avenge the death of their beloved commander; and when Bonaparte was informed of his fate, he exclaimed, "Why have I not time to weep for him." The imperialists had still a third line of infantry entire, and this remained firm until attacked by General Lannes, with the divisions under Vatin and Boudet, and the foot grenadiers of the consular guard. These troops, being supported by the artillery, under Marmont, the cavalry, commanded by Murat, and the horse grenadiers, headed by

Bessieres, soon pierced and broke this last defence, in consequence of which a complete defeat ensued, and the Austrian horse, infantry, and artillery, fled promiscuously towards one of the bridges laid across the Bormida, while the rear-guard presenting an undaunted front, was cut to pieces in protecting the retreat of the main body.

Never was any combat more obstinate ; never was any victory disputed with greater pertinacity. The two armies, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men, were engaged for fourteen hours, and they fought during a considerable part of this time within musket-shot. The loss of the Austrians upon this occasion has been estimated at fifteen thousand, of which seven thousand were taken prisoners, together with twelve standards, and twenty-six pieces of cannon, seven generals, and more than four hundred officers ; that of the French is undoubtedly underrated by themselves, when calculated at only five thousand killed and wounded.

Thus ended this memorable day. The darkness deprived both armies of the means of succouring the wounded, a great number of whom were left stretched upon the field of battle. The Austrians and the French now becoming brethren from sad necessity, drew near to each other, and offered or sought mutual assistance. "The next morning," says an eye-witness, "I entered the great court at Marengo ; I was there struck with a sight so horrible, that I shudder at its recollection : more than three thousand Frenchmen and Austrians, heaped one upon another, in the yard, in the granaries, in the stables and out-houses, even to the very cellars and vaults, were uttering the most heart-rending lamentations, and crying out by turns for food, for water, and for the assistance of the surgeon. To add to the horrors of the scene, prisoners were brought in from every part, and their wants served only to increase the general misery."

The fate of General Dessaix filled the French army with grief. To his gallantry the fortune of the day was principally to be attributed, and his last words at once indicated the source of his heroic actions, and the predominance of that passion which has ever actuated the bosoms of those whom mankind have been pleased to consider as heroes.—Various versions have been given of his dying words, but the report of them as stated by young Lebrun, the son of the third consul, is this, "*Je finis ma carriere avec le seul regret de n'avoir pas assez fait pour vivre dans la posterite !*"—"I die with this regret only—that I have not done enough to live in the remembrance of posterity !" Born a noble, he became in the early period of the revolution, an advocate for popular rights,

and rose from the rank of a subaltern, in the royal regiment of Brittany, to that of general of a division in the army of the republic. After distinguishing himself in Germany, under Pichegru and Moreau, he repaired to Africa with Bonaparte, and having obtained the command of the Said, overcame the Mamelukes and the Arabs in a number of engagements. As his death was lamented, so his fame was unstained ; for while, in consequence of his bravery and talents, he left behind him the reputation of an accomplished soldier in Europe, by a rare example of clemency and disinterestedness, he had in Egypt acquired the appellation of the *just sultaun*.

As no action, since the battle of Pavia, in the year 1525, had been disputed with such inflexible obstinacy, so likewise no combat in modern times had been productive of greater events than the battle of Marengo. General Melas, who, notwithstanding his signal defeat, conducted himself like an able officer, and had two horses shot under him, was still at the head of a formidable army ; but his position was alarming, for he was now shut up in a mountainous district, between the Bormida and the Tanaro, entirely destitute of provisions, and in a great measure cut off from the garrisons in Piedmont, as well as Tuscany and the Venetian states. Being conscious that, in case of the least check, his troops would be under the necessity of laying down their arms, and considering his present posture exactly similar to that of a besieged town, he agreed to a capitulation, such as the perils of his situation could alone justify. Accordingly, on the 16th of June, two days after the battle of Marengo, it was agreed that a truce should take place, until a messenger arrived from the court of Vienna ; and in the mean time, the fortresses of Tortona, Alexandria, Milan, Turin, Pizzighitone, Arona, and Placenza, as well as those of Coni, Ceva, Savona, Urbino, and the city of Genoa, were to be delivered up to the French ; who, to insure the fulfilment of the conditions, would permit the Austrian army to march only by divisions, and at different periods. On the execution of this capitulation, Bonaparte, after a brilliant campaign of only two months, confided the command of the army of Italy to Massena, and returned to Paris, in which city he arrived at half past two o'clock, in the morning of the 3d of July.

The French, victorious on the banks of the Bormida, were also destined to triumph on those of the Danube. No sooner had Moreau, the French commander-in-chief in Germany, received an account of the decisive victory of Marengo, and learned that the convention did not extend to Germany, than he determined to penetrate into the hereditary states of the

house of Austria. To enable him to provide for the necessities of his troops, he immediately levied a contribution of six millions of livres on the circle of Franconia, and then put his troops in motion for the purpose of obliging Marshal Kray either to withdraw from his present station, or to fight a decisive battle. The marshal, however, maintained possession of his camp at Ulm, notwithstanding Lecourbe, who had obtained possession of Augsbourg, menaced the capital of Bavaria.

Finding that the Austrian field-marshal was not to be removed from his position by demonstrations, General Moreau crossed the Danube with the main body of his army, and on the 19th of June, attacked the troops under General Starray, who was advantageously posted at Blenheim, a plain already rendered famous in the military annals of Europe, in consequence of the victory gained by the Duke of Marlborough. Moreau, more fortunate than his countryman, Marshal Tallard, succeeded on the very spot where the latter had been discomfited by the allies; and after a short but vigorous action, obliged the Austrian general to abandon Ulm, and retire into Franconia. Indefatigable in his exertions, the French commander immediately marched in pursuit of the retreating enemy, and having come up with him at Neubourg, another action and another victory on the part of the French ensued, on which occasion they had to lament the loss of Latour d'Auvergne-Corret, the great-grandson of Marshal Turenne, who fell, like his illustrious ancestor, in the arms of victory. Immediately after this engagement, the French army entered Bavaria, established their head-quarters at Munich, and were preparing for new exploits, when the armistice, that had taken place in Italy, was extended to Germany, and the continent once more experienced a short respite from the horrors of war.

While the imperialists withdrew their detachments from the country of the Grisons on the one hand, so as to strengthen their position in Italy, and extended their front to the other, with an intention to cover the hereditary states, the French army formed one grand uninterrupted line of communications from the borders of the Rhine, near Frankfort, to the shores of the Mediterranean, in the neighbourhood of Lucca. At the period the armies of France assumed this imposing attitude, and were prepared, on the renewal of hostilities, to reconquer the whole of Italy, partly by means of arms, and partly by new revolutions, it was deemed politic to make peace with the Baroary powers, as nothing could be obtained from them by a continuance of the war, and they might be rendered extremely serviceable by supplying the ports in the

Mediterranean with corn and provisions. Accordingly treaties were entered into and signed with the regencies of Tunis, Algiers, and Tripoli. At the same period a negociation took place between the French government and the plenipotentiaries from America, which, after some delay, terminated in an adjustment of all the existing differences between the two republics, and in a treaty highly favourable to both countries. By this treaty, which was negociated as if a war had actually existed, it was among other articles agreed, that henceforth a firm, inviolable, and universal peace, should exist between the two countries; that the restitution of captured vessels should be made on both sides; that the debts contracted by individuals of both nations should be paid, in the same manner as if no misunderstanding had ever taken place; that the commerce between the two nations should be free, and their vessels treated like those of the most favoured nations; and that the citizens of each should enjoy all the rights, privileges, and immunities of the respective countries.

The differences subsisting between the European powers were not so easily accommodated; although, on the 28th of July, preliminaries of peace, founded on the treaty of Campo Formio, were concluded at Paris, between the Count de St. Julien, on behalf of his imperial majesty and M. Talleyrand, on the part of the French republic. The intervention of the English ambassador at the court of Vienna prevented however the ratification of this treaty by his imperial majesty, who demanded that plenipotentiaries from Great Britain should be admitted to assist at a congress, to be held at Luneville.

Bonaparte, after some resistance, at length complied with an application that had been made on the part of Lord Minto, the minister who had so lately interdicted the ratification of the separate treaty; and M. Otto, a confidential agent of the French government, resident in London, was immediately instructed to propose a maritime truce, in return for which the cessation of hostilities was not to be interrupted on the continent. A project for this purpose was accordingly presented on the 4th of September, by which the ships of war and merchantmen of the two powers were to enjoy a free navigation, without being subject to search; neutral vessels were to be allowed to repair to Alexandria, Malta, and Belleisle, in order to furnish those places with provisions; the blockade of Brest, Cadiz, Toulon, and Flushing, was to be raised; and his catholic majesty, as well as the Batavian republic, was to be admitted to the benefit of these stipulations. In reply to these propositions, the English ministry professed their readiness to accede to a suspension of hostilities by

sea, provided the terms were modified; they would not however permit the importation of naval and military stores into the ports of the enemy, or the introduction of more provisions at one time than were necessary for fourteen days' consumption. In the midst of these discussions, which were protracted from the 24th of August to the 9th of October, the armistice on the continent was suffered to expire; and the emperor himself, who, with the Archduke John, had repaired to the head-quarters of the army, was under the necessity of purchasing a new truce, for forty-five days, on terms that indicated the critical situation of the house of Austria, who, as a boon for this short respite, surrendered into the hands of the enemy the cities of Philipsburg, Ulm, and Ingolstadt. Nor was this all, for General Brune, now appointed to the command of the French army in Italy, taking advantage of the excesses committed by a band of insurgents in the mountainous districts in the neighbourhood of Arezzo, invaded Tuscany, and on the 15th of October entered Florence. A division of his army at the same time seized on Leghorn, without resistance, Arezzo was soon after taken by storm, and the inhabitants found in arms massacred; while Sommariva, who commanded the imperialists, conscious of his inferiority, was reduced to the necessity of evacuating the country.

Precisely three weeks after the plenipotentiaries had met at Luneville, for the purpose of renewing the negotiations for peace, a rupture of the armistice took place, and hostilities were once more resumed. The French, unable to force Austria into a separate treaty, and relying on the ascendancy they had obtained, determined to renew the contest. Augereau, at the head of the Batavian army, accordingly crossed to the right bank of the Rhine, while Macdonald, now stationed in the country of the Grisons, prepared to scale the Rhetian Alps, and descend with new succours into Italy.

Augereau, in the mean time, after defeating the raw levies of the Elector of Mentz, was penetrating through Franconia to communicate with the most numerous army that France had ever sent into Germany, placed under the command of General Moreau. Having proceeded in quest of the Austrians, the advanced-guards encountered each other at Haag, where, as at Rosenheim, the imperialists obtained the superiority.

The Archduke John, now at the head of the imperial army, elevated with these unexpected successes, collected all his forces, and determined to attack the republicans. Early in the morning of the 3d of December, the Austrians marched towards Hohenlinden in three columns—the centre along the

principal road to Munich, and the right and the left through the woods on each side of the great road. By one of those accidents by which the fate of battles and of empires is sometimes decided, the left wing of the Austrian army, misled by a deep fall of snow, which covered the ground at that season, bent its march towards Ebersperg, instead of taking the road to Hohenlinden. The battle commenced about nine o'clock, and the Austrians fought with great bravery, but General Richepanse, having pierced between the right wing and the centre, threw the imperialists into disorder, and their disasters soon became irretrievable. The left wing also, being cut off from the main body, was completely defeated; and the right, under General Kienmayer, suffered severely before the banks of the Iser could be attained. On this fatal day, ten thousand men were left on the field by the Austrians, while eight pieces of cannon, and other trophies of victory, fell into the hands of the republicans.

Nor were the French less fortunate in Italy. Macdonald, after scaling the Splugen, was prepared to turn the lines of the Mincio and the Adige. General Brune, at the same time, marched against the Austrian army, now commanded by the Count de Bellegarde, who in vain attempted to defend the borders of the Mincio, from Peschiera to Mantua. After losing twenty-four pieces of cannon, and about four thousand men, the imperialists retreated in considerable disorder, and were followed by the French, who passed the Adige and Brenta in pursuit of them, and encamped within a few leagues of the city of Venice.

At no period of their history, not even in the early part of the reign of Maria Theresa, was the situation of the Austrian monarchy more critical than at this juncture. The French, after the signal victory of Hohenlinden, had crossed the Inn and the Ips, and arriving at Steyer, in Upper Austria, were within seventeen leagues of Vienna. The Gallo-Batavian troops at the same time approached the hereditary states by advancing along the Danube; Macdonald, in possession of the mountains of the Tyrol, had the option of either descending into Italy or Germany; while Brune, after a campaign of only twenty days, during which he had taken fifteen thousand prisoners, blockaded Mantua, and was ready to penetrate into the mountains of Carinthia, to form a junction with the victorious legions of General Moreau.

The Emperor Francis II. submitting to his hard fortune, and having previously obtained the consent of the cabinet of St. James', found himself under the necessity of suing for a separate peace. The conditions were indeed severe; but as

he was now in a worse situation than at the treaty of Leoben, he was obliged to consent to immense sacrifices. The armistice, which was for forty-five days, was executed at Steyer, the head-quarters of General Moreau, on the 25th of December, and by the convention it was stipulated that the Tyrol should be wholly evacuated by the Austrians, and the fortresses of Brunau and Wurtzbourg delivered up to the French. These stipulations were soon after followed by a new engagement, entered into at Treviso, on the 16th of January, 1801, between the Generals Brune and Bellegarde, and by which a cessation of hostilities was obtained in Italy on the surrender of Peschiera, Sermione, Verona, Legnano, Ferrara, and Ancona.

In pursuance of the preliminary articles signed at Luneville on the 26th of the same month, Mantua was also delivered up; and by a definitive treaty, signed on the 9th of February, and ratified by the diet of the empire, on the 7th of September following, the Austrian Netherlands were ceded in perpetuity to France, as well as the whole of the left bank of the Rhine, with the county of Falkenstein and Frickthal. All the principal articles of the treaty of Campo Formio were at the same time confirmed, the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics were recognized, and the duchy of Tuscany, now converted into a kingdom, under the appellation of Etruria, was bestowed upon Louis I. the hereditary Prince of Parma.

This conclusion of a war which had lasted the same number of years as the siege of Troy, proved a subject of great exultation to the French nation. The first consul hastened to notify the joyful event to the legislative body, the tribunate, and the conservative senate; and while he congratulated the French nation on the one hand, he endeavoured to impress all the countries of Europe with the persuasion, that it was the ambition of England alone which still continued to disturb the tranquillity of mankind.

CHAPTER XVII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1800: *Blockade of Genoa—Loss of the Queen Charlotte—Attack on Quiberon—Surrender of Goree—Expedition to Ferrol—To Cadiz—Capture of Malta—Surrender of Curaçao—Confederacy of the Northern Powers—Negociation with Denmark—Revival of the Treaty of armed Neutrality—CIVIL HISTORY OF FRANCE: Conspiracy against the Consular Government—Attempt on the First Consul's Life, by an infernal Machine—State of St. Domingo—Election of Pope Pius VII.*

THE naval power of Great Britain was never more conspicuous than during the present period. So decisive indeed

had been her superiority on the ocean, that since the commencement of the war, no less than three hundred and twenty ships had been taken from the French, eighty-nine from the Dutch, and seventy-five from the Spaniards, of which seventy-eight were of the line ; while on the other hand, only forty-nine had been captured from England, and of these, three only were vessels of force. In consequence of our unrivalled dominion on this element, it appears to have been in agitation, at the commencement of the campaign, to make a powerful diversion in favour of the allies, by means of an irruption into the southern provinces of France ; but the sudden return and singularly good fortune of Bonaparte, prevented the execution of this design. Lord Keith, however, appeared with a strong squadron off Genoa, and assisted General Melas in conducting the siege of that city. Some ships detached by the vice-admiral, in conjunction with others sent thither by the King of Naples, contributed greatly to the reduction of the fortress of Savona ; and when the imperial commander found it necessary to convert the attack of Genoa into a blockade, the British cruisers intercepted all supplies, and actually produced a surrender in consequence of the famine that ensued.

The fall of this fortress, the second Toulon, as it has been called, of the Mediterranean, served to console the gallant vice-admiral for the unfortunate loss of the *Queen Charlotte*, Lord Keith's flag ship, mounting one hundred and twenty guns, and one of the finest ships in the British navy. On the morning of the 17th of March, being at that time four or five leagues off Leghorn, this stupendous vessel was discovered to be on fire. All the ships in the harbour, foreign as well as English, put off to her relief, and afforded her every possible assistance ; but about eleven o'clock she blew up with a tremendous explosion, and suffered in a moment almost total destruction ! By this event upwards of six hundred seamen and marines perished, and of the whole crew not more than one hundred and fifty escaped with their lives, amongst whom was the admiral, who happened at that moment to be on shore.

In the summer of the present year, the western departments of France were frequently menaced by the appearance of hostile armaments, and kept in continual alarm by partial debarcations. Sir Edward Pellew, in the *Impetueux*, with a flying squadron, and three troop-ships, made an attack on Quiberon, on the 4th of June. The *Thames* and *Cynthia* having cannonaded the south-west end, and silenced some batteries, Major Ramsay landed with a small body of soldiers and destroyed them ; but fort Penthievre proved too strong to be reduced. The same commander was also successful in an attempt upon

the Morbihan, having seized several sloops and gun-vessels, and burnt a national corvette of eighteen guns, by means of a detachment from the Queen's regiment, assisted by the gun-launches under Lieutenant Pinfold. Sir John Borlase Warren also succeeded in an attack on a convoy at anchor near a fort within the Penmarks; and in the destruction of fifteen sail of merchantmen and four armed vessels intended for their protection, within the sands of Boverneuf bay. These exploits, combined with many others of a similar nature, were calculated to annoy the commerce of the enemy, and to put an actual stop to their coasting trade; but what was of still greater consequence, they intercepted the supplies of wine, brandy, flour, and provisions, intended for the fleet at Brest. On the 7th of July, Captain Inman, of the *Andromeda*, with a detachment of armed vessels and fire-ships, made an attack on four frigates, one of which carried a broad pendant, anchored in Dunkirk roads, and Captain Campbell, of the *Dart*, succeeded in boarding and capturing one of them, which proved to be *La Desiree*, of forty guns, but the rest cut their cables and took refuge within the Braak sand.

In the month of April, the island of Goree, on the coast of Africa, a place of great strength and importance, surrendered to Commodore Sir Charles Hamilton, commanding the *Ruby* and *Melpomene* ships of war, without the slightest attempt at resistance.

Towards the middle of the summer a secret expedition, on a large scale, was fitted out, which in no point of view realized the expectations of the public. The primary object of this formidable armament was the conquest of Belleisle; but the defence appeared too strong to invite, or perhaps to admit, the attempt; the expedition therefore proceeded to the coast of Spain, and arrived on the 25th of August before the harbour of Ferrol. After a fort of eight twenty-four pounders had been silenced by the fire of the *Impetueux*, *Brilliant*, and *Cynthia* ships of wars, a debarkation was effected during the evening, in a small opening near Cape Prior, under the superintendence of Sir Edward Pellew, and the whole army, commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir James Pulteney, reached the shore without the loss of a single man. Sixteen field-pieces, attended by seamen from the men-of-war, to assist in dragging the guns, were landed at the same time. The reserve, followed by the other troops in succession as they gained the beach, immediately ascended a ridge of hills, and dislodged a party of the enemy, who had been stationed at that place to resist their advance. At day-break the following morning, a more considerable body of Spaniards was forced to retire,

by the Earl of Cavan's brigade, so that the English remained in complete possession of the heights of Brion and Balon, which command the town of Ferrol, and the ships of war in its capacious harbour. In this prosperous state of affairs, and at the moment when the army expected to advance, a retreat was ordered to be effected by the general, who, as he remarks in his official despatch, published in the London Gazette of the 6th of September, "had now an opportunity of observing minutely the situation of the place, and of forming, from the reports of prisoners, an idea of the strength of the enemy; when, comparing the difficulties that presented themselves, and the risk attendant on a failure on the one hand, with the prospect of success, and the advantage to be derived from it on the other, he came to the determination to re-embark the troops, in order to proceed without delay on the further destination." The embarkation of the troops and artillery was effected, by the indefatigable exertions of the captains of the squadron, without loss; and in the words of Sir John Borlase Warren, to whom the command of the squadron was confided, "the ships and convoy proceeded in execution of their orders."

Soon after this failure on the coast of Galicia, another expedition, equally unsuccessful, was directed against the province of Andalusia. The city of Cadiz, now afflicted with an epidemical distemper, exactly similar to the plague, was threatened at the same time with a visit from a powerful armament. This force consisted of the squadron in the Mediterranean, amounting to twenty-two ships of the line, and twenty-seven frigates, with eighty-four transports and other vessels, making in all a fleet of one hundred and three sail, and having on board an army of twenty thousand men. Having, on the 6th of October, come to anchor in the bay of Cadiz, Don Thomas de Morla, the governor, immediately addressed a letter to the British admiral, in which he expressed his surprise at the arrival of a hostile squadron during the prevalence of a disease which "carried off thousands of victims, and threatened not to suspend its ravages till it had cut off all those who had hitherto escaped."

"I have too exalted an opinion of the English people, and of you in particular," adds the governor, "to think that you would wish to render our condition more deplorable. However, if, in consequence of the orders your excellency has received, you are inclined to attract the execration of all nations, to cover yourself with disgrace in the eyes of the universe, by oppressing the unfortunate, and attacking those who are supposed to be incapable of defence; I declare to you, that the garrison under my orders, accustomed to behold death with a serene countenance, and to brave dangers greater than all the perils of war, know how to exhibit a resistance that shall not terminate but with their entire

destruction. I hope," continues he, "that the answer of your excellency will inform me, whether I am to speak the language of consolation to the unfortunate inhabitants, or whether I am to rouse them to indignation and revenge."

In answer to this interesting letter a joint reply was returned, in the name of Sir R. Abercrombie and Lord Keith, in which, after expressing a due compassion for the deplorable state of the city of Cadiz, they observe,

That a number of his catholic majesty's vessels are armed in order to join the naval force of the French, and to be employed in prolonging the troubles which affect all the nations of Europe, disturb public order, and destroy the happiness of individuals. "We have," added they, "received orders from our sovereign to use every effort to defeat the projects of the common enemy, by endeavouring to take and destroy the ships of war which are in the harbour and arsenal of Cadiz. The number of troops intrusted to our command, leaves but little doubt of the success of the enterprise. We are not disposed to multiply, unnecessarily, the evils inseparable from war. Should your excellency consent to give up to us the vessels armed or arming in order to act against our king, and to prolong the misfortunes of neighbouring nations, your crews and officers shall be set at liberty, and our fleet shall withdraw. Otherwise we must act conformably to the orders which have been given to us, and your excellency cannot attribute to any other than yourself the additional evils which you fear."

The brave Spaniard having stigmatized this proposal, as "insulting to the person to whom it was addressed, and but little honourable to those from whom it proceeded:" an attack now appeared inevitable, and every thing was prepared for effecting a landing, under the direction of Capt. Cochrane, assisted by Captains Stevenson, Morrison, Lamour, and Ascough, but the weather proved so unfavourable that it was deemed proper to desist, and the enterprise was, in consequence, altogether abandoned.

Two other occurrences, more fortunate in their result, remain to be mentioned. Malta, so unjustly seized by Bonaparte in the course of his expedition to Egypt, had now experienced a blockade of two years both by sea and land, during which time General Vaubois, the French governor, had been summoned no less than eight different times. At length, all hopes of receiving supplies from France having vanished, an attempt was made to save two frigates, *La Diane* and *La Justice*, in the harbour, but the former, while making an effort to escape, was overtaken and captured, while the latter, under cover of the night, was successful enough to elude the vigilance of the British squadron, and to effect her escape to France. A few days after this, General Vaubois assembled a council of war in the national palace; and it appearing that the magazines of provisions had been entirely exhausted for more than a month; that the liquors of all kinds were nearly

expended ; and that bread, the only food remaining for the garrison and the citizens, must fail in the course of a week, it was determined to capitulate, and on the 5th of September, the island was surrendered into the hands of the British. The possession of this island, although a subject of great exultation, became productive of much evil, for having first excited the resentment of one of our allies, it next led to the northern confederacy, and was ultimately made one of the most ostensible causes of the rupture of the peace of Amiens.

On the 13th of the same month the island of Curaçao, in the West Indies, one of the few remaining colonies of the Batavian republic, following the example of Surinam, voluntarily placed itself under the protection of the arms of his Britannic Majesty, upon conditions highly advantageous to the inhabitants.

But in the midst of these successes a storm was gathering in the north, which, after hovering for some time over Great Britain, threatened to burst on and involve that country in ruin. No sooner had the Emperor of Russia received information of the surrender of Malta to the British navy, than he applied to the minister of Great Britain to obtain possession of the island, in conformity to an agreement made in the year 1798. But by this time the conduct of the northern courts began to rouse the jealousy of England, and Paul Petrowitz himself had given umbrage to the only power which could have gratified the first wish of his heart, by conferring upon him the grand-mastership of Malta, and the command of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

In the early part of the contest against the republic of France, Great Britain had enjoyed the open or secret approbation of every neighbouring court ; but the scene was now changed, and that country which had commenced the war with all the states of Europe as her allies, now beheld the majority of them leagued against her naval ascendancy, and intent upon the reduction of her power. The maritime states complained that their neutrality was no longer respected, that their shores and harbours were violated by the British cruisers, and that even their men-of-war were not permitted to afford protection to the convoys intrusted to their charge. They urged at the same time the procrastination, delays, and expenses, incident to the English court of admiralty, and resolved to recur to decisive measures for the purpose of obtaining redress.

Sweden deemed herself greatly injured on a variety of occasions, but more particularly by the detention and condemnation of several merchantmen bound from the Mediterranean, under the convoy of a ship of war, carrying pitch, tar, hemp,

deals, and iron, supposed to France, Spain, or Portugal, and which, after some resistance, were seized in the British channel, by Commodore Lauford, on the 30th of June, 1798, and brought into a British port. She also complained that one of her merchantmen, without a cargo, had been seized by an English squadron, and employed in a hostile enterprise against two Spanish frigates in the bay of Barcelona, by which stratagem they had both been captured.*

Denmark was equally loud in the enumeration of her grievances. She asserted that a number of her vessels had been seized on the most frivolous pretexts and carried into the ports of Great Britain, although no species of contraband property whatsoever had been found on board.

An event occurred soon after that occasioned much perplexity, and was productive of the most unpleasant consequences. Although the armed vessels of two of the northern powers had protested against a search, and one of them had actually resorted to small-arms, yet nothing in the shape of a regular engagement had yet taken place. This, however, occurred in the course of the summer; for the captain of the Danish ship of war, the *Freya*, having refused to permit the vessels under his protection to be examined by an English squadron at the mouth of the Channel, although he freely offered to exhibit all their papers for inspection, an action immediately ensued, and after having two men killed and five wounded, the Dane struck his colours and was carried with his convoy into the Downs.

As a rupture was apprehended on this occasion, the English ministry were naturally alarmed for the safety of the vessels employed in the Baltic trade. Lord Whitworth was accordingly sent to Copenhagen, in the character of plenipotentiary; while his mission was supported, and his arguments enforced, by means of a strong squadron, consisting of nine sail of the line, four bomb-vessels, and five gun-boats, under Admiral

* After some delay, such of the vessels in the Swedish convoy as were bound for Portugal were permitted to repair thither; and Sir William Scott, the Judge of the British Admiralty Court, at length decided in the case of the *Maria*, the condemnation of which vessel, as well as the cargo, was followed by that of the remainder of the convoy. Upon this occasion the judge asserted: 1. That the right of visiting and of searching merchantmen upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, cargoes, or destination, is an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation.—2. That the authority of the sovereign of the neutral country being interposed in any manner of mere force, cannot legally vary the rights of a lawfully commissioned belligerent cruiser;—And 3. That the penalty for the contravention of this right is the confiscation of the property so withheld from visitation and search.

Dickson, which entered the sound, and anchored in Elsineur Roads. After a considerable time spent in discussion, a temporary adjustment took place on the 29th of August, in virtue of which the Danish frigate with the convoy were to be released; and the former "repaired in a port of his Britannic Majesty, according to the usage followed among friendly and allied powers;" but the decision respecting the right of visiting merchantmen under convoy of a ship of war was postponed.

So indecisive and inadequate did this negociation prove, that in a few months the northern powers entered into an association for their mutual protection, and actually revived a treaty of armed neutrality, which had originated with Russia towards the close of the American war. The Emperor of Russia, who had laid an embargo for a few weeks on all the ships and property of English subjects within his dominions, in consequence of the capture of the *Freya*, was the first to invite Sweden, Denmark, and Prussia to adopt this measure. In consequence of this invitation, the King of Sweden entered into a treaty on the 16th of December with the Emperor Paul, in which they laid down certain principles for the extension and security of commerce. By these new regulations it was maintained, that any neutral ship might freely navigate on the coasts of the belligerent powers, and that every thing but what is expressly contraband shall be free. The description of a blockaded harbour is in this treaty limited and defined; the declaration of the officers commanding ships of war conveying merchandize, respecting their cargoes, is deemed sufficient; no search is to be allowed; and to protect the trade of the two countries, the contracting parties agree to equip and provide squadrons. The Kings of Prussia and Denmark soon acceded to this confederacy, and the Emperor of Russia carried his resentment still farther, by once more laying an embargo on all the ships in his ports; he also issued orders to burn those detained in the harbour of Narva, in consequence of the escape of two vessels in contravention of his commands, and treated the crews with uncommon harshness and severity. These proceedings were immediately connected with the grand-mastership of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and in the court gazette of St. Petersburg it was distinctly declared, that the sequestration on British property should not be taken off until the conditions of the convention concluded in the year 1798 were punctually fulfilled.

In addition to this disastrous intelligence, it was feared that Russia was about to declare in favour of France, while Portugal, the faithful ally of Great Britain, was threatened with subjugation; so that the prospect of public affairs became

gloomy in the extreme ; but it will be seen hereafter that the scene soon changed, the storm was dissipated, and England, by the vigour of her ancient institutions, her wealth, her valour, and a variety of fortunate incidents, at length acquired her former ascendancy.

The military history of France during the present year has already been recorded, but the conduct of the consular government in the early stages of its authority yet remains to be narrated. It was undoubtedly the grand and primary object of those who were concerned in framing the new constitution of France, to establish an executive power in the nation which should possess sufficient energy to pervade every part of the state, and to rule with a firm and steady hand that discordant mass comprehended under the general appellation of the French republic. But notwithstanding the acceptance of the new constitution by an immense majority of the French citizens, the government of Bonaparte was exposed to the attacks of very formidable enemies ; from the fatal effects of which, nothing less than the magnitude of the power which he possessed could have protected him.

At this time, a self-appointed committee of royalists existed in Paris, styling themselves a committee of counter-revolution (the Chevalier de Coigny being the chief;) this assembly maintained a regular correspondence with a similar committee in London, over which the Count d'Artois presided in person : and so confident had they become of success, that an overture was made by the Parisian committee to Talleyrand, the first minister of the consular government, and through him to Bonaparte himself, for the restoration of the Bourbons. This imprudent and dangerous communication led to the arrest of the chevalier and his colleagues, and to the seizure of all their papers. The lives of the conspirators were however spared, in consideration of the ample avowels made by them of their plans, and the unreserved denunciation of their associates, of whom General Pichegru was one of the chief.

On the other hand, the factions of the jacobins, although less openly hostile, were regarded as still more dangerous adversaries than the loyalists to the existing government ; because more profound in their designs, and more daring and desperate in the means of accomplishing them. It seemed, indeed, extraordinary that a systematic concert should prevail between the two opposite factions, but they had both one object, and that was the subversion of the existing government. The first consul, apparently little affected by these intrigues and combinations, continued to afford every facility to the return

of the emigrants to France, and during the first year of the consulate these unfortunate refugees repaired in vast crowds to their native country. But towards the close of the year an event occurred which gave a new and unfavourable bias to the political system.

On the evening of the 24th of December, as the first consul was going in his carriage from the Thuilleries to the opera, he passed through the Rue Vicaise, a narrow street in which stood a car of uncommon construction, containing a barrel filled with combustibles, and placed in such a situation as almost to obstruct the way. The coachman drove with rapidity ; but scarcely had he passed the car a minute, when it blew up with a dreadful explosion ; killed some, wounded others, and shattered the adjoining buildings to their foundation. The velocity with which the carriage moved, and the address displayed by the coachman in passing this vehicle, saved the first consul, against whose life this *infernal machine* was no doubt solely directed. Through the indefatigable exertions of M. Fouché, the minister of police, divers of the assassins concerned in this murderous plot, framed, as it appeared, by a combination of royalists and jacobins, were discovered and brought to public execution. But the attempt made a deep and indelible impression upon the mind of Bonaparte, whose character from this moment acquired an adventitious tincture of suspicion and severity.

The state of the important island of St. Domingo excited, at this crisis, considerable anxiety in the mind of the first consul. That great colony had been for some time past entirely under the power of the celebrated negro chief Toussaint Louverture, who had displayed extraordinary ability in conducting the affairs of government. Domestic slavery, so repugnant to every principle of nature, was wholly abolished, and it appeared, by practical demonstration, that even in the West Indies, the absolute dominion of the few over the many was not necessary to the existence of civil society.

Amongst the miscellaneous events of the present year the election of a successor to Pope Pius VI. must be recorded. The conclave sat till the month of March, 1800, when the choice of the sacred college fell upon Cardinal Chairemonte, bishop of Tivoli, who took the name of Pius VII. The new pope, who was accounted a man of good sense, moderation and discretion, was of the order of the Benedictines, and had been raised successively to the dignity of abbot, bishop, and cardinal. In a few weeks after his elevation, preparation having been made for his reception, he set out for his own dominions, and

on his arrival at Rome, on the 9th of July, the city was illuminated, and his holiness was received with every demonstration of joy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Posture of Public Affairs at the Commencement of 1801—Public Distress—Measures resorted to for its Alleviation—Population—Meeting of the First Imperial Parliament—The Right of Search (note)—Debates on the Address—Embargo on the Vessels of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark—Change of Ministry—Its ostensible Cause—Coronation Oath (note)—Suspension of the Royal Functions—Completion of the Ministerial Arrangements—Hostile Conduct of Denmark and Prussia—British Fleet sails for the Baltic—Passes the Sound—Battle of Copenhagen—Departure of the British Fleet for Carlsrona—Death and Character of the Emperor Paul—Ascension of Alexander I.—Dissolution of the Northern Confederacy—Invasion of Portugal by Spain—By France—Humiliating Treaty made with France by the King of the Two Sicilies.

THE commencement of the year 1801 presented to Great Britain the most gloomy prospects. A scarcity, produced in the first instance by adverse seasons, and aggravated in a high degree by the waste of war, produced misery and discontent among the lower classes of the community; while the burthen of the taxes was felt by all, and one of them in particular, was considered as peculiarly inequitable in its principle and inquisitorial in its operation.* In addition to these inauspicious circumstances, the battle of Marengo, by intimidating Austria, as well as the courts attached to her interest, had left England without a single efficient ally; and she was now reduced to the necessity of counteracting those convulsive and concentrated efforts of the enemy which had hitherto proved less terrible by division. France, on the other hand, never appeared more formidable than at this moment; the treaty of Luneville had disarmed the resentment of the only state capable of coping with her in a military contest, and the northern confederacy, which had now pretty nearly attained to its maturity, seemed entirely directed against the naval ascendancy and commercial prosperity of Great Britain.

Under these circumstances the *British* parliament assembled for the last time, on the 11th of November, 1800. Before the meeting of parliament, the increased price of provisions had been productive of a degree of public distress unequalled since the dreadful famine at the close of the seventeenth century.

* The Income Tax.



J.B.Longacre Sculp.

ALEXANDER II.

Emperor of all the Russias.

From an original Drawing taken in London during his visit in 1814.

The crop of 1800, like that of the preceding year, had been generally deficient in every country in Europe. The scarcity, which was great and deplorable, bore every symptom of long continuance ; and rumours of monopoly and forestalling, increased the feeling of the evil, by imparting to it the aspect of injustice, rather than of misfortune. But it may be fairly disputed whether monopoly had any part in aggravating the existing scarcity, and it became clear that no alleviation to the evil was to be found in the legislative and judicial invectives which were uttered against these invisible agents. During this scarcity the sober and industrious classes of the labouring poor sustained their hardships with laudable patience ; and though there were some riots in the metropolis and other parts of the country, no general ebullition burst forth that required to be suppressed by bloodshed.

To alleviate the public distress, the dangerous measure of a *maximum* was, on the 5th of December, brought forward in parliament by the Earl of Warwick, who proposed to fix the highest value of wheat at ten shillings per bushel, although the actual price was at that time more than twenty. But the false and mischievous notion of an artificial scarcity, upon which this proposal proceeded, was exploded by the calm wisdom of parliament, and the motion itself was rejected with marked disapprobation. Instead of compulsory means, so inconsistent with the security of property, and the free spirit of the British constitution, the legislature confined its efforts to suggesting expedients for diminishing the consumption and encouraging the foreign supply. High bounties were granted on importation ; the baking of mixed and inferior flour was enforced by act of parliament, and the distillation of spirits from grain was prohibited. These were in general the enactments or exhortations of the legislature at this crisis of general privation, during which, much to the honour of the wealthier part of the community, the hand of charity was more liberally opened, than at any period which the history of human suffering has to record.

Among other causes of dearth, the great increase of the national population was repeatedly mentioned ; and in the course of the session, a bill was brought into parliament by Mr. Abbot, for ascertaining the population of Great Britain, which passed into a law ; and upon an actual enumeration of the people, it appeared, to the general surprise, that they amounted to nearly eleven millions—a result exceeding the highest previous conjecture ; and it is probable that the aggregate population of Great Britain and Ireland amounted at this period to sixteen millions.

GENERAL ABSTRACT

Of the Returns made pursuant to an Act of Parliament, passed in the Forty-first Year of His Majesty,
King George III.

	HOUSES.			PERSONS.		OCCUPATIONS.			Total of Persons.
	Inhabited.	By how many families occupied.	Uninhabited.	Males.	Females.	Persons chiefly employed in Agricul- ture.	Persons chiefly employed in Trade, Manufac- ture, or Handicraft	All other persons not com- prised in the pre- ceding classes.	
ENGLAND	1,472,870	1,787,520	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	1,524,227	1,789,531	4,606,530	8,331,434
WALES	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	189,062	53,822	266,573	541,516
SCOTLAND	294,553	364,079	9,537	734,581	864,487	365,516	293,373	833,914	1,599,068
ARMY, including the Militia				198,351					198,351
NAVY, including Marines ...				126,279					126,279
Seamen in registered Shipping				144,558					144,558
Convicts on board the Hulks ..				1,410					1,410
Total.....	1,875,476	2,269,502	67,013	5,450,292	5,492,354	2,078,805	2,136,726	5,707,017	10,942,646

[Published by order of Parliament, Dec. 1, 1801.]

The discussion of the late negotiations, which occupied a part of this short, but integral session of parliament, produced no debates of importance; and the supplies being granted, parliament was prorogued on the last day of the year, by his majesty in person. His majesty, before he retired, ordered the chancellor to read a proclamation, declaring that the individuals who composed the expiring parliament should be members on the part of Great Britain of the Parliament of the United Kingdom.

On the 1st of January, 1801, a royal declaration was issued concerning the style and titles appertaining to the imperial crown of Great Britain and Ireland; and also to the ensigns armorial, flags, and banners thereof. In the new heraldic arrangement the *fleurs de lis* were wisely and seasonably omitted, the title of King of France was expunged; and the royal dignity was in future to be expressed in the Latin tongue by these words: "GEORGIUS TERTIUS, *Dei Gratia, Britanniarum Rex Fidei Defensor*"—and in the vernacular language—"GEORGE the THIRD, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith."—On the same day, the Great Seal of Britain was delivered up and defaced, and a new seal for the empire was given to the lord chancellor. A new standard also, combining the three crosses of St. George, St. Andrew, and St. Patrick, was hoisted, amidst the discharge of artillery, in each of the three capitals of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the new year, thus rendered peculiarly memorable, was ushered in with every demonstration of joy.

The imperial parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled on the 22d of January, and proceeded to elect a speaker, when Mr. Henry Addington, who had so long and so ably filled the chair of the lower house of parliament, was again placed, by the universal suffrage, in that elevated situation. On the 2d of February, the king repaired to the house of lords, and being seated on the throne, he congratulated the senate on the union which had been so happily effected. The other topics of the speech embraced only painful and portentous occurrences:—

"The unfortunate course of events on the continent," said the king, "and the consequences which must be expected to result from them, cannot fail to be matter of anxiety and concern to all who have a just feeling for the security and independence of Europe. Your astonishment, as well as your regret, must be excited by the conduct of those powers, whose attention at such a period appears to be more engaged in endeavours to weaken the naval force of the British empire, which has hitherto opposed so powerful an obstacle to the inordinate ambition of France, than in concerting the means of mutual defence against the common and increasing danger. The representations which I directed

to be made to the court of St. Petersburg, in consequence of the outrages committed against the ships, property, and persons of my subjects, have been treated with the utmost disrespect; and the proceedings of which I complained have been aggravated by subsequent acts of injustice and violence. Under these circumstances a convention has been concluded by that court with those of Stockholm and Copenhagen; the object of which, as avowed by one of the contracting parties, is to renew their former engagements for establishing by force a new code of maritime laws, inconsistent with the rights, and hostile to the interests of this country. In this situation I could not hesitate as to the conduct it became me to pursue. I have taken the earliest measures to repel the aggressions of this hostile confederacy, and to support those principles which are essential to the maintenance of our naval strength, grounded on the system of public law so long established and recognized in Europe.”*

* **RIGHT OF SEARCH.** *The question stated.*—It is laid down as a principle in the British Courts of Admiralty, “That the right of visiting and of searching merchantmen upon the high seas, whatever be the ships, cargoes, or destination, is an incontestable right of the lawfully commissioned cruisers of a belligerent nation.”*

The origin of this claim is very ancient. About the end of the 12th century, the free states of Italy, then possessing nearly the exclusive commerce of the South of Europe, in conjunction with other cities of Catalonia and Arragon, promulgated a maritime code, known by the name of *Il consolato del Mare*, which immediately attained to high reputation, and was almost universally regarded as the maritime law of Europe. By an article of this famous constitution it was enacted, that a neutral cargo should be safe on board enemies’ ships; but that an enemy’s property found on board a neutral vessel should be considered as lawful prize—the captor paying the amount of the freight to the ship owner; and the right of confiscation evidently implied the right of search, and was indeed altogether null without it. For several centuries this was the acknowledged basis of maritime jurisprudence in all the western and southern parts of Europe; but in process of time, Holland, gaining the ascendancy in the commercial world, and being deeply interested in the question, her merchants having engrossed the carrying trade of Europe, endeavoured to establish the opposite principle, that free bottoms make free goods; or as it was then technically expressed—“*Le pavillon neutre couvre la marchandise*,” saving always the goods *contrebande de guerre*. And the Dutch government so far succeeded in their attempt as to obtain from France this concession in their favour in the commercial treaty concluded in 1662; and from England in that of 1668 renewed in 1674.

The northern powers, who had never recognized the authority of the Italian code, insisted on various occasions with great energy upon the right of neutrality; and during the seven years’ war, the Danish counsellor Hubner, who was much employed in the difficult negotiations which took place on the subject with the belligerent powers, published a celebrated treatise on the rights of the neutral flag, which has ever since been regarded by those nations as decisive of the question, so far as relates to the exemption from search claimed by those vessels which are under the protection of a regular and authorised convoy. England, from the rapid increase of her naval and commercial power, was, beyond any other nation, interested in maintaining the ancient constitution; but in the war which commenced in 1775, generally styled the American war, the Empress of Russia, whose influence in the north of Europe,

* See Sir William Scott’s decision in the case of the *Maria*, page 106.

The debates on the address were animated and interesting. In the peers, Earl Fitzwilliam, who had hitherto contended strenuously for the continuance of the war, and the restoration of the Bourbons, frankly acknowledged "that the contest was hopeless;" he however insisted on the propriety "of an inquiry into the causes of the failure, when such large and almost unbounded powers had been intrusted to ministers, and when they had had the whole of Europe to assist in the common cause; it was also necessary to be informed why, instead of succeeding against an ancient enemy, they had at once plunged the nation into a contest with her allies?" He added, "that the new conflict in which we were about to engage was, as far as Sweden and Denmark were concerned, one of our own seeking, as we had it now in our power to suspend the discussion of the question relative to the neutral code, in the same manner as in 1780, when this country was in a less difficult situation than at present."

The Earl of Fife, a nobleman but little accustomed to speak in public, made a deep impression both on the house and the nation in this debate. He professed he had no desire either to give offence to his majesty's ministers, or to the court the approbation of those who opposed them; neither would he

was unbounded, revived a project, of which the primary author was Frederick the Great of Prussia, for establishing and securing, by the intervention of an armed force, the rights of neutral powers. This design was carried into effect by the famous convention of neutrality, concluded at St. Petersburg in 1780, to which Russia, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, and Naples, became parties; France, Spain, Holland, Austria, Portugal, Venice, and Tuscany, formerly expressed their approbation of this treaty; and Great Britain herself yielded in silence to the necessity.

To re-establish this system of armed neutrality, the courts of Russia and Sweden now entered into a convention, which was duly executed by those powers at St. Petersburg, on the 16th of December, 1800, and to which Denmark and Prussia subsequently became parties. In this treaty it is declared, that the high contracting powers shall strictly prohibit the exportation of all contraband merchandise whatever; that when a merchant-ship is not under convoy, the captain shall not oppose the searching of his vessel by a ship of war or privateer of a belligerent; but that when, on the contrary, the merchant vessel or vessels of the contracting powers are protected by convoy, the "declaration of the officers who shall command the ship of war, or ships of war, of the neutral state, which shall be convoying one or more merchant-ships, 'that the convoy has no contraband goods on board,' shall be sufficient; and that no search of his ship, or the other ships of his convoy, shall be permitted." In support of these claims, the parties to the treaty of armed neutrality engaged to equip a number of ships of war and frigates, and pledged themselves, in case the merchant-ships of their subjects should be illegally searched, seized, or detained, in contravention of the articles of this treaty, to have recourse to reprisals against such power as should refuse to do them justice; and endeavour, by every possible means, to give effect to such reprisals.

inquire whether the contest on our part was just or unjust, necessary or unnecessary, but he would frankly declare that no war was ever worse conducted. After remarking that he had paid particular attention to the history of the country, and seen and been intimate with all the different parties, from the death of Mr. Pelham to the present hour, his lordship proceeded as follows: "In this horrid contest our blood and treasure have been spent in the extravagant folly of secret expeditions; grievous and heavy taxes have been laid upon the people, and wasted in expensive embassies, and in subsidizing proud, treacherous, and useless foreign princes, who would have acted much better for themselves had we saved our money and taken no concern with them. I do not mean to condole on our present state in having no such friends—I only wish we had always been in that situation. I lament our present scarcity," added the earl, "but great as our demerits are, it comes not from the Almighty, but from the effects of this ill-conducted struggle. What have we gained by our boasted conquests? If a proper regulation for commerce were made, I wish they were all sold, and the money arising from them applied to liquidate the national debt, and release the people from those taxes which bear hard on the rich and on the poor; on their income, their industry, and what is worse upon their liberty."

Lord Grenville, on the other hand, defended the conduct of the ministers, and maintained that the claim of searching neutral vessels originated in the law of nations and the rights of nature, and that the assertion of this right constituted the foundation of her commerce and her wealth, and was the bulwark of the naval and military glory of Great Britain.

Earl Spencer contended, that whenever an inquiry should be instituted into the conduct of ministers, it would redound to their honour, but this was not a period for investigation but for action. As to the new contest which awaited us, it could not possibly be avoided; and we retained strength and ability enough to conduct it to a happy issue. On a division of the house, the address was carried by a majority of seventy-three to seventeen voices.

In the commons, Dr. Lawrence, a doctor of civil law, accustomed to practice in the court of admiralty, maintained, that forbearance was at present the best policy, and that it had been followed in times far less critical, by the magnanimous Queen Elizabeth, who claimed and exercised the right of searching neutral ships, as well as by Charles II. and the administration of 1780. He observed that the convention of St. Petersburg, which had given rise to so much complaint, em-

braced three points ; by the first of which free bottoms made free goods ; the second conceded the claim to detain contraband commodities, and the third respected the nature of blockade. He remarked that on the two first points various decisions had been pronounced, particularly in the West Indies, calculated in a high degree to provoke and irritate the northern powers ; and he concluded by animadverting on the rashness of those ministers who, after complaining of the arrest of British vessels by Russia, had committed an act equally violent as to Denmark and Sweden.

Mr. Pitt, after repelling a variety of objections, insisted, "that our very existence as a nation depended on our possessing and exercising the right of searching neutral vessels," and he lamented that any member of that house "should only have begun to doubt, when our enemies were ready to begin to combat ;" he maintained that our claims on the present occasion arose not only out of positive treaties, but out of the law of nations : and he asked, "if we were to permit the navy of our enemy to be supplied and recruited ? to suffer blockaded ports to be furnished with stores and provisions ? and allow neutral nations, by hoisting a flag on a sloop or a fishing-boat, to convey the treasures of South America to Spain, or the naval stores of the Baltic to Brest or to Toulon." After a number of animated speeches on the same subject the house divided, when the majority in favour of the ministers was two hundred and forty-five to sixty-three.

The minister, secure in his majorities, determined from the first, either to overawe or to dispel the northern confederacy. Accordingly, an order in council was issued, dated the 14th of January, imposing an embargo on all Russian, Danish, and Swedish vessels in the ports of Great Britain ; but the court of Berlin, although a party to the league, was treated upon this and every other occasion with peculiar deference and respect. Preparations were also made to send a fleet into the sound, and to hazard all the evils likely to result from a war, which threatened to exclude the British flag from the navigation of the Baltic, and her commerce from the shores of the Elbe, the Ems, the Vistula, and the Weser.

Nor were the northern powers inattentive to their own immediate safety ; for the most active preparations had for some time past taken place, in all the ports of Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Their combined navy, if fitted out by a simultaneous movement, would have amounted to nearly eighty sail of the line ; and these, together with the numerous gun-boats and floating batteries which they either possessed already or could have easily constructed, might have rendered their

narrow seas and difficult coasts impervious to the vengeance of an enemy.

In the midst of these preparations a change took place in the British cabinet. The union of the two islands was, not without reason, regarded by Mr. Pitt as the transaction which reflected the greatest lustre upon his administration; and although he had uniformly opposed the claim of catholic emancipation during the existence of the separate legislature of Ireland, he had, it was understood, in order to facilitate this favourite object, given, in concurrence with his colleagues, assurances to the Irish catholics, of a complete participation in all political privileges, so soon as the union should have taken place. When this proposition was stated in the cabinet council, the king, astonished and alarmed at the nature and extent of the claim, in very peremptory terms refused his assent to the measure being brought forward by ministers in parliament; on the ground that his assent could not be given in consistence with the oath which he had taken at his coronation.* The mind of the king was, by some means, not accounted for, deeply impressed with this idea; and the cabinet ministers, with the chancellor of the exchequer at their head, being resolved to carry their point, resorted in this emergency to an expedient, which had been found effectual on other occasions, namely, an offer to resign.† This offer the monarch

* *The Coronation Oath*, as settled at the period of the revolution, and first used at the coronation of William and Mary, in the year 1689, consists of the following questions and answers:

“Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this kingdom of England, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the statutes of parliament agreed upon, and the laws and customs of the same?”

‘I solemnly promise so to do.’

“Will you, to your power, cause law and justice in mercy to be executed in all your judgments?”

‘I will.’

“Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the gospel, and the protestant reformed religion as by law established? And will you promise unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as, by law, do, or shall appertain unto them or any of them?”

‘All this I promise to do.’

Then the king or queen, laying his or her hand upon the gospel, says, “The things which I have here before promised I will perform and keep. So help me God.”

† Some curious speculatists refined so far on the resignation of Mr. Pitt as to imagine, that the ostensible differed entirely from the real cause of this event; and that, despairing of an honourable termination of the war, he voluntarily seceded in order to give his friend, Mr. Addington, an opportunity of negotiating a peace, and with the view of resuming his situation on the accomplishment of that great *desideratum*.

accepted, and after much consultation the offices of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, were conferred upon Mr. Addington, the speaker of the house of commons. The post next in dignity, that of secretary for foreign affairs, hitherto held by Lord Grenville, was given to Lord Hawkesbury. Earl St. Vincent was placed at the head of the admiralty in the place of Earl Spencer; Lord Eldon, chief justice of the common pleas, formerly Sir John Scott, succeeded Lord Loughborough in the court of chancery. Lords Hobart and Pelham were nominated secretaries of state, in the room of Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland. Mr. Yorke succeeded Mr. Windham, as secretary of war. His brother, the Earl of Hardwicke, was destined to the vice-regal office in Ireland. Lord Levisham was placed at the head of the board of controul. And in this general change, the Duke of Portland and Lord Westmoreland alone retained their stations in the cabinet, the former as president of the council and the latter as lord privy seal.

On the 10th of February, Mr. Addington resigned his office as speaker of the house of commons; and on the following day Sir John Milford was chosen in his stead. The agitation of the king's mind had however so materially affected the state both of his bodily and mental health, that the new arrangements, although nearly completed, were not formally announced, and a total interruption of the regal functions ensued, during which the former ministers continued to discharge the duties of their respective offices.

On the same day that Mr. Addington resigned his office of speaker, the Earl of Darnley moved for an inquiry into the state of the nation. On this occasion Lord Grenville acquainted the house, that his majesty's servants, not being able to carry into effect a measure which they deemed essential to the tranquillity and prosperity of the empire, had tendered to his majesty the resignation of their several employments, and that his majesty had been graciously pleased to dispense with their services. On which representation the Earl of Darnley consented to postpone his motion.

The routine of parliamentary business went on as usual during the illness of the king; but his majesty having now happily recovered, the appointments of the new ministers were announced in the accustomed and regular form; and on the 17th of March, Mr. Addington was sworn into his high office; and Mr. Pitt was divested of that power which he had exercised, in times the most eventful and important, for the long period of seventeen years.

While these changes in the British cabinet were in agita-

tion, the cabinets of the northern powers were occupied in measures to enforce the rights of neutrals, and to extort from Great Britain a renunciation of those claims, which the King had so lately pronounced essential to the maintenance of our naval strength. Denmark, who had taken the most efficacious measures for excluding the vessels of Great Britain from the navigation of the Elbe, in the course of the spring took possession of Hamburgh. The King of Prussia, irritated at the seizure of one of his vessels, the Triton, laden with contraband goods, had already seized on the bailiwick of Ritzebuttle, and the port of Cuxhaven, under pretence of securing the independence of the north of Germany; and soon determined to recur to a measure which had given a new turn to the politics of England, and is supposed to have had no small influence on the peace that ensued. His Majesty of Prussia, after publishing a declaration complaining of the oppressions practised by Great Britain, ordered a body of troops to enter Hanover, on the 30th of March, seized on the capital, levied contributions, and obliged the generals and officers to engage not to serve against the house of Brandenburg.

In the mean time, a British fleet, consisting of eighteen ships of the line, and four frigates, together with a number of gun-boats and bomb-vessels, in all fifty-four sail, had been fitted out in the north sea, and on the 12th of March proceeded from Yarmouth roads for the Baltic. The command of this expedition was intrusted to admiral Sir Hyde Parker, assisted by Vice-admiral Lord Nelson, and Rear-admiral Totty, the last of whom was so unfortunate as to lose his flagship on a sand bank off the coast of Lincolnshire.

As it was hoped that Denmark, whose trade and prosperity had experienced an unexampled increase during the war, might be prevailed upon to sue for forbearance, the first efforts of this armament were directed against her capital, while Mr. Vansittart, a new minister plenipotentiary, was instructed to endeavour if possible to detach the court of Copenhagen from the northern alliance. But the Prince Regent of Denmark, who had governed many years in the name of his father, frankly declared, that he was determined to remain faithful to his engagements.

On the 30th of March, the English squadron passed the sound without encountering any resistance. After anchoring about four or five miles from the island of Huin, Sir Hyde Parker, in company with Lord Nelson and Rear-admiral Greaves, surveyed the formidable line of ships, raideaus, galleys, fire-vessels and gun-boats, flanked and supported by extensive batteries on the two islands called the crowns; these were

supported by two ships of seventy guns, and a large frigate in the inner road of Copenhagen, while two sixty-four gun vessels, without masts, were moored on the flat towards the entrance in the arsenal.

Lord Nelson, who had made an offer of his services to conduct the attack, and had for that purpose shifted his flag ship from the *St. George* to the *Elephant*, a vessel of smaller size, immediately gave directions for buoying the channel of the outer deep and the middle ground, after which the detachment,* consisting of twelve sail of the line, with frigates, bombs, and fire ships, selected for the assault, passed in safety, and anchored off *Draco*. On the morning of the 2d of April, the vice-admiral made the signal to weigh and engage the Danish line of defence, which was found to consist of six sail of two deckers,† eleven floating batteries, mounting from twenty-six twenty-four to eighteen eighteen pounders, and one bomb ketch, together with several schooner rigged gun vessels; these were supported by the Crown Islands, mounting eighty-eight cannon, and four sail of the line moored in the harbour's mouth, together with some batteries thrown up on the island of *Amak*.

In the mean time the shallowness of the water and the intricacy of the navigation prevented the complete execution of the projected plan; for the *Bellona* and *Russel* grounded before they had reached the stations assigned to them, while the *Agamemnon*, being unable to weather the shoal of the middle, was obliged to anchor. These vessels were intended to have out-flanked and overawed the batteries of the Crown Islands, as well as the two outer ships in the harbour's mouth.

The action began at five minutes past ten; at half an hour afterwards the first half of the fleet was engaged, and before half past eleven the battle became general. The *Elephant's* station was in the centre, opposite to the Danish Commodore *Fischer*, who commanded in the *Dannebrog*, a sixty-two gun

* The *Elephant*, Lord Nelson and Captain Foley; *Defiance*, Rear Admiral T. Greaves and Captain R. Retalick; *Monarch*, J. R. Mosse; *Bellona*, Sir T. B. Thompson; *Edgar*, G. Murray; *Russel*, W. Cumming; *Ganges*, T. F. Foremantle; *Glatton*, W. Bligh; *Isis*, J. Walker; *Agamemnon*, R. D. Vancourt; *Polyphemus*, J. Lawford; *Ardent*, T. Bertie; *Amazon*, 38, E. Riou; *Desiree*, 40, H. Inman; *Blanche*, 36, G. E. Hammond; *Alcmene*, 32, S. Sutton; *Dart*, 30, J. F. Devonshire; and the *Arrow*, 30, W. Bolton. In addition to these, there were twelve other smaller vessels, principally bombs and fire-ships, and Captain J. Rose of the *Jamaica*, 26 guns, had the command of six gun brigs, which were to have raked the southernmost ships of the Danish line, had the current permitted.

† *Danish Ships of the Line*. The *Vagren*, *Provestein*, *Jylland*, *Holstein*, *Infodstratten*, *Dannebrog*, and *Zealand*.

ship. The distance was nearly a cable's length, and this was the average distance at which the action was fought. The *Glatton* had her station immediately astern of the *Elephant*, and the *Ganges*, *Monarch*, and *Defiance* ahead, the distance between each not exceeding half a cable. At one P. M. few if any of the enemy's ships had ceased to fire. The *Isis* had greatly suffered by the superior weight of the *Provestein's* fire; and had it not been for the judicious diversion made in her favour by the *Desiree*, who raked the *Provestein*, and for the assistance afforded by the *Polyphemus*, the *Isis* would have been destroyed. The *Monarch* was also suffering severely under the united fire of the *Holstein* and the *Zealand*, while the *Bellona* had received serious injury by the bursting of some of her guns. The division of the commander-in-chief acted according to the preconcerted plan, but could only menace the entrance to the harbour. The *Elephant* was warmly engaged by the *Dannebrog*, and by two heavy praams on her bow and quarter. Signals of distress were flying on board the *Bellona* and the *Russel*, and of inability in the *Agamemnon*. The contest had not yet declared itself in favour of either side; but in this posture of affairs the signal was thrown out on board the *London*, Admiral Parker's ship, for the action to cease. Lord Nelson, who was then walking the starboard side of the quarter-deck, said to Captain Foley, with considerable agitation—"Do you know what's shewn on board of the commander-in-chief?" "Why, to leave off action!" "Leave off action," he repeated, and then added with a shrug, "Now, damn me if I do."* "You know, Foley," added he, "as I have only one eye, I have a right to be blind sometimes;" and then, with an archness peculiar to his character, putting the glass to his blind eye, he exclaimed, "I really do not see the signal." The brave Captain Riou, perceiving the blank in the original plan for the attack of the crown batteries, owing to the *Bellona* and *Russel* having grounded, and to the *Agamemnon* having anchored, proceeded down the line with his squadron of frigates† early in the engagement, and bravely attempted, but in vain, to fulfil the duties which three ships of the line had been directed to assist him in; and the general signal of recall, made by the commander-in-chief, had the good effect at last of saving Riou's squadron from destruction. When the gallant Riou, who had been previously wounded in the head by a splinter, found that he was obliged

* See "the Life of Admiral Lord Nelson, by Clarke and M'Arthur," Vol. II. Page 270.

† The *Blanche*, *Alcmene*, *Dart*, *Arrow*, *Zephyr*, and *Otter*.

to retreat, he nobly exclaimed, "What will Nelson think of us?" At this moment his clerk was killed by his side; and by another shot several of the marines shared the same fate.—The captain then exclaimed—"Come, my boys, let us all die together!" and the words were scarcely uttered, when a raking shot severed him in two, and deprived the British service of one of its greatest ornaments. The action still continued with unabated vigour; but about two, P. M. the greatest part of the Danish line had ceased to fire: some of the lighter ships were adrift, and the carnage on board the vessels of the enemy, who reinforced their crews from the shore, was dreadful. The Danish commodore's ship was now on fire, and was found to be drifting in flames before the wind, spreading terror and dismay throughout the enemy's line. The usual lamentable scene then ensued; and the British boats rowed in every direction to save the crew, who were throwing themselves from her at every port hole; few however were left unwounded in her, and fewer still could be saved.—About half past three she blew up with a terrible explosion. After the Dannebrog was adrift, and had ceased to fire, the action was found to be over along the whole line astern of the British fleet, but the ships ahead, and the crown batteries, as well as the prizes made by the British, still continued to fire. Lord Nelson losing his temper at this, observed, "That he must either send on shore and stop this irregular proceeding, or send in our fire ships and burn the prizes." He accordingly retired into the stern gallery, and wrote with great despatch the following letter:—

"To the Brothers of Englishmen, the brave Danes.

"Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson must be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them."

(Dated) "On board his majesty's ship Elephant,
Copenhagen-Roads, April 2, 1801.

(Signed) "NELSON AND BRONTE,
"Vice-admiral under the command of Admiral
"Sir Hyde Parker."

This despatch was conveyed on shore through the contending fleets, by Captain Sir Frederick Thesiger, who acted as his lordship's aide-de-camp; and who found the prince near the sally port, animating his people, and sharing their dangers.*

* While the battle raged in its utmost fury, the crown prince, who was intreated by the officers in his train to retire, heroically replied: "I return thanks for the care you take of my person; but as providence has placed me at the head of so brave a nation, I deem it a duty to be the first to set an example."

This letter, which exhibited a happy union of policy and courage, was written at a moment when Lord Nelson perceived, that in consequence of the unfavourable state of the wind, the admiral was not likely to get up to aid the enterprise ; that the principal batteries of the enemy, and the ships at the mouth of the harbour, were yet untouched ; that two of his own division had grounded ; and that others were likely to share the same fate. The firing from the crown batteries, and from the leading ships of the British, did not cease till past three o'clock, when the Danish Adjutant-general Lindholm, returning with a flag of truce, directed the fire of the batteries to be suspended. The signal for doing the same was then made to the British ships, and the action closed after five hours' duration, four of which were warmly contested, and during which the whole of the Danish line, to the southward of the Crown Islands, amounting to seventeen sail, were sunk, burnt or taken.*

This mission of the adjutant-general's was "to ask the particular object of sending the flag of truce," to which Lord Nelson replied :—

"Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity : he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore ; and Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit.

"Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his royal highness the Prince of Denmark, will consider this the greatest victory he ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his own most gracious sovereign and his majesty the King of Denmark.

(Signed)

"NELSON AND BRONTE.

"On board his majesty's ship Elephant, Copenhagen—
"Roads, April 2, 1801."

On this his royal highness, listening to the voice of humanity, sent his Adjutant-general Lindholm again on board the Elephant, and a negotiation was entered upon which terminated in an armistice for fourteen weeks, during which "the treaty of armed neutrality," as far as related to Denmark, was to be suspended.

In recording the memorable engagement off the city of Copenhagen, the gallantry displayed by the Danes ought not to be passed over in silence. Notwithstanding the long peace they had enjoyed, the batteries both afloat and ashore were manned, and the guns served, with a degree of promptitude and valour that would have conferred credit on veteran troops, and which served to shew how unnecessary it is that a nation

* Lord Nelson's Despatches, London Gazette Extraordinary, April 15, 1801.

perance, is a problem which history will scarcely descend to investigate.*

* The history of the Emperor Paul's assassination, given upon the authority of one of the assassins, is thus described by an English author, who maintains that the resolution was taken by the actors in this catastrophe from an opinion, "that to save the empire it was necessary that the emperor be removed."

"It was the custom of the emperor to sleep in an outer apartment next to the empress, upon a sofa, in his regimentals and boots, while the grand duke and duchess, and the rest of the imperial family, were lodged at various distances, in apartments below the story which he occupied. In the dead of the night of the 10th of March, O. S. Count P—Z— (late a disgraced courtier) and the rest of the conspirators, amounting to eight or nine persons, having previously changed the guard, passed the draw-bridge, easily ascended the stair-case which led to Paul's chamber, and met with no resistance till they reached the anti-room, when a faithful hussar, who always slept at the emperor's bed-room door, awaked by the noise, challenged them and presented his fusée : much as they must have all admired the brave fidelity of the guard, neither time nor circumstances would admit of an act of generosity, which might have endangered the whole plan ; Z— drew his sabre and cut the poor fellow down. Paul, awaked by the noise, sprung from his sofa ; at this moment the whole party rushed into his room : the unhappy sovereign, anticipating their design, at first endeavoured to intrench himself in the chairs and tables ; then recovering, he assumed a high tone, told them they were his prisoners, and called upon them to surrender.

"Finding that they fixed their eyes steadily and fiercely upon him, and continued advancing towards him, he implored them to spare his life ; declared his consent instantly to relinquish the sceptre, and to accept of any terms they would dictate. In his raving, he offered to make them princes, and to give them estates, and titles, and orders without end. They now began to press upon him, when he made a convulsive effort to reach the window : in the attempt he failed, and indeed so high was it from the ground, that had he succeeded, the expedient would only have put a more instantaneous period to his misery. In the effort, he very severely cut his hand with the glass ; and as they drew him back, he grasped a chair, with which he felled one of the assailants, and a desperate resistance took place. So great was the noise, that notwithstanding the massy walls and thick double-folding doors which divided the apartments, the empress was disturbed, and began to cry for help, when a voice whispered in her ear, and imperatively told her to remain quiet, otherwise, if she uttered another word, she should be put to instant death.

"Whilst the emperor was thus making a last struggle, the Prince Y— struck him on one of his temples with his fist, and laid him upon the floor : Paul recovering from the blow, again implored his life ; at this moment, the heart of P— Z— relented, and upon being observed to tremble and hesitate, a young Hanoverian resolutely exclaimed, "We have passed the rubicon : if we spare his life, before the setting of tomorrow's sun, we shall be his victims !" Upon which he took off his sash, twined it twice round the neck of the emperor, and giving one end to Z—, and holding the other himself, they pulled for a considerable time with all their force, until their miserable sovereign was no more ; they then retired from the palace without the least molestation, and returned to their respective homes."†

† Carr's Travels in Russia, &c. in 1804.

Thus perished, at a very critical period, and by the same means, that son of Peter III. who, after a short reign, fell a sacrifice to the masculine ambition of a female, and the treason of a few contemptible conspirators. Dazzled with the exploits of Bonaparte, Paul contemplated the First Consul of France with the same degree of enthusiasm as had been formerly shewn by his unfortunate father in respect to Frederick the Great. A private correspondence had actually taken place between them, compliments were interchanged, and projects of a new and portentous kind broached. Seven thousand Russian prisoners in France were immediately liberated without exchange, or ransom, and after being clothed in new uniforms, and armed from the depots of the republic, placed at the disposal of the enraptured Czar. To fill up the measure of this wonderful change in the sentiments of the court of St. Petersburg, Count de Kalitschew, a Russian nobleman, was despatched to Paris, in the character of ambassador extraordinary; and that prince, who had afforded an asylum to the unfortunate remains of the Bourbon family, and who kept a court for and recognised Louis XVIII. as the legitimate sovereign of France, now acknowledged the French republic, and testified his admiration for her first magistrate.

No sooner had Alexander I. son of the deposed emperor, succeeded to the throne of his father, than he published an ukase, revoking several of the acts of the late government, and restoring the British seamen to liberty. Baron Lisakewitsch, the Russian minister at the court of Denmark, having notified these events to Admiral Parker, the admiral immediately returned to Kioge bay, to await the orders of his court, in consequence of this new and interesting change, and in the mean time the benefits of the armistice were extended to the court of Stockholm.

Nearly about the same period, Lord St. Helens arrived at the court of St. Petersburg, in quality of minister plenipotentiary for England; and by a convention signed in the Russian capital on the 17th of June,* the emperor on the one hand

"At seven o'clock the intelligence of the demise of Paul, by apoplexy, as it was stated, spread through the capital, and his son Alexander, who had already mourned his father's fate, mounted the throne of the unfortunate monarch. The punishment that awaited the assassins was slight in the extreme: Count P—Z— was ordered not to approach the imperial residence, and the governor of the city, another of the principal conspirators, was transferred to Riga!"

* This treaty, which fixed the limits of the right of search, defined the articles that should be considered contraband of war, and determined the characteristics of a blockaded port, amongst other articles, stipulated,

allowed the right of search, under certain restrictions, by ships of war, but not by privateers ; while on the other, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries engaged in war, might be purchased and carried away by the neutral powers ; but by a subsequent explanatory declaration, the commerce between the mother country of a belligerent and her colonies was expressly excluded from the

“ That ships of neutral powers shall navigate freely to the ports, and upon the coasts of the nations at war.

“ That the effects embarked on board neutral ships shall be free, with the exception of contraband of war, and of enemy’s property ; and it is agreed not to comprise in the number of the latter, the merchandise of the produce, growth, and manufacture of the countries at war, which shall have been acquired by the subjects of the neutral power, and shall be transported for their account, which merchandise cannot be excepted in any case from the freedom granted to the flag of the said power.

“ That in order to avoid all equivocation and misunderstanding of what ought to be considered as contraband of war, his Imperial Majesty of all the Russias and his Britannic Majesty declare, conformably to the 11th article of the treaty of commerce, concluded between the two crowns on the 10th (21st) of February, 1797, that they acknowledge as such, only the following objects, viz. cannons, mortars, fire-arms, pistols, bombs, grenades, balls, bullets, fire-locks, flints, matches, powder, saltpetre, sulphur, helmets, pikes, pouches, swords, sword-belts, saddles and bridles, excepting however, the quantity of the said articles, which may be necessary for the defence of the ship and of those who compose the crew. And all other articles whatever not enumerated here, shall not be reputed warlike and naval ammunition, nor be subject to confiscation, and of course shall pass freely, without being subject to the smallest difficulty, unless they can be considered enemy’s property in the above settled sense.

“ That in order to determine what characterizes a blockaded port, that denomination is given only to that where there is, by the disposition of the power which attacks it with ships stationary, or sufficiently near, an evident danger in entering.

“ That the ships of the neutral power shall not be stopped, but upon just causes and evident facts : that they be tried without delay, and that the proceedings be always uniform, prompt, and legal.

“ That the right of searching merchant ships belonging to the subjects of one of the contracting powers, and navigating under convoy of a ship of war of the said power, shall only be exercised by ships of war of the belligerent party, and shall never extend to the fitters-out of privateers, or other vessels which do not belong to the imperial or royal fleet of their majesties, but which their subjects shall have fitted out for war.

“ That there shall be no pretence for any search, if the papers and certificates on verification are found in due form, and there exists no good motive for suspicion. In the contrary case, the captain of the neutral ship of war (being duly required thereto by the captain of the ship of war or ships of war of the belligerent powers) is to bring to and detain the convoy, during the time necessary for the search of the ships which compose it, and he shall have the faculty of naming and delegating one or more officers to assist at the search of the said ships, which shall be done in his presence, on board each merchant ship, conjointly with one or more officers selected by the captain of the ship of the belligerent party.”

benefit of this arrangement. It was also stipulated by one of the articles that Sweden and Denmark should receive back their ships and settlements on acceding to this treaty, and with these terms they both very readily complied. Thus Great Britain, partly by the sudden demise of the Emperor Paul, and partly by the thunder of her navy, saw a confederacy dissolved which aimed at the decrease of her maritime greatness, and was calculated to involve her in a new and disastrous war. But at the very moment when England had concluded a peace with her new foes, she was subject to the mortification of beholding an ancient but feeble ally punished for her fidelity.

No sooner had the peace of Luneville been signed, than the consular government of France determined to punish Portugal for its attachment to the only remaining enemy of the republic. Queen Mary, the widow of her uncle Peter III. incapacitated, partly by age, and partly by a mental malady, from the exercise of the royal functions, still retained the semblance of sovereignty; but the kingdom was governed by her son, under the name of regent. The Prince of Brazil, conscious that his country had been repeatedly saved, and his family continued on the throne, in consequence of the support and protection of Great Britain, from whom he now expected the assistance of an auxiliary army, was devoted to that power, and, notwithstanding the menaces of the court of Madrid, had hitherto rejected the idea of any treaty that tended to exclude British ships from the ports of Portugal.

The King of Spain, actuated by attachment to his family, had suspended the vengeance of his ally, until, being at length fearful of an invasion on the part of the republic, he reserved for himself the task of chastising his son-in-law. He accordingly published a manifesto, on the 27th of February, 1801, in which he complained that Europe had been scandalized at Portugal presenting a secure asylum to the squadrons of the enemy, from which they were enabled to issue forth and seize on the vessels of Spain, and on those of a republic united to him by friendship. This manifesto, in which the Spanish monarch intermingled his own complaints with those of France, announced the recall of the Spanish ambassador from the court of Portugal, and concluded with a declaration of war against that country.

The counter-manifesto, published by the court of Lisbon, on the 21st of April, was replete with energy and worthy of the most prosperous days of the Portuguese monarchy. After congratulating the nation on retaining its independence, notwithstanding the subjugation of so many other countries, the prince regent maintained that Portugal had always evinced a

scrupulous fidelity to its promises in respect to foreign states ; that war had been declared against them because they had observed the faith of treaties ; and that the measures now taken by the enemies of Portugal were intended to degrade and debase her by reducing her to the necessity of supplicating for the preservation of her commerce. " Portuguese !" continued the Prince, " we will preserve the courage and the sentiments of honour transmitted to us by our ancestors ; justice is on our side ; the true God, propitious to our cause, will punish by means of our arms the injuries committed by our enemies ; he will crown with glory our generals and our legitimate sovereign, while our zeal, the equity of our cause, and the remembrance of our exploits, will secure us victory."

The prince of peace having been declared generalissimo of the Spanish army, immediately entered Portugal, and in the course of less than two months over-ran that country. Having penetrated by two different routes into Alentejo, he obtained possession of Campo-Major, and all the fortified places in that extensive province, compelled the enemy to retire beyond the Tagus, and transmitted the trophies of his victorious career to Madrid. The prince regent, finding all his efforts to resist the Spaniards in vain, was obliged to consent to a treaty of peace, which was signed at Badajos, on the 6th of June. By this treaty, Spain obtained possession of the province of Olivenza, and it was stipulated that no armed ships appertaining to the enemies of that country, should be admitted into the harbours of Portugal.

But these proceedings did not appear in exact conformity with the interests and views of France, and General St. Cyr, who had been invested with the character of ambassador to the court at Madrid, immediately placed himself at the head of a body of twenty-four thousand troops, entered Portugal, and invested the fortress of Almeida, within thirty leagues of the capital. No sooner was this event known at Lisbon, than the court became alarmed for its safety, and as the subsidy of three hundred thousand pounds, voted to that state by the British parliament, was unaccompanied by a body of troops, as had been originally intended, a peace soon after took place between Portugal and France. By this treaty, which was signed at Madrid, on the 29th of September, Portugal engaged no longer to admit either British ships of war or merchantmen into her harbours ; the limits of the dominions of the republic in Guiana were extended ; and commercial immunities highly favourable to France were obtained. On the other hand, the British ministry, being apprehensive lest the island of Madeira should be delivered up to the enemy, sent

a squadron thither, with a small body of land forces under Colonel Clinton, who, debarking on the day of his arrival, obtained possession of the forts which command the bay of Fonchiale.

In the mean time, such of the states of Europe as had not yet made their peace with France, being terrified into submission by the victories of Marengo and Hohenlinden, and bereaved, in consequence of the treaty of Luneville, of all efficient co-operation, were eager to solicit forgiveness, and to bow at the feet of the conqueror. The King of the two Sicilies, alarmed at the approach of an army under General Murat, withdrew his troops in succession from the territories of Tuscany and Rome; and at the moment when the French were about once more to enter his kingdom, he contrived, by the powerful intercession of Russia and of Spain, to prevent the re-establishment of the Parthenopean republic. The treaty, however, by means of which he purchased his safety, was humiliating; for he agreed to shut the ports of Naples and Sicily to the ships of war of Great Britain and the Ottoman Porte, and to renounce, along with Porto Longone, his possessions in the isle of Elba, the presidial states in Tuscany, and the principality of Piombino. But what was infinitely more disagreeable to this prince, he not only stipulated by the specific article to pay the sum of five hundred thousand livres, by way of indemnification for the lives lost and the damages sustained by the French party, during the late disorders in the kingdom of Naples; but he was obliged also solemnly to agree to permit all those who had been either imprisoned or banished on account of their political opinions, to be liberated, and return to their native country.

Amidst this career of triumph on the part of the first consul, the eyes of all Europe we suddenly directed towards Africa, and fixed on that scene where the English were fated to equal the most splendid achievements of the French nation.

CHAPTER XIX.

CAMPAIGN IN EGYPT: *State of the French Army—A British Army sails for Egypt—Arrives in the Bay of Aboukir—Debarkation—The British Army advances—Battle of the 13th of March—Battle of the 21st—Death of General Abercrombie—Offer to renew the Convention of El Arisch rejected by the French—Rosetta surrenders to the Anglo-Turkish army—The Commander-in-Chief, leaving Alexandria to be invested by General Coote and Admiral Bickerton, proceeds against Cairo—Defeat of the French by the Turks—Surrender of Grand Cairo—Siege of Alexandria—Fall of Alexandria, and the final Expulsion of the French from Egypt.*

EGYPT, the scene of his former exploits and triumphs, was never absent from the mind of Bonaparte. Reclined beneath the canopy of power, and wielding the sceptre of a potent state, he still recollected those gigantic plans of ambition, which had induced him to wrest the regions watered by the Nile from the Turks and Mamelukes, that he might be enabled to drive the English from their possessions on the banks of the Ganges. He affected to consider the army of the East as composed “of his own children;” and while he gave orders for fitting out a strong squadron for its relief, under Admiral Gantheaume, an active and enterprising commander, he took care to supply the troops with arms, and even to increase their numbers by means of small detachments of conscripts. Kleber, whose memory was still dear to the soldiers, had added at once to their reputation and their security by the decisive battle of Heliopolis.* He had also increased their numbers by the formation of a Greek legion, which supplied the loss of the veteran troops, while celerity was given to their movements, by the establishment of several squadrons of camels, so that a body of infantry could at any time traverse the desert, or fly to the assistance of a distant post menaced by the enemy; to facilitate the communication, bridges were also thrown across the arms of the Nile, and a superiority on that river maintained by means of a flotilla of armed galleys.

Menou, who had succeeded to the command of the French army, and been confirmed in that office by the first consul, had never distinguished himself as a warrior. Since the residence of the French in this part of Africa, he had not filled any important department, or performed a single exploit worthy of record; and the troops, accustomed to be conducted by gallant and fortunate chiefs, placed but little reliance on a leader whom they considered as a financier rather than a

* Book II. Chap. XVI. Page 81.

general. His disputes with Kleber, a commander at once adored by the soldiers, and worthy of their esteem, had long since rendered him unpopular with the mass of the army; and in addition to this, he had to contend with a party, some of which aspired to the supreme command, while others, discontented with their situation, and considering themselves in the light of exiles, languished to return to that country which they had left with reluctance. At this period the successful rebellion of Passwan Oglou filled the mind of the Grand Vizier with terror and dismay; while the fierce jealousy of D'jezzar, the victorious Pacha of Syria, and the sudden change that had taken place in the politics of the Emperor Paul, added to his numerous and recent disasters, induced him to make an attempt, which proved unsuccessful, to renew with Menou the negotiations which had been begun with Bonaparte and continued with Kleber.

Such was the situation of the French at this moment; powerful, but divided on one hand, and menaced by eastern hordes, numerous indeed, but contemptible, on the other. The English ministry, perceiving themselves foiled by their own wavering policy, in consequence of which they had at one time disapproved by anticipation, the treaty of El Arisch, and at another wished to ratify the same treaty, when it was too late, at length determined on the expulsion of the French from Egypt; and this gallant service was reserved for troops, the greater part of which had been coasting along the shores of Spain and the borders of the Mediterranean. After landing and re-embarking at Ferrol, and afterwards menacing Cadiz, part of the fleet sailed for Malta towards the end of the year 1800, while the remainder wintered at Minorca.

In the mean time, the plan of the campaign was formed and developed. Judging from intercepted letters that the French were thinned by disease and dispirited by so long a seclusion from Europe, it was supposed that the conquest would not be difficult; and it was determined that the field should be taken by three different armies at the same time, for the purpose of co-operating in the attainment of this great object. While those very enemies who had so lately menaced India, were to be opposed by a body of troops from that remote quarter of the globe, under the command of General Baird, the Grand Vizier was to penetrate across the desert, and at the same period, the English, under convoy of a powerful armament, were to land near to that spot where the remembrance of their gallant achievements was still fresh in their recollection.

The fleet destined for this purpose having accordingly rendezvoused, on the 1st of January, 1801, in the spacious bay of

Marmorice, on the coast of Caramania, waited for the purpose of purchasing cavalry horses, collecting transports, and procuring gun-boats to cover the landing, as well as vessels of a lighter burthen to enter the lakes. But notwithstanding the endeavours of the English ambassador at the court of the Ottoman Porte, to inflame the tardy zeal of the Turks, a considerable delay intervened, and several French vessels entered Alexandria in the mean time, with supplies of troops, ammunition, and stores for the enemy. At length the British squadron, consisting of about one hundred and seventy-five sail, under the command of Lord Keith, weighed anchor on the 23d of February, and sailed with an army of fifteen thousand three hundred and thirty men,* to subjugate an enemy with the strength of whom the commanders themselves were notoriously unacquainted. It happened also that not a single officer in the army was acquainted with the interior of the country, nor had they even a map which could be depended upon. To complete this state of uncertainty, Major Makarras, of the engineers, who was despatched to reconnoitre the country, was killed; and Major Fletcher, another artillery officer, severely wounded. During the passage, the Greek and Turkish vessels separated from the squadron amidst a heavy gale, in which one of the ships laden with mules had foundered;

* Sir Robert Wilson, in his History of the British Campaign in Egypt, states that the *efficient* force of the army at the highest computation did not exceed twelve thousand men; and the following list of the forces is extracted from that publication:

Guards—Major-General Ludlow.

1st, or Royals, }
2d bat. 54th, } Major-general Coote.
92d, }

8th—13th—90th—Major-general Craddock.

2d, or Queens, }
50th, } Major-general Lord Cavan.
79th, }

18th—30th—44th—89th—Brigadier-general Doyle.

Minorca, }
De Rolle's, } Major-general Stuart.
Dillon's, }

RESERVE.

40th, flank-companies, }
23d, }
28th, }
42d, } Major-general Moore.
58th, }

Corsican Rangers,
Detach. 11th dragoons,
Ditto, Hompesch's regiment, }

12th dragoons—26th ditto,—Brigadier-general Finch.

Artillery and pioneers,—Brigadier-general Lawson.

The whole under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie.

and as the cavalry and artillery horses were embarked on board of them, this circumstance was productive of considerable disappointment. After a boisterous passage, however, of six days, the Arab's tower was descried; and in the course of the next morning the convoy arrived in Aboukir Bay, rendered memorable by the celebrated battle of the Nile.

From the unfavourable state of the weather it was found necessary to delay the debarkation of the troops till the morning of the 8th of March.* The first division of the army, amounting to near six thousand men, under Major-general Coote, having got into the boats, a rocket was fired at three o'clock in the morning, on which they immediately towed towards the Mendovi, and anchored in a central position at some distance from the shore. At nine, gun-boats, armed launches, and cutters, having been stationed for their protection, another signal was made, in consequence of which they advanced towards the beach, under the superintendence of Captains Cochrane, Stevenson, Scott, Lamour, Apthorpe, and Morrison, of the royal navy, and fearless of the preparations of the enemy, steered directly for that part of the shore where the greatest opposition was likely to take place; for the French had occupied a sand-hill, styled by them "*la hauteur*," and lined all the adjacent heights with artillery and infantry; so that on the approach of the flotilla within this amphitheatre of fire, the castle of Aboukir, together with the guns, to the number of fifteen, poured down a most terrible and incessant discharge of shot, shell, and grape, which forced the boats to incline a little from their original direction, although, instead of being daunted, the men answered every discharge by a huzza!

The reserve, under Major-general Moore, having leaped on shore, the 23d regiment, and the four flank companies of the 40th, led by Colonel Spencer, rushed up the eminence, and charging with fixed-bayonets, forced the artillery, infantry, and dragoons, to give way in succession. But while the guards, under Major-general Ludlow, were landing, and before they had time to form, they were suddenly attacked by a body of cavalry from behind the sand-hills, some of the troopers actually leaping at the same time into the sea, where they killed several men while crowded in the boats and incapable of using

* On the 7th, Sir Sidney Smith, who first landed to reconnoitre the lake of Maadie, made a trivial but laughable capture, which excited the merriment of the whole fleet: the gallant knight, after driving the enemy from a small battery, succeeded in making three captives, and returned to his vessel with a French colonel, an Arabian poney, (a jackass) and its Egyptian driver.

their arms. Being at length repulsed, the troops advanced in succession to support the reserve, which by this time had obtained possession of the commanding ground in front. In their progress they fell in with a column of the enemy, which had intended to attack them in flank, but being over-awed by the daring march and unexampled hardihood of the assailants, it retreated towards Alexandria, after maintaining an irregular fire for some time. On the retreat of the French force, the English advanced three miles from the coast, and encamped with the right to the sea, and the left inclining to the lake of Maadie. (46.)

The loss of the British on this occasion in killed and wounded, including seamen and marines, exceeded seven hundred, while that of the French, in consequence of the protection afforded by the sand-hills, did not amount to more than one half that number. The possession of the enemy's position, the capture of seven pieces of cannon and a howitzer, together with the discomfiture of a large body of men protected by a fortress, strong batteries, and a nearly inaccessible eminence, constituted the exploits of this day. But the result was not to be measured by any common rule, or estimated by arithmetical calculation; for the French now perceived that they had no longer Turks, or even Mamelukes, to contend with; they felt that soldiers of an European nation had landed in Egypt, and from this moment their ultimate possession of that country became problematical.

The judicious arrangements of the admiral had enabled a body of six thousand men, together with three hundred and fifty seamen, who either conducted artillery or acted as pikemen, to land in the course of the first day, and during the next day, the remainder being carried on shore immediately effected a junction. On the 12th, the whole army moved forward and arrived within sight of the enemy, who, to the number of five thousand four hundred infantry, and six hundred cavalry, were now encamped on an advantageous ridge of sand-hills, forming a fine glacis, with their right towards the canal of Alexandria, and their left to the sea.

On the morning of the 13th orders were given to attack the

(46.) The French force on this occasion, according to their writers, amounted to no more than 1200 men, opposed to them were six thousand English troops, whom the great extent of the bay of Aboukir enabled to land at once. The action was however vigorously contested on the part of the former, the 61st regiment repeatedly overthrew an English division of treble its force, and the field was only given up to an overpowering superiority of numbers. The English are represented to have lost fifteen hundred men in this engagement.

French, with an intention to turn their right flank. The English army marched in two lines from the left, the reserve covering the movement on the right, and keeping parallel with the first line. Scarcely had they advanced out of the wood of date trees, in front of Mandora Tower, before the enemy left the heights on which they had been formed, and moving down by their right, commenced a heavy fire of musketry and cannon on the 92d regiment, which formed the advanced guard of the left column; and at the same time the enemy's cavalry, under the orders of General Bron, charged down a height on the 90th regiment, forming the advanced-guard of the right column. This regiment, undismayed, firmly maintained its ground, and allowing the cavalry to approach, poured in upon them a volley so destructive as to arrest their progress and alter their destination. A few of the dragoons, however, advanced to the British ranks, and were bayoneted in their attempt to break them. The army, now formed in two lines, pushed on with the greatest vigour, preserving always the strictest regularity; while the foreign brigade emulated the British. As the army advanced, the French, under the command of General Lanusse, were compelled to quit their position, and to retreat over the plain to the heights of Nicopolis, within their lines before Alexandria; but before they could wholly effect this movement, Dillon's regiment, which had advanced on the left, charged with the bayonet, and having carried two guns, placed on the canal of Alexandria, turned them immediately against the enemy. Sir Ralph Abercrombie, wishing to follow up this success, and by a *coup de main* to carry the important position on which the French had now retired, advanced across the plain, ordering General Hutchinson, with the second line, to move forwards to the left, and secure a projecting rising ground; General Moore being at the same time directed to the right, that both flanks might be assaulted at the same moment. The enemy now began to play from all their field artillery and heavy ordnance, while the British army, having advanced into the plain, found itself under one of the most terrible and destructive fires to which ever troops were exposed. On this occasion, Sir Ralph Abercrombie having advanced to reconnoitre the ground, had a horse shot under him, and was saved by the 90th regiment from being either killed or taken prisoner. The French, no longer in danger, had only to load and fire. Aim was unnecessary, the bullets could not fail to do their office. For several hours did the English troops remain patiently suffering this exterminating fire, and never betrayed the least irresolution. If a word was heard, it expressed only a wish to be led

to the assault. At length, the British commander deeming it prudent to desist, the army was withdrawn at sun-set, and ordered to re-occupy that position which was so shortly to be the theatre of its glory and revenge. The loss of the English in this sanguinary conflict amounted to eleven hundred men killed and wounded. The French of course suffered less, but about five hundred of them were put *hors de combat*, in addition to which they lost four field-pieces, and a great quantity of ammunition.

The English now began to fortify their new position by means of heavy cannon, brought on shore for that purpose ; and as a defensive warfare on the part of an invading army always assumes an unprosperous aspect, the late retreat appeared in every point of view to be eminently sinister. The arrival of General Menou from Cairo with a large reinforcement of troops, rendered the situation of the British troops still more critical ; but on the other hand, the castle of Aboukir, which had sustained a siege of eight days while in possession of the Turks, and assailed by Bonaparte, surrendered to the British on the 18th of March, after holding out against the besiegers only five days.

No sooner had Menou entered Alexandria than he determined to give battle to the English. Instead of adopting a cautious and destructive system of warfare against troops unaccustomed to the country, he resolved, notwithstanding the jealousies that prevailed in his own army, to stake the fate of Egypt on a single combat. The necessary dispositions were accordingly made for an attack next morning before day-light by a body of about twelve thousand men ; and in the general orders issued on the preceding evening describing the order of battle, it was expressly stated, “ that the design was to drive the English into the lake Maadie.”

On the memorable 21st of March the British army was as usual under arms at three o'clock in the morning ; all was tranquil till half past three, when the report of a musket, followed by the firing of a cannon, was heard at the extremity of the left.—This demonstration was, as it afterwards appeared, only a feint, for in a little time after loud shouts were heard in the front of the right, which fully certified the enemy's intention ; a roar of musketry immediately succeeded, and by break of day the action had become general. The first onset, as is usual on the part of the French, was impetuous, and was expected by them to be irresistible ; but the steady valour of the 58th and 28th regiments, supported by the 23d and the 42d, checked the ardour of the assailants, and repulsed them in two successive charges, during which the British infantry,

although broken and in part dispersed, contended hand to hand with well-appointed cavalry. At this critical moment General Stuart, with the foreign brigade from the second line, advanced in the most perfect order, and poured in such a heavy and well-directed fire that nothing could withstand it, and the enemy fled or perished. It was in this charge of the cavalry that the gallant Sir Ralph Abercrombie, always anxious to be the most forward in danger, received a mortal wound. On the first alarm he had mounted his horse, and finding the right was seriously engaged, he proceeded thither. When he came near the ruins, where, at the commencement of the action, the 58th regiment was posted, he despatched his aides-de-camp with orders to different brigades, and while thus alone, some dragoons of the French cavalry penetrated to the spot, and he was thrown from his horse. One of them, supposed to be an officer, then rode at him, and attempted to cut him down; but just as the edge of the sword was falling, the natural heroism of the general, and the energy called forth by his perilous situation, so invigorated his veteran arm, that seizing the sword, he wrested it from the hand of his adversary; and at that moment the French officer was bayoneted by a soldier of the 42d regiment. Sir Ralph Abercrombie was scarcely aware of the wound he had received in his thigh, but he complained severely of a contusion in his breast, received as he supposed by the hilt of the sword in the personal rencontre. Sir Sidney Smith was the first officer who came to the commander-in-chief, and to him Sir Ralph presented the sword he had so gloriously acquired, as a substitute for the sword of Sir Sidney Smith, which had been accidentally broken.* Sir Ralph, as the enemy's cavalry was by this time repulsed, walked to the redoubt on the side of the guards, from which he could command a view of the whole field of battle. The French although driven out of the British camp, by no means gave up the contest on the right. A second charge of cavalry was attempted by their reserve against the foreign brigade, but this effort proved as unsuccessful as those by which it had been preceded. Their infantry, no longer able to keep in a body, acted *en tirailleurs*, except that a battalion still maintained its station in front of the redoubt, on each flank of which the tri-

* A singular circumstance happened almost immediately afterwards. Major Hall, aid-de-camp to General Craddock, while on a mission with orders, had his horse killed. Seeing Sir Sidney Smith, he begged to mount his orderly-man's horse. Sir Sidney was turning round to bid him give it to the major, when a cannon-ball struck off the dragoon's head: "This," exclaimed Sir Sidney Smith, "is destiny; the horse, Major Hall, is yours."

coloured flag was planted. The ammunition of the English was by this time totally exhausted, and the regiments of the reserve were obliged to remain without firing a shot, some not having one round left, and for a time there was only one cartouch for the guns in the battery.

While such was the state of the contest on the right, the attack on the centre had also continued. As soon as day dawned, a column of French grenadiers had advanced, supported by a heavy line of infantry, to the assault of this part of the position. The guards posted at that place at first threw out their flankers to oppose them, but these being driven in when the column approached very near, General Ludlow directed the brigade to fire, which they did with great precision, and with considerable execution. The French general advanced to turn the left flank of the guards, but finding all his efforts ineffectual, he was compelled to desist. The left of the British was never seriously engaged; it was only exposed to a partial firing of musketry, and a distant cannonade. At length General Menou, finding that all his movements had failed, and that the British lines had suffered no serious impression, determined to retreat. This operation was effected in good order, notwithstanding the galling fire from the British cannon on the left, and also from the king's cutters on the right, which had during the whole action most gallantly remained in that situation, although exposed to a body of the enemy advantageously placed within half musket-shot.

During the battle, a body of chosen troops, consisting of about nine hundred, which, in consequence of a series of brilliant achievements in Italy, had acquired the appellation of "the invincibles," actually succeeded in a certain degree in piercing between the walls of an ancient ruin and a modern battery, which they attempted to storm three different times. But repeated volleys of grape and ball, together with a charge of bayonets, nearly annihilated the whole of this celebrated corps, who perished on the ground they occupied, while the officer who bore the famous standard embroidered with their exploits,* exclaimed "Long live the republic," and surrendered the standard at the same moment with his life.†

* *Le passage de la Servia—Le passage du Tagliamento—Le passage de l'Isonzo—La prise de Graz—Le pont de Lodi.*"

† Sergeant Sinclair, of the 42d regiment, and a private in the Minorca corps, claimed equally this trophy, and it appears that each merited the honour: Sergeant Sinclair first took it, but being ordered forwards by an officer, he gave it to a private, who was killed. When the Minorca advanced the French had recovered their colours; but the private wrested them from the man who had possession of them, and then bayoneted him.‡

§ Sir Robert Wilson's History of the British Expedition to Egypt.

Amidst such a general display of gallantry, it is difficult to select those regiments which claim a superior degree of merit ; but it is allowed that the 28th and 42d particularly distinguished themselves on this occasion, while the foreign brigade contributed greatly, by its spirited movement in advance, to decide the fate of the day. The guards also, during the attack on the centre, conducted themselves with equal coolness and intrepidity ; and the conduct of Major-general Ludlow, who fought at their head, as well as that of Major-general Moore, who was wounded while leading on the reserve, together with Brigadier-general Stuart and Colonel Paget, at once merited and obtained the praise of the commander-in-chief.

The loss of the enemy on this memorable day has been estimated at from three to four thousand men, including many of their principal officers. Their cavalry suffered severely ; General Roize, the commander of that force, perished in the field, and two other generals died soon after of their wounds. Of the British, thirteen hundred and six rank and file, with seventy officers, were killed, wounded, or missing. Eight officers of the staff, of whom five possessed the rank of general, were included in this list, as was also the commander-in-chief. Sir Ralph Abercrombie could not be prevailed upon to leave the field until after the defeat of the French, and the conclusion of a combat which had continued nearly seven hours. At length, fainting with the loss of blood, he was carried on board the *Foudroyant*, where he died seven days afterwards, to the inexpressible regret of the whole army.*

* SIR RALPH ABERCROMBIE, K. B.—This gallant chief was the son of George Abercrombie, Esq. of Tillebodrie, in Clackmannanshire, and was born about the year 1738, or according to his epitaph at Malta, in 1733. After receiving a liberal education, he entered by choice into the army, in 1756, and was advanced through the regular gradations to the rank of Major-general, which he attained in Sept 1787. On the breaking out of the revolutionary war, in 1792-3, he was employed on the continent, and had the local rank of lieutenant-general conferred upon him. In the action on the heights of Cateau he commanded the advanced-guard, and was wounded in the battle of Nimeguen. In the year 1795, he was created Knight of the Bath, and appointed commander-in-chief of the forces in the West Indies. On his arrival he obtained possession of the island of Grenada, and soon after of the settlements of Demarara and Essequibo. His next conquests were the islands of St. Lucia and St. Vincent ; and in February, 1797, the Spanish island of Trinidad capitulated to him. On his return to Europe he was appointed lieutenant-governor of the Isle of Wight, from which he was, in 1798, elevated to the office of governor of Fort Augustus and Fort St. George. Previous to this he was appointed commander-in-chief in Ireland, where he laboured to maintain the discipline of the army, to suppress the rising rebellion, and to protect the people from the licentiousness of military rule, with a care and skill worthy of the great general, and the enlightened and beneficent statesman. But circumstances rendering it neces-

Thus ended a conflict, in which the number of prisoners did not exceed two hundred, and the cannon taken amounted only to two. But notwithstanding this, and although a numerous army was yet to be overcome, lines nearly impregnable to be stormed, and two fortified towns to be taken, this action, fought on the barren isthmus of Aboukir, by its moral and political, as well as its military effects, eventually decided the sovereignty of the whole of this portion of Africa.

Two days after the battle of Aboukir, Sir Sidney Smith, at the request of General Hutchinson, on whom the command of the army devolved, repaired to the enemy's lines, for the purpose of making an offer to renew the convention of El Arisch; but notwithstanding the late defeat, Menou haughtily replied, "that no attention would be paid to any proposal so injurious to the army of the east." In the mean time, the commander-in-chief was gratified by the arrival of the captain

sary that the civil and military command of that country should be vested in the same person, he was removed, on the appointment of the Marquis Cornwallis, to the chief command in Scotland. When the memorable enterprise against Holland was undertaken in 1799, Sir Ralph Abercrombie held a principal command under the Duke of York; and it was confessed, even by the enemy, that no victory could have conferred more honour than was derived from the talents, activity, and bravery, he displayed in forwarding the purposes of that ill-fated expedition. A more favourable enterprise, however, soon afforded our gallant hero an opportunity of immortalizing his name. This was the expedition undertaken for the purpose of dispossessing the French of Egypt. But it was, as has been seen above, his destiny to fall in the moment of victory; and on his removal from the field of battle to the Foudroyant, he heroically exclaimed, "I can feel no pain, when I think of the bravery of those fine fellows whom I have just left."

The successor of the general, in a well written eulogium, pays a due tribute of respect to his memory: "We have sustained an irreparable loss," says he in his first public despatch, "in the person of our never sufficiently to be lamented commander-in-chief, who was mortally wounded in the action (of the 21st) and died on the 28th of March. I believe he was wounded early, but he concealed his situation from those about him, and continued in the field, giving his orders with that coolness and perspicuity which had ever marked his character, till long after the action was over, when he fainted through weakness and loss of blood. Were it permitted," continues General Hutchinson, "for a soldier to regret any one who has fallen in the service of his country, I might be excused for lamenting him more than any other person; but it is some consolation to those who tenderly loved him, that as his life was honourable, so his death was glorious. His memory will be recorded in the annals of his country, will be sacred to every British soldier, and embalmed in the recollection of a grateful posterity."

In private life, Sir Ralph had in his manners some degree of reserve; but he was truly amiable, honourable, and virtuous, attached to his country and his profession, and in every relative duty most exemplary. No man ever felt more deeply the awful responsibility attached to a commander-in-chief; and he regarded victory itself as of no value but as it tended to promote the interests and the repose of society.

Pacha, with a reinforcement of six thousand men, in consequence of which, detachments of Turks and English were despatched, on the 25th of March, under Colonel Spencer, to Rosetta, which commands the navigation of the Nile. The French having retreated after a feeble resistance, that important place was immediately occupied; and the fall of Fort St. Julien, which surrendered on the 8th of April, opened a communication with the Delta, through which fresh provisions for the army were regularly obtained. Sir Sidney Smith, with an armed flotilla, soon after this navigated the river as high as El Aft; while the British general ordered the canal of Alexandria to be cut, so as to let the waters of the sea into lake Maréotis, and thus strengthen the position of the English camp, as well as to cut off all direct communication between the garrison of Alexandria and the interior of Egypt.

The success of the Anglo-Turkish detachment at Rosetta, the capture of the neighbouring fort, which secured the navigation of the river, and the movements of the allies on the side of Palestine, induced General Hutchinson to intrust the blockade of Alexandria to General Coote and Admiral Bickerton, with a view of marching into the heart of the country. Every thing appeared propitious to his design; for in the course of a few days more, a reinforcement of three thousand men landed from England; intelligence was also received from Cosseir of the arrival of the first division of the detachment of Bombay troops, while General Baird was expected in a short time with the remainder. Mourad Bey, never sincerely attached to his new allies, and alarmed by the recent victories of the English, deserted the French cause, and intimated his readiness to join their adversaries. D'jezzar Pacha, suspending for a while his hatred to the Turks, had already sent a body of well appointed cavalry to the Grand Vizier, who had by this time crossed the desert; while his highness made an offer of the assistance of two thousand horse, about six hundred of which body, equipped and disciplined, arrived soon after in the English camp. The commander-in-chief accordingly proceeded with a detachment of the army to Rosetta, whence he marched to El Aft, and then advanced to Rhamanieh, where the enemy, consisting of three thousand infantry, and eight hundred cavalry, under General Grange, happened to be posted. This body of troops deeming it imprudent to wait an attack, retired during the night, leaving a small garrison in the fort, which surrendered the next morning. As the French retreated with great celerity, General Hutchinson followed them with all possible speed, and in the

course of his march captured a convoy of five hundred camels with an escort of six hundred men, destined for Alexandria; while Captain Stevenson, an active and enterprising officer, who commanded the flotilla on the Nile, captured, on the 14th of May, a gun-boat and several galleys, laden with heavy artillery, brandy, and clothing for the enemy. This acquisition was however rendered less valuable by the plunder of the Arnauts, a body of troops who had served without pay; while the danger arising from the plague, now raging in the interior, became greatly increased by communication with the inhabitants.

The French having made a forced march, with the view of attacking and defeating the Turkish army before the arrival of succours now advancing to its assistance, the British camp was filled with apprehension, and many prognosticated that a defeat similar to that at Heliopolis would ensue. Nor was this at all improbable when the manners and character of the Turkish nation are considered. During the present campaign, however, the Turks must be allowed to have conducted themselves with an extraordinary degree of valour and good conduct. Encouraged by the prosperous career of the English, their expected junction, and the presence of officers of that nation in their camp, the Grand Vizier had advanced from Belbeis against an enemy, the very name of which had so often forced him to turn pale. On the morning of the 16th of May, a body of five hundred cavalry, supported by three light field-pieces, under Jahir Pacha, attacked a strong detachment of the French from Cairo, consisting of about four thousand infantry, six hundred horse, and fourteen pieces of cannon. His highness first detached Mehemmed Pacha to the assistance of his advanced guard, and soon after moved forward himself with the main body; in consequence of which the enemy, who had retired into a wood of date trees, was obliged, after having experienced some loss, to retreat to El Hanka, seven miles from the scene of action. On this occasion all the evolutions of the Ottoman army were performed under the superintendence of Colonel Holloway, while the artillery were served by Major Hope, Captain Lacy, and Captain Leake. This action, which was insignificant in some points of view, was in others productive of a wonderful effect. The Turks, who by long experience had been taught to consider the French as invincible, from this moment contemplated them with diminished terror. They began to entertain greater confidence in their own exertions, and were desirous if possible, to wipe away the ignomy occasioned by so many defeats.

In the mean time the English army, now strengthened by

the arrival of fifteen hundred Mamelukes, under the command of Osman Bey, the successor of Mourad, had advanced without interruption to Gazei, opposite Cairo, which was garrisoned by about four thousand Frenchmen; while the Turks, flushed with a success equally novel and unexpected, prepared to form a junction, and to besiege that city in concert. Accordingly after a variety of delays, partly arising from the low state of the river, and partly from the bar at Rosetta, the heavy cannon were brought up, and batteries erected. The city of Cairo was still capable of sustaining a siege, and perhaps of holding out until the periodical inundation of the Nile rendered the operations against it of no avail. But General Belkaird, who commanded in that place, instead of protracting the war by a strenuous defence, or retiring into Upper Egypt, where all pursuit would have been ineffectual, sent a flag of truce to the English camp, and agreed to surrender the fortress. A convention was accordingly drawn up, and executed on the 27th of June, in which it was stipulated that the French forces of every description, as well as the auxiliaries, were to evacuate Cairo, the citadel, the forts of Boulac, Gizeh, and all that part of Egypt occupied by the detachment under the command of the general of division Belkaird. The members of the commission of arts and sciences, and such of the inhabitants of Egypt as might be desirous to follow the fortunes of the vanquished, were to retire by land to Rosetta, with their arms, baggage, field-artillery, and effects, at the expense of the allied powers, whence they were to be embarked for one of the ports of the French republic in the Mediterranean. It was also proved by a specific article, that the terms, which were nearly the same as those allowed by the treaty of El Arisch, should be communicated to General Menou, who was to be at liberty to accede to them for Alexandria, provided his acceptance should be notified at the head quarters of the English troops, before that city, within the space of ten days. In conformity with the capitulation, the French, escorted by a strong detachment under General Moore, proceeded to the place of their destination, where they embarked for France, to the number of about thirteen thousand six hundred men; and on this occasion, they must be allowed to have evinced a noble testimony of their respect to the memory of General Kleber, by carrying his corpse along with them to their native country.

General Menou declining to accede to the terms of the treaty of Cairo, reposed his last hope on the timely arrival of succours intrusted to the care of Admiral Gantheaume. That officer, with a squadron of four sail of the line, and a frigate crowded with troops, had left Toulon, and steered for the

Levant: As his destination was known, all the English commanders in that quarter were on the watch for him; he however had the good fortune to elude the vigilance of the detachments under Sir Robert Calder and Sir John Borlase Warren, as well as the fleet commanded by Lord Keith.— Being afraid to approach Alexandria, then closely blockaded by Real-admiral Bickerton, he steered along the adjacent coasts, with an intention of disembarking the forces in such a situation as to enable them to form a junction with their countrymen. With this view he attempted a landing both at Durasso and at Derne, but the unfavourable state of the weather, and the still more unfavourable disposition of the inhabitants, frustrated his intentions, and compelled him to put to sea. The French admiral was, however, fortunate enough to fall in with the *Swiftsure*, a British ship of war, of seventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Hollowell, and to capture that vessel; but this event, although it contributed not a little to the exultation of the French, did not in any degree relieve the army of the east from the precarious situation to which it was now reduced.

In the mean time, General Hutchinson, after endeavouring to settle the disputes which had unhappily taken place between the Turks and the Mamelukes, and placed a detachment of the Indian forces in Cairo, returned with the army to Alexandria. The capture of the capital, and the arrival of General Baird with five thousand men from Bombay, soon after the capitulation, as well as of some succours from Europe, enabled the commander-in-chief to press the siege of Alexandria, with a body of sixteen thousand troops, and the superiority of the allies in point of numbers rendered the conquest of Egypt no longer doubtful. Major-general Coote accordingly embarked with a considerable detachment on the inundation, and effected a landing to the westward of the city; he immediately invested the strong castle of Marabout, situated at the entrance of the harbour; which, notwithstanding its importance, surrendered after a very feeble defence. On the east of the town two other attacks were also made by the Generals Craddock and Moore, who obtained possession of some fortified heights on the right; while Colonel Spencer maintained his position on a hill, whence he had driven a body of the enemy by means of a charge of bayonets, with about two hundred of the 30th regiment. Seven sloops of war having entered into the western harbour of Alexandria in consequence of the reduction of the fort, Major-general Coote determined to move forward and to occupy an advanced position. The troops being now supported by the armed vessels under Cap-

tain Cochrane, as well as by the flotilla on the lake, commanded by Captain Stephenson, advanced in three columns, under a heavy fire of cannon and small arms, forcing the enemy, who had abandoned their wounded, as well as seven pieces of cannon, to retreat before them.* Two days after this, batteries were opened against the redoubt de Bain; and in the course of the succeeding night, Lieutenant-colonel Smith succeeded in an attempt to surprise the advanced guard. In this extremity, General Menou, being closely pressed by the commander-in-chief on the east, and Major-general Coote on the west side of the city, and despairing of any relief, in consequence of the failure of the expedition under Gantheaume, deemed it prudent to capitulate. A negotiation for that purpose was accordingly entered into, and the same terms granted as to the garrison of Cairo; and on the 30th of August the English took possession of the intrenched camp, the heights above Pompey's Pillar, and Fort Triangular.

The glorious campaign in Egypt terminated with the fall of Alexandria. The exertions of every branch of the public service were splendid and meritorious. The army in Egypt gratified the warmest wishes and expectations of their country, and the seasonable and efficient co-operation of the navy entitled them to a participation in the laurels gathered by their countrymen. The nation which had sent forth this band of gallant warriors, was not slow in remunerating their services. A monument was voted to perpetuate the services of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, while his widow and son were gratified with a peerage, and a pension of two thousand pounds a year. Major-general Sir J. Hely Hutchinson, who claimed so little but deserved so much of the honour of the campaign, in addition to the ensigns of the Bath, received the rank of lieutenant-general, and was created a baron of Great Britain, with two thousand pounds a year annexed to the patent. Admiral Lord Keith was advanced to the honour of the British Peerage, while on Major-general Coote was conferred the honour of the order of the Bath. The thanks of both houses of parliament were voted to the army and navy; and each regiment which had served during this campaign was permitted to add an embroidered *Sphinx* to its colours, and to have "EGYPT"

* An interesting incident happened at this stage of the siege. An old man working on the parapet of a redoubt, was struck by a cannon ball, which took off both his legs. He fell into the arms of his own son, a corporal in the same regiment. The Captain Pacha, hearing of this circumstance, sent the veteran sufferer a handful of sequins, with an assurance that care should be taken of him for life, but he expired soon after the amputation.

inscribed in the field. At Constantinople the inhabitants and the court manifested on this occasion the most enthusiastic joy; the cannon of the seraglio were fired, the city was splendidly illuminated, and the Grand Signior, to testify his gratitude, established the order of the Crescent; and Lords Hutchinson, Keith, and Elgin, with Admiral Bickerton, and Majors-general Coote and Baird, were admitted to the honours of this new order of knighthood, while fifty gold medals were struck, and distributed among the officers of the army who had particularly distinguished themselves.

During this arduous contest the English army lost in killed twenty-two officers, and five hundred and five privates.* The loss of the French in the campaign of 1801, amounted, in

* Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, in the British army, during the campaign in Egypt:—

	Officers.			Qr. M's.			Sergeants.			Drms.			Rank & File.			Horses.		
	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.	Killed.	Wounded.	Missing.
At Aboukir, March 8th, 1801,	4	26	1				4	34			5	1	94	540	32			
Battle of the 13th of March,...	8	70			1		7	61		1	7		163	965	1	19	5	
Skirmish on the 18th of March,			3	1		1		1					7	6	12	23	12	7
Battle of the 21st of March,....	10	60					9	48			3		224	1082	28	2	3	
At Rhamanieh, 9th of May,....		4						1		1	1		4	18		10	5	
Before Alexandria,.....		6						4			1		13	112		3		
Total,.....	22	168	7	1	1	1	20	149	2	2	17	1	505	2723	73	57	25	7

killed and prisoners, to upwards of six thousand;* and their whole loss during the three years that they remained in possession of Egypt, amounted to not less than thirty thousand men. In addition to which they lost, in the different actions and fortresses, one thousand and three pieces of cannon, and nearly five hundred unserviceable pieces. In the naval they suffered equally with the military department in this disastrous expedition, and in addition to fifteen ships of the line taken or destroyed, eight frigates, and two hundred sail of merchantmen, were lost to their country. And of the whole number of French troops sent into Egypt with the first expedition, and landed in that country at various periods during its occupation by the enemy, only twenty-four thousand returned to their native country.

CHAPTER XX.

Threat of Invasion—Spirit of the English Nation—French Influence upon the Continent—The Elector of Bavaria, the Ottoman Porte, and His Holiness the Pope, conclude Treaties with France—NAVAL CAMPAIGN: Conquest of the Enemy's Settlements in the East and West Indies—Repulse of the English Fleet under Sir James Saumarez at Algezira, and the Loss of the Hannibal—Victory off Algezira—Minor Exploits of the British Navy—Unsuccessful Attack on the French Flotilla in the Harbour of Boulogne—Preliminary Treaty of Peace signed in London—Ratified by the First Consul—Congress at Amiens—Definitive Treaty—Restoration of a General Peace.

WHILE the possession of Egypt was as yet uncertain, the consular government determined to point all its efforts against

* RETURN of the disposal of the French army in Egypt, by the British and Turkish forces:—

	<i>Military Estab.</i>	<i>Civil Estab.</i>
Killed in the different actions, and dead of their wounds,	3000	
Prisoners taken in battle, - - - - -	3500	
Surrendered by capitulation in the garrison of Cairo,	13,672	82
Surrendered by capitulation in the garrison of Alexandria, - - - - -	10,508	686
Soldiers dead by the plague and other maladies since the landing of the English, - - - - -	1500	
	<hr/> 32,180	<hr/> 768

General Reynier, in his "State of Egypt," asserts, that, on the arrival of the English in that country, the French army consisted of only 21,804 efficient troops; and that the allied British and Turkish army employed to effect their expulsion, amounted to 90,700 men! But this is obviously a gross exaggeration; and it is proved by authentic documents, that the actual number of British troops, including the Indian reinforcements, never exceeded 24,000.

the only enemy either unsubdued or unhumbled by the arts and arms of France. Large bodies of troops were accordingly collected in the maritime departments of France ; ships, guns, and flat-bottomed boats, were built and equipped ; the ports of Belgium and of Holland were crowded with armed vessels ; and the variety and extent of the preparations, evidently indicated a hostile attempt against Great Britain. This menace was first recurred to during the reign of Louis XIV. and not unfrequently practised in that of his successors. But at this epoch, when Great Britain possessed an immense superiority in respect to naval force, and had actually blockaded all the principal ports of the enemy, it is difficult to conceive how a flotilla, filled with troops, insufficient to alarm, far less to subdue a powerful nation, could cross even the narrow seas without being intercepted by the numerous squadrons which were connected by a chain of cruisers so disposed as to surround the coasts, and shut up all the harbours belonging to the French and Dutch. In the mean time, camps had been formed at Bruges, Gaveline, Boulogne, Brest, Granville, Cherbourg, and St. Maloes, and the deeds about to be performed by those armies which had forced the passage of the Bormida, the Danube, the Inn, and the Salza, and gained the battles of Marengo and Hohenlinden, were vaunted in the proclamations and manifestos of the rulers of France. They affected to consider the English as a nation rendered effeminate by wealth, and unwarlike by commerce ; and it was confidently predicted that the steel of the French would prove more than a match for the gold of the Britons.

On the other hand, the whole island was in motion ; and from Penzance to the Orkneys, as well as from the shores of the German ocean to the confines of St. George's channel, one uniform spirit of patriotic defiance was breathed by the inhabitants. At this critical period, the volunteer battalions and companies were increased, a numerous and respectable body of yeomanry cavalry was formed, the fencible regiments were disciplined into a knowledge of the military art, and the militia, many regiments of which had served in Ireland, received a considerable augmentation by means of the supplementary levy. It appears from the votes of supply* for this

* The supplies voted in 1801 were,

For the sea service, including 39,000 marines,	-	-	135,000
Regular forces, including cavalry and infantry,	-	-	193,187
Militia, including Irish,	-	-	78,046
Fencibles of both countries,	-	-	31,415

Total land and sea force, exclusive of volunteers,	437,648
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year, that including all orders and descriptions of men ready to act by sea and land, the amount approached to nearly half a million.

The chief magistrate of France, surrounded by a brilliant assemblage of troops, affected to blend all the state of the ancient kings of France with that of the emperors of the west ; being surrounded by numerous guards, attended by the prefects of the palace, and appearing on great occasions alone in the presence of the people. Foreign potentates and princes bent before the consular chair, and the *dictum* of modern Gaul appeared to regulate the movements of the whole continent. Those continental powers which had waged war against the republic, were now eager to supplicate for peace, and ready to submit to any terms which the victor thought fit to impose. The Elector Palatine of Bavaria about this time negotiated a treaty, by which he renounced the duchies of Juliers, Deux Ponts, and their dependencies, together with the bailiwick of the palatinate of the Rhine, situated upon the left bank of that river. The surrender of Alexandria, and the consequent evacuation of Egypt, soon after produced a peace between France and the Ottoman Porte ; and it was expressly stipulated that whatever indulgence might be granted to any power in that quarter of the globe, should be extended to the republic, while all former treaties were to be considered as renewed.

But the policy of Bonaparte was still more eminently displayed by a pacification with another power, an intimate alliance with which contributed not a little to the tranquillity of France. By a convention with the pope, ratified on the 10th of September, 1801, the first consul was not only acknowledged to possess all the privileges of the ancient monarchy so far as concerned public worship, but new and essential immunities were obtained for the Gallican church. His holiness agreed to procure the resignation of the prelates who had adhered to the old establishment, and the chief magistrate was to nominate to the vacant sees. A new and more suitable formula of prayer was introduced ;* and the holy father covenanted in behalf of himself and his successors, that those who had acquired the alienated property of the church, should not be disturbed.

By a concordat, agreed to soon after, the apostolical and Roman faith was declared to be the religion of the state, and the catholics were to pay one-tenth of their taxes to defray

* “ Domine, salvam, fac rempublicam ;
“ Domine, salvos fac consules.”

the expenses of public worship. But on the other hand, its processions and ceremonies were to be subjected to the civil power, while the chief consul was to be declared the head of the Gallican church, and the bishops and priests were to make a solemn promise of fidelity.*

The naval campaign of the present year was, as usual, brilliant on the part of Great Britain, and the fleets, squadrons, and detachments, whether employed for home defence, or occupied in distant quarters of the globe, distinguished themselves by their zeal and devotion to the glory of their country. On the western side of the Atlantic, the naval power of Britain retained its wonted and resistless superiority. In the month of March, Admiral Duckworth made an easy capture of the Swedish Island of St. Bartholomew, as well as of the Danish settlements of St. Thomas and Santa Cruz, which were of course restored to those powers, in virtue of the treaty of St. Petersburg. The islands of St. Martin and St. Eustatia were also reduced nearly at the same time, and with the same facility, while in the east, the Batavian settlement of Ternate, the chief of the Molucca islands, surrendered on the 21st of June, after a vigorous resistance, to a small squadron of armed vessels, under the command of Captain Hayes.

In the Mediterranean two severe actions took place, the former of which proved unfortunate, but the latter removed the tarnish from the British arms, and restored them to their usual lustre. Admiral Sir James Saumarez, one of the most brave and skilful officers in the British navy, commanded a squadron of ten ships of the line, which blockaded the port of Cadiz. Receiving intelligence that three French line of battle ships and a frigate were lying at anchor in the road of Algezira, under cover of the batteries on shore, he conceived

* Substance of the CONCORDATUM between Bonaparte and the Pope.

1. The catholic, apostolical, and Romish religion shall be declared the religion of the state.—2 This religion shall be protected in its exterior worship and its ceremonies; with the exception of the processions, which shall not take place but when the prefects shall judge that they will not be attended with inconvenience.—3. The chief consul is declared head of the Gallican church.—4. All the bishoprics of France shall be vacated, but the former titular bishops shall receive new bulls on the presentation of the chief consul.—5. The bishops, priests, and curates, shall make the promise of fidelity.—6. Three prelates shall never have leave to return to France, viz. the cardinals of Rohan and Montmorency, and the bishop of Arras.—7. Upon the publication of the *concordatum*, there shall be established in each *arrondissement* an office, where the catholics shall inscribe their names, and where they shall pay to defray the expense of public worship, a tenth of their taxes.—8. All the parochial churches shall be restored to the communes.—9. In the approaching nomination of cardinals, three hats shall be given to France upon the presentation of the chief consul.

the bold design of attacking them in that situation. On the 6th of July, he proceeded with six sail of the line, under a favourable breeze, in the sanguine hope of capturing the French ships, but on a sudden the wind failed, and the English squadron could not, with every effort, engage the enemy in a regular or close action. The Hannibal, Captain Ferris, in bearing up, unfortunately took the ground in a position where she lay exposed to a tremendous fire from one of the land batteries. Admiral Saumarez, perceiving the dangerous situation in which the Hannibal was placed, made an attempt to silence the battery, by running his own ship between her and the shore: but this manœuvre did not succeed, for being himself placed at a distance of only three cables' length from another battery, the admiral was compelled to retire, and to his inexpressible chagrin, to leave the Hannibal a prey to the enemy: Captain Ferris, although at length forced to strike, maintained the contest with distinguished constancy, and suffered a loss of three hundred and forty-three men in killed and wounded, before he surrendered his vessel into the hands of the enemy. (47.)

The French, unaccustomed to triumph on the ocean, seemed much elated with this advantage, which their public prints magnified into a great naval victory; three of their ships of war having, as they asserted, beaten six of the English, and the destruction of the modern Carthage was predicted from the loss of her Hannibal! The failure of this enterprise cast a momentary shade over the reputation of the British admiral, who was ardently impatient for an opportunity to avenge his country, and to re-establish his own renown.

By the indefatigable exertions of the British officers and seamen, who received every assistance from the garrison of Gibraltar, the whole squadron, with the exception of the Pompee, was speedily refitted and ready for sea, when a new and more propitious opportunity occurred of distinguishing their valour. The three sail of French line of battle ships engaged in the late action had been reinforced by five more, under the command of Don Juan Joaquin de Moreno, as well as by

(47.) When the numbers of the opposing squadrons are considered, this may be ranked among the most brilliant events of the war.—Admiral Lincolns, the French commander, had under him three sail of the line, and one frigate—the British force was nearly double. Besides the capture of the Hannibal, of 74 guns, the French historians state, that another of the British vessels struck her colours, although she contrived afterwards to escape; and that the whole British loss amounted to fifteen hundred men.

Relation des Batailles, &c. tom. 1. p. 93, &c.

a French seventy-four, carrying a broad pendant.* These vessels, together with the Hannibal, which was with some difficulty warped into deep water, and a number of frigates and gun-boats, got under weigh with an intention of returning to Cadiz safe, in consequence of their numbers, and assured, as they imagined, of an easy victory, in case of a contest with a detachment which had been so recently foiled.—Notwithstanding the great inferiority of his force,† Sir James Saumarez once more hoisted the signal for battle, and followed the enemy, who had just cleared Cabareta point, at eight o'clock in the evening of the 13th of July. Captain Keates having received orders to attack the sternmost ship, and keep between the fleet and the shore, the Superb accordingly made sail, and began the engagement at eleven o'clock at night, by firing on several of the enemy's ships, which formed a cluster, and in consequence of the darkness engaged with each other through mistake. The Cæsar, in the course of a few minutes, began also to open on a Spanish three-decker that had hauled her wind; but the Spanish ship was soon after observed to be in flames, and shortly after ran on board another vessel of the same force, to which the conflagration extended with uncommon rapidity, so that, after the lapse of a short but awful pe-

* COMBINED SQUADRON.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
Admiral Real Carlos - - -	112	Don J. Esquera.
San Herminigeldo - - -	112	Don J. Emparan.
San Fernando - - -	94	Don J. Malina.
Argonauta - - -	80	Don J. Harrera.
S. Augustin - - -	74	Don R. Jopete.
S. Antonio - - -	74	(French broad pendant.)
Formidable - - -	84	
Dessaix - - -	74	
Indomptable - - -	84	
Hannibal - - -	74	{ This vessel returned to Algezira before the action

Besides four frigates, and two armed vessels and gun-boats.

† BRITISH SQUADRON.

<i>Ships' Names.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Captains.</i>
Cæsar - - -	80	{ Rear-admiral Sir James Saumarez. Captain Jahleel Brenton.
Spencer - - -	74	
Venerable - - -	74	———Hood.
Superb - - -	74	———Keates.
Audacious - - -	74	———Peard.
Thames - - -	32	———Hollis.
Calpe - - -	12	Hon. Captain Dundas.
Louisa - - -	8	Lieutenant Truscott.

riod, they both blew up. These vessels proved to be the *San Herminigeldo*, and the *Real Carlos*, each of one hundred and twelve guns, and twelve hundred and fifty men, the former carrying the admiral's flag, and both of them officered from the noble families in Spain. In the mean, the English commander, perceiving from the first that these ships could present no formidable resistance during the rest of the action, passed on to the assistance of the *Superb*, Captain Keates, then engaged with the *St. Antonio*, of seventy-four guns, carrying the broad pendant of Commodore Le Roy, which had been before silenced, and now struck her colours. After the firing had ceased, it became so dark that none of the enemy's squadron were visible; the *Cæsar*, however, continued her course, during a heavy gale, in chase of the remainder of the fleet, and at the approach of the morning could only discover one French ship, which proved to be the *Formidable*, of eighty-four guns, endeavouring to reach the channel leading through the shoals of Conil. But as the wind suddenly failed at this moment, one ship alone was enabled to bring her to action; and Captain Hood, after a spirited engagement, had nearly silenced the enemy, when his mainmast, which had been wounded before, was unfortunately shot away, and a calm ensuing, the *Formidable* effected her escape into Cadiz. The *Venerable* soon after struck on a bank, and was for some time threatened with ship-wreck, but fortunately she was at length extricated from her perilous situation, with the loss of her mast only, and returned with the fleet to Gibraltar. Thus ended an action in which the superiority of the enemy was immense; and although the confused state of the fleet, and the accidental destruction of two first-rates, rendered the victory less difficult, yet the original design of the admiral to engage ten sail of the line, with one eighty and four seventy-four gun ships, evinced a degree of gallantry which reflected honour on the English name; and Sir James Saumarez was gratified with the thanks of the two houses of parliament, and rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year. (48.)

(48.) It is difficult to discover on what particular grounds these honours were bestowed upon Sir James Saumarez. In this country, pensions and titles are fortunately unknown, but, we presume the thanks of Congress would never have been voted to an officer who had been defeated by a force inferior by one half to his own; and who, in a subsequent encounter with more equal numbers, gained no additional eclat. The French force, according to their historians, consisted of 9 sail of the line, two of which put back to Algeziras. In the confusion of the night, two of the largest vessels, after mistaking each other for an enemy, took fire and were totally consumed. Five sail were thus left to combat the four English vessels, but in consequence of the darkness of the night, no general en-

During the naval campaign of this year, Captain Rowley Bulteel, in the *Belliqueux*, with a convoy of East-Indiamen, which were mistaken by the enemy for men of war, captured the French frigates, *La Concorde* and *La Medee*, the former of forty-four and the latter of thirty-six guns, in the neighbourhood of Brazil, forming part of a squadron which had committed great depredations on the coast of Africa. The fleet under Vice-admiral Rainier in the East Indies seized a number of valuable prizes, particularly two Dutch ships in the neighbourhood of Java. Captain T. Manby, in the *Bourdellois*, belonging to Rear-admiral Duckworth's detachment in the West Indies, nearly about the same time dispersed a small armament fitted out by Victor Hughes for the purpose of intercepting the outward-bound convoy. In the Mediterranean an action singularly severe was fought on the 10th of February, between the *Phœbe*, Captain R. Barlow, and the French frigate *L'Africaine*, of forty-four guns and seven hundred and fifteen men, of whom many were soldiers bound for Egypt: the commander of the frigate, though incapable of contending with the British vessel, would not yield until his ship became a mere wreck, with five feet water in her hold; all his guns were also dismounted, and his decks crowded with the dying and the dead; the number of the latter amounted to two hundred, and the wounded to one hundred and forty-three, while the loss on board the *Phœbe* amounted only to one killed and twelve wounded. Lord Cochrane, in the *Speedy* sloop, of fourteen four-pounders and fifty-four men and boys, performed a brilliant exploit, by boarding and capturing the Spanish *Zebeck* frigate, of thirty-two guns, and three hundred and nineteen seamen and marines, off Barcelona. His Lordship also distinguished himself about the same time, in the same vessel, along with Captain Pulling, of the *Kangaroo* sloop of war, and after a spirited and successful attack on a convoy, anchored on the coast of Spain; on which occasion, a detachment from the British vessels landed and blew up the tower of Almarana.

But one of the boldest and most interesting exploits of this campaign still remains to be recorded. Lord Nelson, having collected a flotilla, determined to attack the enemy in their own ports, and thus put an end to the menace of invasion. He ac-

gagement took place. Four of the Spanish vessels sailed into Cadiz without opposition, the fifth, the *Formidable*, found herself at day-break in the vicinity of three British vessels of the line. One of these, (the *Pompee*,) was totally dismasted in a few minutes, and after a severe engagement with the other two, Admiral Linois succeeded in getting into Cadiz. *Relation des Batailles*, &c. tom. 1. p. 94.

cordingly hoisted his flag on the 2d of August, as vice-admiral of the blue, on board the *Medusa*, and proceeded with two sail of the line, two frigates, and several smaller vessels, to Boulogne, where the French had assembled a great number of gun boats, armed brigs, and lugger-rigged flats. Perceiving that twenty-four of these were anchored in a line in front of the harbour, a signal was hoisted, on which the bombs weighed with a favourable wind, and threw their shells with such effect, that in the course of a few hours three of the flats and brigs were sunk, and six driven on shore.

Lord Nelson, who upon this occasion had evinced great humanity, by issuing strict orders to spare the town, was of opinion that the remainder of the flotilla might be captured by a bold and well-concerted evolution, to be performed by the boats of his squadron. He accordingly directed the expedition to be undertaken on the night of the 15th of August, by five divisions, (one of which carried howitzers) under the command of five captains of the royal navy.* Having left the *Medusa* within half an hour of midnight, they immediately steered for the harbour's mouth, and the firing commenced before one, but owing to the darkness of the night, with the tide and half tide, which must always make attacks in the night on the coasts of the channel very uncertain, the divisions separated; and from all not arriving at the same moment with Captain Parker, was to be attributed the want of success. "The most astonishing bravery," says Lord Nelson, in a letter to Earl St. Vincent, dated August the 16th, "was evinced by many of our officers and men, and Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, and Parker, exerted themselves to the utmost." (Captain Jones, owing to the rapidity of the tide, was thrown to the westward of the line.) "Conn, in the command of the howitzer boats, did every thing that was possible: indeed all behaved well, and it was their misfortune to be sent on a service in which the precautions of the enemy had rendered it impossible to succeed. We have lost," adds the vice admiral, "many brave officers and men, one hundred and seventy-two killed and wounded. My gallant, dear friend, Captain Parker, who was my aide-de-camp, had his thigh very much shattered; I have my fears for his life.† The loss has been very heavy, and the object was great. The flotilla, brigs, and flats, were moored by the bottom to the shore and each other by chains; therefore, although several of them

* Captains Somerville, Cotgrave, Parker, Jones, and Conn.

† His lordship's fears were but too well grounded; the Captain died of his wounds.

were carried, yet the very heavy fire of musketry from the shore which overlooked the flotilla, forced our people to desist, without being able, as I am told, to set them on fire."

The failure of this expedition of course occasioned great exultation in France ; but the government of that country exhibited an unusual degree of moderation on this occasion ; and treating the late engagement as a mere skirmish, observed, " that the advanced guard of the grenadiers of Italy" had displayed their ordinary bravery, and obtained their usual success. But the first consul had long been aware that neither his ports nor his fleets were secure from the enterprise and valour of English seamen, and was no longer desirous of intrusting their safety to the chances of failure, or the caprices of fortune. In addition to this consideration, the situation of the French colonies in America had become a source of perpetual vexation, and he had been for some time apprehensive of the fate of Egypt, the surrender of which was not yet known in Europe. Ambitious of every species of glory, he now appeared desirous of the blessing of tranquillity, and of adding to his military renown the title of " The pacificator of Europe."

While every shore re-echoed with the thunder of hostility, and opposing fleets and armies by turns threatened the coasts of Britain and of France with insult and invasion, the inhabitants of both countries had become heartily tired of a war long since devoid of any fixed or rational object. Fortunately, too, it was the interest of their respective rulers to close the scene of carnage, and either to feel or affect to feel sentiments of moderation. After so many splendid acquisitions on the continent, Bonaparte evidently panted for peace, which, by restoring the islands of the West Indian archipelago to the republic, would confer reputation and stability on his administration ; while in England, the new ministry became anxious to strengthen the protection of the crown by means of the gratitude of the people. For some time past an active intercourse had taken place between the two governments. Flags of truce and of defiance were actually displayed at the same time, and in the same strait ; so that while Boulogne and Dunkirk were bombarded and blockaded by hostile squadrons, the ports of Dover and Calais were frequently visited by the packet-boats and the messengers of the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries. At length, Lord Hawkesbury, the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, after a long but secret correspondence with M. Otto, the French negociator, announced, on the first of October, the signature of the preliminaries of peace between England on the one part, and Spain, France, and

Holland on the other. This intelligence was immediately communicated in a note to the lord mayor, and diffused general satisfaction throughout the whole kingdom. At the end of eleven days, the ratification of the preliminary treaty on the part of the first consul, was brought from Paris by Colonel Lauriston, who, as well as the French plenipotentiary, was drawn through the streets of the metropolis in his carriage by the populace. Amiens, the city assigned for the discussion of the definitive treaty, was visited in the course of a few months by the ministers of the respective powers: on which occasion the Marquis Cornwallis represented Great Britain; citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state, France; Don John Nicholas Azarra, Spain; and Roger John Schimmelpenninck, Holland.

During the sitting of the congress at Amiens, public expectation was amazingly excited by alternate hopes and fears, but at length the long expected treaty was signed, ratified, and promulgated, according to the established forms. This event diffused the most lively joy throughout the British empire: all ranks and descriptions of men hailed the return of the halcyon days of peace with rapture; while bonfires, illuminations, and entertainments, exhibited but a faint expression of the general joy. Nor were the French less eager to celebrate a period, which to them might be considered less a cessation from the innumerable evils of war, than a triumphal epoch, when the independence for which they had so long combated was not only ascertained, but their innumerable acquisitions solemnly recognised in the face of Europe and of mankind.

DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE,

Between his Britannic Majesty on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part.

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, being animated with an equal desire to put an end to the calamities of war, have laid the foundation of peace, in the preliminary articles signed at London the 1st of October, 1801, (9th Vendémiaire, year 10.)

And as, by the 15th article of the said preliminaries, it has been stipulated, that plenipotentiaries should be named on each side, who should proceed to Amiens, for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty, in concert with the allies of the contracting powers:

His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland has named for his plenipotentiary the Marquis Cornwallis, knight of the most illustrious order of the Garter, privy counsellor to his majesty, general of his armies, &c.; the First Consul of the French Republic, in the name of the French people, the citizen Joseph Bonaparte, counsellor of state; his Majesty the King of Spain and the Indies, and the government of the Batavian Republic, have named for their

plenipotentiaries, *videlicet*, his catholic majesty, Don Joseph Nicholas d'Azara, his counsellor of state, knight of the great cross, of the order of Charles III. ambassador extraordinary to the French Republic, &c.; and the government of the Batavian Republic, Roger John Schimmelpenninck, their ambassador extraordinary to the French Republic; who, after having communicated to each other their full powers, which are transcribed at the end of the present treaty, have agreed upon the following articles:

Art. I. There shall be peace, friendship, and good understanding, between his Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his heirs and successors, on the one part; and the French Republic, his Majesty the King of Spain, his heirs and successors, and the Batavian Republic, on the other part. The contracting parties shall give the greatest attention to maintain between themselves and their states a perfect harmony, and without allowing, on either side, any kind of hostilities, by sea or land, to be committed, for any cause, or under any pretence whatsoever.

They shall carefully avoid every thing which might hereafter affect the union happily re-established, and they shall not afford any assistance or protection, directly or indirectly, to those who should cause prejudice to any of them.

II. All the prisoners taken on either side, as well by land as by sea, and the hostages carried away, or given during the war, and to this day, shall be restored, without ransom, in six weeks at latest, to be computed from the day of the exchange from the ratifications of the present treaty, and on paying the debts they have contracted during their captivity. Each contracting party shall respectively discharge the advances which have been made by any of the contracting parties, for the subsistence and maintenance of the prisoners in the countries where they have been detained. For this purpose a commission shall be appointed by agreement, which shall be specially charged to ascertain and regulate the compensation which may be due to either of the contracting powers. The time and place where the commissioners, who shall be charged with the execution of this article, shall assemble, shall also be fixed upon by agreement; and the said commissioners shall take into account the expenses occasioned, not only by the prisoners of the respective nations, but also by the foreign troops, who, before they were made prisoners, were in the pay, or at the disposal of any of the contracting parties.

III. His Britannic Majesty restores to the French Republic, and her allies, namely, his catholic majesty and the Batavian Republic, all the possessions and colonies which belonged to them respectively, and which had been occupied or conquered by the British forces in the course of the war, with the exception of the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in the island of Ceylon.

IV. His catholic majesty cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, the island of Trinidad.

V. The Batavian Republic cedes and guarantees, in full right and sovereignty, to his Britannic Majesty, all the possessions and establishments in the islands of Ceylon, which belonged, before the war, to the Republic of the United Provinces, or to their East-India Company.

VI. The Cape of Good Hope remains in full sovereignty to the Batavian Republic, as it was before the war.

The ships of every description belonging to the other contracting parties shall have the right to put in there, and to purchase such supplies as they may stand in need of, as heretofore, without paying any other duties than those to which the ships of the Batavian Republic are subjected.

VII. The territories and possessions of her most faithful majesty are

maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the commencement of the war.

Nevertheless, the limits of French and Portuguese Guiana shall be determined by the river Arawari, which falls into the ocean below North Cape, near the isle Neave, and the island of Penitence, about a degree and one third of north latitude. These limits shall follow the course of the river Arawari, from that of its mouths which is at the greatest distance from the North Cape to its source, and thence in a direct line from its source to the river Branco, towards the west. The northern bank of the river Arawari, from its mouth to its source, and the lands which are situated to the north of the line of the limits above fixed, shall consequently belong in full sovereignty to the French Republic. The southern bank of the said river from its source, and all the lands to the southward of the said line of demarkation, shall belong to her most faithful majesty. The navigation of the river Arawari shall be common to both nations.

The arrangements which have taken place between the courts of Madrid and of Lisbon, for the settlement of their frontiers in Europe, shall however be executed, conformably to the treaty of Badajos.

VIII. The territories, possessions, and rights of the Ottoman Porte, are hereby maintained in their integrity, such as they were previous to the war.

IX. The Republic of the Seven Islands is hereby acknowledged.

X. The islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, shall be restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and shall be held by it upon the same conditions on which the order held them previous to the war, and under the following stipulations:

1. The knights of the order, whose *langues* shall continue to subsist after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, are invited to return to Malta, as soon as that exchange shall have taken place. They shall there form a general chapter, and shall proceed to the election of a grand-master, to be chosen from among the natives of those nations which preserve langues, if no such election have been already made since the exchange of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace. It is understood that an election which shall have been made subsequent to that period, shall alone be considered as valid, to the exclusion of every other which shall have taken place at any time previous to the said period.

2. The governments of Great Britain and the French Republic, being desirous of placing the order of St. John, and the island of Malta, in a state of entire independence on each of those powers, do agree, that there shall be henceforth no English nor French langues; and that no individual belonging to either of the said powers shall be admissible into the order.

3. A Maltese langue shall be established, to be supported out of the land revenues and commercial duties of the island. There shall be dignities, with appointments, and an auberge, appropriated to this langue; no proofs of nobility shall be necessary for the admission of knights of the said langue; they shall be competent to hold every office, and to enjoy every privilege, in the like manner as the knights of the other langues. The municipal, revenue, civil, judicial, and other offices under the government of the island, shall be filled at least in the proportion of one half by native inhabitants of Malta, Gozo, and Comino.

4. The forces of his Britannic Majesty shall evacuate the island and its dependencies within three months after the exchange of the ratifications, or sooner if it can be done: at that period the island shall be delivered up to the order in the state in which it now is, provided that the grand master, or commissioners fully empowered according to the statutes of the order, be upon the island to receive possession; and that

the force to be furnished by his Sicilian Majesty, as hereafter stipulated, shall be arrived there.

5. The garrison of the island shall, at all times, consist at least one half of native Maltese; and the order shall have the liberty of recruiting for the remainder of the garrison from the natives of those countries only that shall continue to possess languages. The native Maltese troops shall be officered by Maltese: the supreme command of the garrison, as well as the appointment of the officers, shall be invested in the grand-master of the order; and he shall not be at liberty to divest himself of it, even for a time, except in favour of a knight of the order, and in consequence of the opinion of the council of the order.

6. The independence of the islands of Malta, Gozo, and Comino, as well as the present arrangement, shall be under the protection and guarantee of Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia.

7. The perpetual neutrality of the order and of the island of Malta, and its dependencies, is hereby declared.

8. The ports of Malta shall be open to the commerce and navigation of all nations, who shall pay equal and moderate duties. These duties shall be applied to the support of the Maltese language, in the manner specified in paragraph 3, to that of the civil and military establishments of the island, and to that of a Lazaretto, open to all flags.

9. The Barbary States are excepted from the provisions of the two preceding paragraphs, until, by means of an arrangement to be made by the contracting parties, the system of hostility which subsists between the said Barbary States, the Order of St. John, and the powers possessing languages or taking part in the formation of them shall be terminated.

10. The order shall be governed, both in spiritual and temporal matters, by the same statutes that were in force at the time when the knights quitted the island, so far as the same shall not be derogated from by the present treaty.

11. The stipulations contained in paragraphs 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10, shall be converted into laws and perpetual statutes of the order, in the customary manner. And the grand-master (or, if he should not be in the island at the time of its restitution to the order, his representative,) as well as his successors, shall be bound to make oath to observe them punctually.

12. His Sicilian Majesty shall be invited to furnish two thousand men, natives of his dominions, to serve as a garrison for the several fortresses upon the island. This force shall remain there for one year, from the period of the restitution of the island to the knights; after the expiration of which term, if the order of St. John shall not, in the opinion of the guaranteeing powers, have raised a sufficient force to garrison the island and its dependencies, in the manner proposed in paragraph 5, the Neapolitan troops shall remain, until they shall be relieved by another force judged to be sufficient by the said powers.

13. The several powers specified in paragraph 6, *videlicet*, Great Britain, France, Austria, Russia, Spain, and Prussia, shall be invited to accede to the present arrangement.

XI The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory; the English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean, or in the Adriatic.

XII The evacuations, cessions, and restitutions, stipulated for by the present treaty, except where otherwise expressly provided for, shall take place in Europe within one month, in the continent and seas of America and of Africa in three months, and in the continent and seas of Asia within six months, after the ratification of the present definitive treaty.

XIII. In all the cases of restitution agreed upon by the present treaty,

the fortifications shall be delivered up in the state in which they may have been at the time of the signature of the preliminary treaty; and all the works which shall have been constructed since the occupation shall remain untouched.

It is further agreed, that, in all the cases of cession stipulated, there shall be allowed to the inhabitants, of whatever condition or nation they may be, a term of three years, to be computed from the notification of this present treaty, for the purpose of disposing of their property acquired and possessed either before or during the war; in which term of three years they may have the free exercise of their religion and enjoyment of their property.

The same privilege is granted in the countries restored to all those, whether inhabitants or others, who shall have made therein any establishments whatsoever during the time when those countries were in the possession of Great Britain.

With respect to the inhabitants of the countries restored or ceded, it is agreed, that none of them shall be prosecuted, disturbed, or molested, in their persons or properties, under any pretext, on account of their conduct or political opinions, or of their attachment to any of the contracting powers, nor on any other account, except that of debts contracted to individuals, or on account of acts posterior to the present treaty.

XIV. All sequestrations imposed by any of the parties on the funded property, revenues, or debts, of whatever description, belonging to any of the contracting powers, or to their subjects or citizens, shall be taken off immediately after the signature of this definitive treaty. The decision of all claims brought forward by individuals, the subjects or citizens of any of the contracting powers respectively, against individuals, subjects, or citizens, of any of the others, for rights, debts, property, or effects whatsoever, which, according to received usages and the law of nations, ought to revive at the period of peace, shall be heard and decided before competent tribunals; and in all cases prompt and ample justice shall be administered in the countries where the claims were made.

XV. The fisheries on the coast of Newfoundland and of the adjacent islands, and of the gulf of St. Lawrence, are replaced on the same footing on which they were previous to the war; the French fishermen and the inhabitants of St. Pierre and Miquelon, shall have the privilege of cutting such wood as they may stand in need of in the bays of Fortune and Despair, for the space of one year from the date of the notification of the present treaty.

XVI. In order to prevent all causes of complaint and dispute which may arise on account of prizes which may have been made at sea after the signature of the preliminary articles, it is reciprocally agreed, that the vessels and effects which may have been taken in the British Channel, and in the North Sea, after the space of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of the said preliminary articles, shall be restored on each side; that the term shall be one month from the British Channel and the North Seas, as far as the Canary islands inclusively, whether in the ocean or in the Mediterranean; two months from the said Canary islands as far as the equator; and, lastly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception, or any more particular description of time or place.

XVII. The ambassadors, ministers, and other agents of the contracting powers, shall enjoy respectively, in the states of the said powers, the same rank, privileges, prerogatives, and immunities, which public agents of the same class enjoyed previous to the war.

XVIII. The branch of the house of Nassau, which was established in the republic, formerly called the republic of the United Provinces, and now the Batavian republic, having suffered losses there, as well in pri-

vate property as in consequence of the change of constitution adopted in that country, an adequate compensation shall be procured for the said branch of the house of Nassau for the said losses.

XIX. The present definitive treaty of peace is declared common to the Sublime Ottoman Porte, the ally of his Britannic majesty; and the Sublime Porte shall be invited to transmit its act of accession thereto with the shortest delay possible.

XX. It is agreed, that the contracting parties shall, on requisitions made by them respectively, or by their ministers or officers duly authorised to make the same, deliver up to justice persons accused of crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed within the jurisdiction of the requiring party, provided that this shall be done only when the evidence of the criminality shall be so authenticated, as that the laws of the country where the person so accused shall be found, would justify his apprehension and commitment for trial, if the offence had been there committed. The expenses of such apprehension and delivery shall be borne and defrayed by those who make the requisition. It is understood that this article does not regard in any manner crimes of murder, forgery, or fraudulent bankruptcy, committed antecedently to the conclusion of this definitive treaty.

XXI. The contracting parties promise to observe sincerely and *bona fide* all the articles contained in the present treaty, and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects or citizens; and the said contracting parties generally and reciprocally guarantee to each other all the stipulations of the present treaty.

XXII. The present treaty shall be ratified by the contracting parties in thirty days, or sooner if possible, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in due form at Paris.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries, have signed with our hands, and in virtue of our respective full powers, the present definitive treaty, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two; the sixth Germinal, year ten of the French Republic.

(L. S.)

CORNWALLIS.

(L. S.)

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

(L. S.)

J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

(L. S.)

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

Separate Article.

It is agreed, that the omission of some titles, which may have taken place in the present treaty, shall not be prejudicial to the powers or to the persons concerned.

It is further agreed, that the English and French languages, made use of in all the copies of the present treaty, shall not form an example, which may be alleged or quoted as a precedent, or in any manner prejudice the contracting powers whose languages have not been used; and that for the future, what has been observed, and ought to be observed, with regard to, and on the part of, powers which are in practice and possession of giving and receiving copies of like treaties in any other languages shall be conformed with; the present treaty having nevertheless the same force and virtue as if the aforesaid practice had been therein observed.

In witness whereof, we, the underwritten plenipotentiaries of his Britannic Majesty, of the French Republic, of his Catholic Majesty, and of the Batavian Republic, have signed the present separate article, and have caused our respective seals to be affixed thereto.

Done at Amiens, the twenty-seventh day of March, one thousand eight hundred and two; the sixth Germinal, year ten of the French republic.

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

(L. S.)

CORNWALLIS.

JOSEPH BONAPARTE.

J. NICHOLAS DE AZARA.

R. J. SCHIMMELPENNINCK.

The sacrifices made by England in the above treaty, were both numerous and important; as the cessions on her part consisted of all the possessions and colonies captured or acquired during the war, with the exceptions of the Spanish island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon. It was however stipulated, in behalf of her allies, that the territories of her most faithful majesty, the Queen of Portugal, were to be maintained in their integrity, in the same manner as previously to the commencement of the war; but an agreement was entered into in opposition to the spirit and the letter of this article, that the limits of French Guiana, in America, should be extended, and the dominions of Portugal in Europe curtailed, conformably to the provisions of the treaty of Badajos. The house of Nassau was also to receive an adequate compensation for its losses in Holland: yet it appeared by a separate declaration, signed on the same day with the treaty of Amiens, on the part of the French and the Dutch ministers, that the Batavian Republic was not to furnish any part of the indemnity: certain it is that the interposition of Great Britain excited so little gratitude in the bosom of the Prince of Orange, that after addressing a letter to the king, he left England with the most unequivocal expressions of disapprobation. The French princes, in behalf of whom England appeared at one time to have armed, and for whose cause the kings of the continent at first took the field, were left unnoticed; while the unfortunate house of Savoy, the dominions of which had been specifically guaranteed, was left to its fate.

Thus ended one of the most bloody and important contests of modern times—a contest in which not one of the great objects originally aimed at by any of the belligerent powers was obtained by an appeal to arms; while, on the contrary, those few nations which stood aloof during the struggle, derived immense benefits from their prudence, or good fortune. The progress and issue of this contest sufficiently prove, that it is at all times the interest of Great Britain to sacrifice freely at the altar of peace; to ply the loom and the shuttle; to cultivate the surface of the earth for the products of agriculture; to raise the minerals from its bowels, for the purpose of social

life ; to unbind the sail of commerce to the gale ; and never to engage in any but a just and necessary war, the aim of which is defined, and the object attainable.

CHAPTER XXI.

BRITISH HISTORY : *Exertions made by Great Britain during the War—Meeting of Parliament—Discussion on the Preliminary Treaty—On the Convention with Russia—On the Civil List and the Prince of Wales's Claims on the Duchy of Cornwall—Death of the Earl of Clare—Of the Duke of Bedford—Of Lord Kenyon—Repeal of the Income Tax—Public Finances—Restriction on the Bank—Proposed Vote of Censure on Mr. Pitt's Administration—Changed into a Vote of Thanks—Submarine Invention—Debates on the Definitive Treaty of Peace—Parliamentary Votes to Dr. Jenner, for the Promulgation of the Vaccine Inoculation ; to Mr. Greathead, for the Invention of the Life-Boat ; and to Dr. James Carmichael Smith, for his Discovery of the Process of Nitrous Fumigation—Dissolution of Parliament—General Election.*

THE exertions of Britain during the revolutionary war were unequalled perhaps in the annals of nations. Two hundred sail of line-of-battle ships ; a military force of more than half a million of men ; nearly twenty millions sterling paid in loans and subsidies, a public debt before deemed intolerable, enlarged to a frightful magnitude ; and an immense annual taxation doubled : such were the efforts and sacrifices made in the prosecution of the war, to the period of the ratification of the preliminary articles of peace, succeeded by the definitive treaty of Amiens.

No nation ever suffered equal privations with equal constancy. The stockholder beheld the value of his capital diminished more than one half, the peasant and the artisan saw the price of the loaf doubled, while the higher classes of society yielded to the fiscal regulations, known by the names of the triple assessment and the income tax. During the course of this conflict, Britain was victorious in every sea, and successful in every naval battle ; the capture of nearly five hundred ships of war, of which upwards of eighty were ships of the line, fully attests this memorable fact, and exhibits nobler trophies than were ever won before by any other nation. Nor was any other quarter of the globe exempt from her conquests : In America she acquired Tobago, part of St. Domingo, the whole of Martinico, St. Lucia, and Guadaloupe, from the French ; Trinidad from the Spaniards ; and Demerara, Issequibo, Surinam, Curracoa, Berbice, and St. Eustatia, from the Dutch. In the East Indies, Pondicherry, Malacca, Ceylon, Amboyna, and Banda, yielded either to her arms or

influence. In Africa, Goree, the Cape of Good Hope, and Egypt, by turns confessed the sway of the conqueror ; while in Europe, Toulon, Minorca, Corsica, and Malta either surrendered by capitulation or were subjugated by force. Scarcely any state in want of treasure or assistance, but was either supplied with the wealth, or protected by the fleets and armies of this nation ; and no fewer than two emperors, three kings, one queen, and a multitude of petty princes, were in succession ranked among her subsidiaries. In addition to this, and by a rare instance of good fortune, hitherto unexampled in any history, although the manufactures of England drooped, and many of her artisans were forced by dire necessity to wield the arms they had before fabricated, yet her commerce flourished and even increased during the war.

This tide of prosperity was, however, productive of but little permanent advantage ; for after the expenditure of the lives of at least one hundred and fifty thousand of her subjects, and some hundreds of millions of money, the island of Ceylon, in the Indian, and that of Trinidad, in the Atlantic ocean, were all that remained of her numerous conquests.

The second session of the imperial parliament of Great Britain was opened on the 29th of October, 1801, by the king in person, who in a speech from the throne announced the favourable conclusion of the negotiation begun during the last session of parliament. His majesty at the same time declared his satisfaction, that the difference which at that time existed with the northern powers, had been adjusted by a convention with the Emperor of Russia, to which the Kings of Denmark and of Sweden had expressed their readiness to accede, and by which "the essential rights for which we contended were secured." He then proceeded to state, that "preliminaries of peace had also been ratified between himself and the French Republic ; and he trusted that this important arrangement, while it manifested the justice and the moderation of his views, would also be found conducive to the substantial interests of this country, and honourable to the British character."

In the house of peers the address was moved by Lord Bolton, who observed that it was a magnificent triumph for England to make peace in the very midst of her conquests, from the frozen sea of the north, to the pillars of Hercules in the south, and from Africa to the remotest shores of Asia and America. His lordship contrasted, on this occasion, the conduct of Great Britain with that of Germany, which he styled "disunited ; parricidal, and treacherous." Our allies, he said, had in an evil hour chosen to desert us, and we had been

left to fight the battle ourselves ; but the struggle was glorious, and the termination happy. At the period when the peace was made it was evident that the integrity of Europe could not be preserved ; had this been possible it would have been effected by the power of Great Britain.

———*Si Pergama dextra
Defendi possent, etiam hac defensa fuissent. VIRGIL.*

The Duke of Bedford, in a speech which contained much censure of the late, and praise of the present administration, declared his cordial concurrence in the address, which was carried unanimously.

In the house of commons Mr. Fox expressed the same sentiments of approbation respecting the peace, in which he was warmly seconded by Mr. Pitt, who described the peace as glorious and honourable. On the other hand, Mr. Windham, the late secretary at war, avowed his entire disapprobation of the preliminary treaty recently signed with France, and declared himself to be a solitary mourner in the midst of public rejoicings. In signing that treaty he thought that his honourable friends, the present ministers, had signed the death-warrant of the country.

Mr. Sheridan, adverting to the terms in which Mr. Pitt had spoken of the peace, said that he could not agree that the conditions were glorious and honourable. It was, in his opinion, a peace of which every one was glad, but no one proud. It was such a sort of peace as might be expected after such a sort of war—a war the most pernicious in which this country had ever been engaged ; and the peace was perhaps as good as any minister could make, considering the circumstances in which we were placed. The motion was finally carried with the same unanimity as in the other house.

On the 3d of November, the subject of the preliminary treaty was taken formally into consideration by the lords,*

* By the preliminary treaty, on which the definitive treaty already quoted was grounded, his Britannic Majesty agreed to restore to the French republic and her allies, all the possessions and colonies conquered by the British arms during the war—the island of Trinidad, and the Dutch possessions in Ceylon, excepted : It was further stipulated, that “ the port of the Cape of Good Hope shall be open to the commerce and navigation of the two contracting parties, who shall enjoy therein the same advantages. The island of Malta, with its dependencies, shall be evacuated by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, and restored to the order of St. John of Jerusalem. And for the purpose of rendering this island completely independent of either of the two contracting parties, it shall be placed under the guarantee and protection of a third power, to be agreed upon in the definitive treaty. Egypt shall be restored to the Sublime Porte, whose territories and possessions shall be preserved entire, such as they existed previously to the present war. The terri-

and a decided opposition to the terms of the peace expressed by the Earls Spencer, Caernarvon, and Fitzwilliam, the Marquis of Buckingham, Lord Grenville, and the Bishop of St. Asaph. The treaty was defended by the Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, the Earls of Moira, Westmoreland, and St. Vincent, Lords Hobart and Pelham, and the Bishop of London. On this occasion, Lord Nelson avowed it to be his opinion, that Malta, in a naval and political view, was of trivial consequence, being at two great a distance from Toulon to watch the French fleet in that port. In time of peace, his lordship said, Malta would have required a garrison of seven thousand men, and a much larger force in time of war, without being of any real utility. The island of Minorca also, he declared to be of no importance as a naval station; neither did he consider the settlement of the Cape as of any great value. The war had indeed been long, but he believed his majesty had seized the first opportunity of making peace, and the conditions he was convinced were the most advantageous that could be procured under the existing circumstances. In this opinion the house concurred, and the address was carried by a majority of one hundred and fourteen to ten voices.

On the same day, a similar address was moved in the house of commons; when the treaty of peace was vigorously assailed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and Lord Temple. Mr. Pitt said that it was his misfortune to differ on this occasion from those with whom it had been his happiness to live in habits of the strictest friendship. He did not pretend to state that this peace fully answered all his wishes; but the government had obtained the best terms in their power; and the conditions were such as could not be rejected without incurring the imputation of continuing the war without any adequate necessity. He spoke highly of the value of the conquests we had retained—Ceylon and Trinidad: and though he would not depreciate the importance of Malta, he thought it, compared with the Indies, but a secondary consideration. It appeared to him sound policy rather to place

tories and possessions of her most faithful majesty shall likewise be preserved entire. The French forces shall evacuate the kingdom of Naples and the Roman territory. The English forces shall in like manner evacuate Porto Ferrajo, and generally all the ports and islands which they may occupy in the Mediterranean or the Adriatic. The republic of the Seven Islands shall be acknowledged by the French republic. The fisheries on the coasts of Newfoundland, and in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, shall be restored to the same footing on which they were before the present war. And finally, plenipotentiaries shall be named on each side, who shall repair to Amiens for the purpose of concluding a definitive treaty of peace in concert with the allies of the contracting parties."

Malta under the protection of a third power capable of defending it, than, by retaining that island ourselves, to mortify the pride and attract the jealousy of the enemy. He asserted that the resources of the country ought not to be lavished away in continuing a contest with the certainty of an enormous expense, and when it was by no means clear that we might not ultimately be obliged to sit down in a worse relative situation than at present. He would not occupy the attention of the house by going back to the origin of the war ; but peace being now happily restored, forbearance of language, and terms of respect, were proper.

Mr. Fox expressed his cordial concurrence in the address. Upon the whole, and in reference to situation and circumstances, he regarded the peace as both safe and honourable. A glorious peace he could not style it, for such a peace could be the result only of a glorious war. He confessed himself not one of those who deemed Ceylon or Trinidad preferable to Malta ; but by insisting on Malta or the Cape, either the war would have been prolonged, or a loss of national dignity sustained by making the concession on our part from compulsion ; for these were points which he conceived France would never have yielded. He commended ministers for not having sought to delude the nation by the jargon of their predecessors ; and by senseless assertions of the French nation being now on the verge, and now in the very gulf of bankruptcy. They justly considered France as a great and formidable foe, in treating with whom they had wisely tempered firmness of conduct with moderation of tone. As to the real object of the war, Mr. Fox confessed that he always understood it to be the restoration of the house of Bourbon. Not that it was the *sine qua non* ; but he contended that the late ministers had avowed it with confidence, prosecuted it with perseverance, and relinquished it with reluctance. Not having been able to obtain their end, it was now allowed that the nation must content itself with gaining its secondary purpose. But what rational person had ever deemed this secondary purpose to be obtained by the acquisition of Ceylon and Trinidad ? Who would have thought that those who for so many years entertained such grand and magnificent designs, should at last content themselves with Ceylon in the east, and Trinidad in the west, wrested too from our former allies, Holland and Spain, by way of indemnity against the ambitious projects of France.

The terms of the treaty were zealously defended by Lord Hawkesbury, and the other members of administration, on grounds analogous to those argued upon by Mr. Pitt ; and the house and the country, wearied of the war, were easily im-

pressed by the reasoning of ministers in favour of peace. The chancellor of the exchequer concluded the debate with some judicious and conciliatory observations : he remarked that the duty of negotiation commenced when all hopes of continental aid in checking the power of France was at an end. We had closed the contest, he maintained, on our part, with honour. But he acknowledged it to depend upon the wisdom of government, whether this peace should be a blessing or a misfortune to the country. He could only say, that as it had been made sincerely, it should be kept faithfully. No encouragement should be given to any person in this realm to subvert the present government of France ; and a line of conduct ought to be pursued, not of suspicion and jealousy, but of prudence and circumspection ; and it would be necessary, he admitted, “ to provide means of security never before known in times of peace.” The motion was agreed to without a division.

The convention with Russia occupied the early attention of parliament. On the 13th of November, the articles of the treaty having been laid before the house of peers, the Earl of Darnley moved an address of thanks and approbation to the throne. This address was vehemently opposed by Lord Grenville, who condemned the treaty in almost all its provisions ; and, from the tenor of his lordship’s remarks, it was obvious that no accommodation with the northern powers could have taken place, under the administration which had recently been dissolved. On the same day, on a similar address having been moved in the house of commons, Lord Hawkesbury, with frankness and candour, observed, “ that the treaty did enough ; it substantiated our rights—it respected those of our adversaries ; and without arrogating more superiority than was meet, contained an ample recognition of all that was essential to us as the first maritime power of the globe.” The question was carried in both houses without a division.

Soon after the Christmas recess, the chancellor of the exchequer called the attention of the house to certain papers before them, relative to the civil list, by which it appeared that the pecuniary affairs of the sovereign were again deeply in arrears ; and a committee was appointed to examine the accounts now presented to the house. In the course of the discussion, Mr. Manners Sutton, solicitor to the Prince of Wales, advanced a claim of right on the part of the prince against the crown, or rather against the public, for the amount of the revenues of the duchy of Cornwall, received during his minority, and applied to the use of the civil list, which must

otherwise have been supplied from other sources. The aggregate of the sums so received, on an accurate estimate, appeared to be little less than four hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Fox declared strongly in favour of the equity of this claim, but admitted that the sums voted for the payment of the prince's debts ought to be deducted from the balance accruing to the prince.

On the 29th of March, the report of the committee appointed to examine the accounts of the civil list was taken into consideration: when it appeared that a debt amounting to no less than nine hundred and ninety thousand pounds had been contracted since the passing of Mr. Burke's reform bill, exclusive of the arrears discharged in the years 1784 and 1786, and that since that time the provisions of the bill had been wholly neglected. After a long and animated discussion, this sum was voted by the house: but the chancellor of the exchequer allowed that measures ought to be taken to prevent in future any such accumulation of debt.

Two days after, Mr. Manners Sutton brought forward the question of the claim of the Prince of Wales to the arrears of the revenues arising from the duchy of Cornwall, and concluded with moving for the appointment of a committee to inquire what sums were due to his royal highness from that quarter. The chancellor of the exchequer considered it as inconsistent with his duty to concur in this motion. As to the legal question he did not pretend to decide upon it; but he thought the discussion ought not to be entertained in that house; not at least till it appeared in proof, that on application for redress, supposing the wrong to exist, relief could not be obtained elsewhere. He concluded by moving the order of the day, which, after a long debate, was carried by a majority of one hundred and sixty to one hundred and three voices.

The commencement of the present year was signalized by the death of several distinguished personages. On the 28th of January expired, after a long and painful illness, John Fitzgibbon, Earl of Clare, and Lord High Chancellor of Ireland. This nobleman possessed, from situation and character, a powerful ascendancy over the affairs of that country at a most critical period of its history. In the elevated and arduous situation of lord chancellor, to which he was advanced in the year 1789, he discharged the duties of his office with a manly decision, and commanding ability, that extorted the applause of his political adversaries. But as a politician he was imperious in his deportment, and inflexible in his purpose. All concessions and conciliation on the part of government he deemed weakness; and knew no other method of governing

but by the strong arm of power. The earl was succeeded in the chancellorship of Ireland by Sir John Milford, speaker of the British house of commons, who, exclusive of his great professional reputation, was the mover of the act of toleration in favour of the English catholics. Upon him the title of Lord Redesdale was conferred; and the speaker's chair was filled by Charles Abbot, Esq. a lawyer of eminence and activity in business, and who had the merit of possessing an intimate acquaintance with the forms, usages, and customs of the house.

A striking contrast to one part of this portrait was exhibited in the character of Francis, Duke of Bedford, who, after an illness of a few days' duration, died at the family mansion of Woburn Abbey, on the 2d of March, having not yet completed the thirty-seventh year of his age. The grief for the loss of this distinguished nobleman might be styled national. "Born," says an eminent statesman,* "in a situation in which it was most difficult to keep pure the affections of the heart, and to cultivate the faculties of the understanding; possessed when yet a child of high honours and a princely fortune; and surrounded by dangers which have perverted and corrupted the best disposed minds; yet, in the midst of affluence, and the means of enjoyment, he had taught himself all the virtues of adversity. If his condition was that of celibacy," continued Mr. Fox, "it was only so in one sense, that he has left behind him no children to lament his untimely end, and to imitate his brilliant example. But if all those are to be considered as our children whom we have cherished and protected, whom we have rendered happy by our good offices, and whom we have bound to us by all the ties of affection and gratitude, no man ever had a family more numerous, nor was ever more piously lamented. There are some families," exclaimed the orator, "of whom it may be remarked, that the love of public virtue is hereditary; and is it then unnatural in a descendant of the great Earl of Bedford and of Lord Russel to be animated by a fervent love, and to discover more than a common leaning towards the rights and liberties of the people of England. But let it not be supposed that in thus expressing myself I mean only to strew flowers over the grave of the deceased. No! it is for the sake of impressing his great example upon the public; it is that men may see it, that they may feel it; that they may talk of it in their domestic circles, and hold it up, whenever it can be imitated, to their children and to posterity."

* Mr. Fox.

A third person who departed this life nearly at the same period, was the Chief Justice of England, Lloyd, Lord Kenyon. This noble judge, though irascible in his temper, was honest in his intentions, learned in his profession, and impartial in his administration of public justice. His parliamentary talents were of little estimation; but his judicial attainments were great, and upon them alone he sought to build his fame. He was the advocate of virtue, and the inflexible punisher of vice, however great or powerful the offender. He was succeeded by the Attorney-General, Edward Law, a distinguished lawyer, who was created on his promotion to the chief justiceship a peer of the realm, under the title of Lord Ellenborough.

On the 29th of March, soon after the signature of the definitive treaty, the chancellor of the exchequer, listening to the voice of the nation, expressed by petitions, gave notice of his intention to repeal the tax imposed by the late minister upon income. Mr. Addington acknowledged the burthen of the tax to be very grievous; though the necessities of the state had rendered its adoption necessary; but as this impost was originally proposed as a war-tax, it should cease with the occasion that had given it birth.

On the 5th of April, the minister brought forward his plan of finance for the year; and a more arduous task no person occupying his station ever had to encounter. The income tax had been mortgaged by Mr. Pitt, for the sum of 56,445,000*l.* three per cents, for which the present minister, in consequence of the repeal of this tax, was obliged to make provision. The loan for Great Britain he stated at twenty-three millions; the capital in the different funds, created by the conversion of eight millions and a half of exchequer bills into stock, previous to the Christmas recess, was eleven millions one hundred and thirty-eight thousand and sixty-two pounds, and the aggregate sum for which interest was to be provided, appeared to be no less than ninety-seven millions nine hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and thirty-seven pounds, the interest of which was stated at three millions one hundred and sixty-two thousand pounds. To defray this enormous demand, very heavy additional duties were imposed on beer, malt, and hops. A considerable increase was also made to the assessed taxes; and the last articles to which ministers had recourse at this crisis, was a tax on imports and exports, being a modification of the convoy duty. The produce of the new duties combined he estimated at four millions, an excess which compensated for the deficiency of divers of the taxes imposed in the course of the war. In the progress of the business of

revenue, the chancellor of the exchequer proposed and carried into effect several important alterations in the sinking fund bills of Mr. Pitt. The last or new fund, provided for liquidating the debt contracted since the year 1786, was much larger than the original fund established for the liquidation of the old debt, contracted prior to that period. These two funds the minister proposed to consolidate, and to perpetuate, till the whole of the debt, both old and new, should be completely liquidated. The original fund had now risen to two millions five hundred and thirty-four thousand one hundred and eighty-seven pounds, and the new to three millions two hundred and seventy-five thousand one hundred and forty-three pounds, making together five millions eight hundred and nine thousand three hundred and thirty pounds. The debt contracted previous to the year 1786, amounted to something more than two hundred and fifty-nine millions; and the new debt amounted to nearly three hundred millions, something less than forty millions having been redeemed by the old, and upwards of twenty millions by the operation of the new fund. The whole of the existing funded debt, including the loan of the present year, was consequently about five hundred and forty millions; the interest of which amounted annually to the vast sum of upwards of seventeen millions.* This amazing debt would, nevertheless, by the wonder-working operation of the sinking fund appropriated to its liquidation, supposing that fund improved at the average interest of four per cent. per annum only, be completely discharged in the comparatively short period of thirty-four years.†

* PUBLIC DEBT.

AMOUNT OF THE FUNDED DEBT IN 1786.

Whole capital of the Funded Debt, - - - - -	£.259,355,815
The annual interest and other charges payable on account of this debt were stated in the report from the select committee of the house of commons to be - - - - -	£.9,266,940

AMOUNT OF THE FUNDED DEBT IN APRIL, 1802.

Funded debt of Great Britain, - - - - -	£.603,216,482
Stock redeemed by the Sinking Fund, - - - - -	£.59,588,904
Unredeemed Debt, - - - - -	£.543,627,578

† The *Sinking or Consolidated Fund* was first established in its present form by Mr Pitt, in the year 1786, but the public are indebted to that consummate financier, Dr. Price, for the foundation upon which this pillar to public credit was erected.‡ The fund in question is formed by the appropriation of one million a year, which is regularly set apart

‡ See Mr. Pitt's letter to Dr. Price, inserted in Morgan's *Observations on Reversionary Payments*, vol. I. p. 320—1.

On concluding his speech on this occasion in the house of commons, the chancellor of the exchequer made use of the following remarkable words: "When I look back to the conduct of this house and of the country, to their united wisdom and vigour for the last nine years, it is with pride and satisfaction. When I look forward to the prospect before us, it is with hope. I trust that, by a prudent and vigilant economy, we shall be able to provide effectually for the expenses of the country. I think, if we are enabled to preserve the blessings we enjoy, we shall effect it by a fixed determination not to interfere with any other country, but to be prepared always to vindicate our independence, and to maintain our honour. Such a system will, I feel confident, afford us a prospect of many years of tranquillity and repose. The period of animosity, I hope, has ceased; but vigilance, prudence, and precaution, may survive animosity. Jealousy is no longer necessary, but caution must be preserved. This conduct will give us the fairest claim to merit, and the best chance to retain the blessings which we actually possess." Such was the seasonable and satisfactory declaration of the minister now at the helm of public affairs.

Mr. Corry, the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland, soon after brought forward the business of finance relative to the revenue of that kingdom. It appeared, from the statement presented to the house, that the debt of Ireland had risen, within the last ten years, from two millions three hundred thousand pounds, to thirty-six millions, paying an interest for the most part of six per cent. He stated the deficiency of ways and means, when compared with the supplies, at one million six hundred and sixty thousand pounds, which sum he proposed to raise by loan, in addition to a former loan of

for the liquidation of the national debt; and to which are added such government, temporary, and life annuities, as may fall in during each year. These sums constitute a principal, which, being placed at compound interest, and suffered to accumulate, had, as early as the year 1802, extinguished nearly sixty millions of the public debt. The advantage of such a fund is infinite, and its product ought to be held as a sacred deposit never to be touched. "A nation, when it applies the income of such a fund to current expenses rather than to the redemption of its debts, chooses to lose the benefit of compound interest, in order to avoid paying simple interest—and the loss in this case is equal to the difference between the increase of money at compound and simple interest. The following calculation will shew what that difference is:—One penny put out at our Saviour's birth, to five per cent. *compound interest*, would, in the year 1791, have increased to a greater sum than would be contained in three hundred millions of earths, all of solid gold! But if put out to *simple interest*, it would, in the same time, have amounted to no more than seven shillings and sixpence! All governments that alienate funds destined for reimbursements, choose to improve money in the last rather than in the first of these ways."—PRICE on *Public Credit*.

two millions, which the contractors for the English loan had agreed to furnish upon the same terms. Mr. Corry at the same time proposed several new taxes, necessary to defray the interest of these new loans, which were agreed to ; not, however, without some poignant animadversions from several of the Irish members, who represented the state of that country as very critical and alarming.

On the 9th of April, Mr. Addington moved for a bill, to continue, till the 1st of March, 1813, the restrictions on payments in specie at the bank, a motion that was carried with little opposition. Indeed, in the actual circumstances of the country, this was a measure not so much of prudence as of necessity.

A vote of censure on the former administration was, on the 12th of the same month, formally moved by Sir Francis Burdett. But as a vote of censure upon that body, by the present house of commons, would have been a sentence of condemnation against itself, there was little propriety in the motion, and still less prospect of its success. A twelve months and upwards had moreover now elapsed since their resignation, and it seemed almost ludicrous to bring forward at this late period a direct charge against them. This motion was strenuously opposed by the supporters of the measures of Mr. Pitt and his colleagues, and Lord Belgrave moved, as an amendment to Sir Francis Burdett's motion, "that the thanks of this house be returned to his majesty's late ministers, for their eminent services, in the exertions they made to preserve to us unimpaired the blessings we enjoyed during the whole of the late contest." The speaker having suggested the irregularity of this proceeding, the motion of amendment was, at the request of Mr. Pitt himself, withdrawn ; and the original proposition was negatived by a majority of two hundred and forty-six to thirty-nine voices.

A motion, yet more strange and absurd, was made on the 7th of May following, by Mr. Nichol, for an address to his majesty, thanking him for the removal of the Right Hon. William Pitt from his councils. This proposal again awakened, and in an increased degree, the zeal of Mr. Pitt's partisans and adherents, both in and out of parliament ; and in the course of a most vehement debate, Lord Belgrave, as before, moved an amendment, expressive of the high approbation of that house respecting the character and conduct of the late minister and his colleagues. Mr. Fox declared himself unable to vote either for the original motion, or for the amendment. He could not vote thanks for the dismissal of the late minister, till that dismissal was ascertained ; and this was a matter

of doubt, as it was alleged by Mr. Pitt and his friends, that he was not dismissed, but that he voluntarily resigned from inability to realize his plan of catholic emancipation. If so, nothing, in his opinion, during the seventeen years of Mr. Pitt's ministerial life, "became him like the leaving of it." The motion of Lord Belgrave was at length carried by a great majority; and also a second motion by Sir Henry Mildmay, "that the thanks of the house be given to the Right Honourable William Pitt."

These attacks on the late minister seemed to revive his pristine popularity. His birth-day was celebrated in the city of London with great ostentation. On this occasion, Earl Spencer, late first lord of the admiralty, presided in the chair, and in his glowing admiration of Mr. Pitt, gave as a toast to the company met to celebrate his birth: "The pilot who weathered the storm;" forgetting that the storm was not weathered till this pilot had quitted the ship.

On the 13th of May, after various preludes, the grand debate relative to the definitive treaty of peace came on in both houses of parliament, when its stipulations and provisions were attacked and defended with more than ordinary ability. Previous to the order of the day being entered upon in the house of lords, Earl Stanhope, after moving that the standing order for the exclusion of strangers should be enforced, communicated to their lordships the particulars of an invention by one Foulton, an American, (49.) by which vessels containing an apparatus capable of blowing up large ships could be navigated under water, and the apparatus affixed to the bottom of the ships meant to be destroyed. His lordship further stated, that the French government were in possession of this invention, and endeavoured to impress upon ministers the necessity of devising means to counteract the fatal effects that might arise in future from the application of these submarine infernal machines.

Lord Grenville then presented himself to the house, and offered his observations on the treaty of Amiens. His lordship observed that the two bases of negociation—the *status ante bellum*, which signified the state of the parties previous to

(49.) In this "one Foulton an American," American readers will recognise their celebrated countryman, the inventor of steam-boats and the promoter of other useful measures. The machine here spoken of, was attempted during the war between the United States and England, to be used against the vessels of the latter nation, though with little success, and the British writers, forgetting that their government had originally sanctioned the plan, denounced the invention in the most virulent terms. See Book III. Chap. III.

hostilities, and the *uti possidetis*, which referred to their position at the time of pacification, had both been applied in the most prejudicial manner to this country. The negociators had referred to the *status ante bellum* with regard to England, by giving up all she had taken during the war; and they had adopted the *uti possidetis* as to France, by leaving her in possession of all she had acquired. England had ceded her own conquests, and confirmed to France her new acquisitions. If France possessed dominion on the continent, we had to oppose to that dominion the colonies of France and Spain; and it would have been just for France to have repaid by continental sacrifices the repossession of her colonies. But with all these sacrifices on our part, peace was not likely to be of long duration, for France, in direct opposition to our entreaties and threats, actually sent during the negociations an armament to the West Indies, and imposed on this country the necessity of sending thither a naval force more than double in strength to any squadron which had been sent during the war. Thus the first fruit of peace was the necessity of keeping an armament of thirty sail of the line in the West Indies. The arrangements relative to Malta he condemned as inefficient and inadequate to the end proposed. It was, he said, idle and ridiculous, to talk of the order of Malta: that order was virtually extinct; and the island would be subject to the influence of France, who would nominate the grand-master, and would in effect be the sovereign. After taking a retrospective view of the situation of this country at the commencement of the negociation, which, his lordship contended, was such as entitled us to a just and reasonable peace, he observed, that instead of improving these advantages, we had resigned to France the preponderance of power on the continent, established her sway in Italy, and had given to her important possessions in India, and without stipulating that they should not be fortified. But what was infinitely worse, our right of sovereignty in India, so clearly recognized and explicitly acknowledged by France in 1787, was set loose by the non-renewal of that treaty in the definitive articles, and was reduced once more to a disputable claim. By this treaty France was constituted mistress of Louisiana, and in reality of Florida; and if we turned to the Mediterranean, it would be impossible to send there a single ship without the permission of France. We were stripped of Majorca, Minorca, and even of the island of Elba; and whatever the valour of the British navy had won, the incapacity of a British ministry had lost. He would ask whether the advantages of such a peace preponderated over the disadvantages of the war? The advantages naturally ex-

pected from peace were, the extension of commerce, the establishment of economy, and security from hostile aggression. But our commerce had suffered diminution by the peace ; with respect to economy, it would be necessary to keep a large military and naval force ; and with regard to security, the country was left in a situation of far greater danger than at the commencement of the war, or at any time during the progress of the contest. If war were renewed, it would be renewed with every possible disadvantage. Scarcely in three glorious campaigns could we expect to regain by the sword what we had ceded by the pen ; and if peace continued, the omission in the treaty of Amiens of the renewal of all ancient treaties, would be found productive of the most alarming consequences. His lordship concluded a most severe and elaborate investigation of the terms of the treaty, by moving that an humble address should be presented to his majesty, acknowledging his majesty's prerogative to make peace and war, but declaring that it was impossible for the house to see without alarm the circumstances that had attended the conclusion of the present treaty, by which sacrifices had been made on the part of this country without any corresponding concession on the part of France : that in the moment of peace France had exhibited indubitable proofs of the most ambitious projects ; that these considerations imposed on his majesty's government the necessity of adopting measures of precaution ; and that whilst that house relied on his majesty's wisdom to be watchful of the power of France, they thought it necessary to assure him of their ready and firm support in resisting every encroachment on the rights of the British empire.

Lord Auckland, in reply to Lord Grenville, admitted that the definitive treaty contained not a single provision, direct or indirect, for the renewal of treaties which had subsisted previous to the war ; nor was it necessary, for it was a maxim, established by the law of nations, that treaties, the provisions of which are not impeded or altered by the effect of hostilities, are not annulled by war, but remain in their full force on the restoration of peace. In reviewing the severe and arduous struggle in which we had been engaged, the country had much reason for self-gratulation. We had lost no dominions, but had finally made and secured to ourselves acquisitions of great importance. With respect to national character, it might be said, without vaunting, that our navy and armies had been raised to a pitch of glory unexampled in the annals of history. And lastly, our great object had been obtained in the preservation of our constitution, which enemies foreign and domestic had attempted to destroy. His lordship said, he hoped

and trusted that France would prove herself disposed to maintain the relations of peace and amity with other states ; and that with the name of peace we should gradually obtain all the advantages of it. This country should watch the conduct of France with attention, but without acrimony ; with anxiety, but without fear ; for we were prepared to resist and repel any real injury, and the united kingdom would remain happy and unassailable so long as she remained true to herself and to her constitution.

The motion of Lord Grenville was warmly supported by Lord Caernarvon, who confessed, "that with the highest respect for the virtues of those who composed the present administration, he had never confided in their talents or experience. The moment they had taken the helm, they pressed into their service a noble marquis, beloved indeed, but ill fitted for the invidious task of coping with men old in craft, adepts in duplicity, regardless of principle, and unpractised in virtue. Under negociators so unequal some disadvantages were inevitable ; the preliminary articles disappointed even the least sanguine, but by the definitive treaty, concession was heaped on concession, disgrace added to disgrace."

The treaty was censured also by the Duke of Richmond and Earl Darnley ; and defended by the Lords Pelham and Hobart, the Lord Chancellor, and the Earls of Westmoreland and Roslyn. After an animated and protracted debate, the motion of Lord Grenville was put, and negatived by a majority of one hundred and twenty-two to sixteen voices.

On the same day, the terms of the definitive treaty underwent a discussion equally animated in the house of commons. Mr. Windham, who called forth all his powers on this occasion, in a speech of peculiar energy, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, attacked the stipulations of the treaty in all their parts. He deprecated the cession of Louisiana to France as pregnant with incalculable evils, and equal to a surrender of the fourth part of the globe. By the surrender of the Mississippi in the north, and the river Amazon in the south of America, we might without hyperbole be said to have given away a brace of continents. And in aggravation of this thoughtless prodigality, ministers had abandoned the whole continent of Europe to France—had endangered our safety at Honduras, and menaced our Indian possessions with destruction. "It is obvious," continued Mr. Windham, "that the object of France is universal empire, and that no single power can enter the lists with her without being crushed at the first onset by her tremendous mace. It is thought by some, that, though Europe should be wrecked, we

at least might take to our boat and escape the general destruction ; but," continued this impassioned speaker, " we should be still pursued by the sceptre of the French power, and with the assistance of this treaty she will meet us in Asia, and in America, and scare us in every quarter of the globe with her gorgon aspect." The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving an address similar to that proposed in the house of peers by Lord Grenville.

The terms of the peace were strenuously defended by Lord Hawkesbury. At the juncture, said his lordship, at which the present administration entered on negotiation with the French government, it was not practicable that any treaty of peace should remedy the disorders of the continent. It was enough for Britain to secure her own interest and those of her allies. As to the question of the cession of Louisiana by Spain to France, that province had originally been a French colony, having been ceded by France to Spain after the treaty of 1763. The value of it at present was rather nominal than real. As a naval station New Orleans was unimportant ; and the vicinity of Louisiana to the United States of America, was calculated rather to diminish than to augment the attachment of that country to France. The non-renewal of ancient political treaties by the present treaty, his lordship denied to be a defect ; and with regard to a commercial treaty, it had been found, in present circumstances, impracticable ; but it was absurd to suppose that either our commercial rights, such as the cutting logwood in the bay of Honduras, or our rights of sovereignty in any part of the globe, particularly in India, depended upon these renewals. Malta, his lordship said, had been avowedly occupied with the intention of restoring it to the order of St. John ; and the introduction of a Maltese *langue*, was a just tribute to the brave conduct of the inhabitants. His lordship reminded the house of the advantages accruing to this kingdom, from the acquisition of the Mysore, and the destruction of a power in India, the natural ally of France and the foe of Great Britain. In fact, both in the East and in the West Indies our possessions were augmented, and our colonies had rapidly increased in value. In regard to the permanence of the peace, he was willing to admit and to deplore, that in the present state of the world any peace was insecure ; but the precarious tenour on which this blessing was to be holden was no reason for rejecting it. France had renounced her revolutionary principles, and resumed the old maxims of politics and religion. After the preceding convulsions a good government was scarcely to be effected ; an ameliorated one was, however, gradually forming from the

ruins of revolutions. Had France remained under the Bourbons, she would have been equally our rival—under all governments her ambition would have been the same. Finally, his lordship observed, that we had emerged from a dangerous war, with our resources and credit unimpaired; and it was improper to waste them in an unavailing continuance of the contest, or to exhaust by fruitless efforts the strength and spirit of the country.

The debate was prolonged to a very late hour by the speeches of a great number of the members—the Lords Temple and Folkestone, Mr. Thomas Grenville, and others of that party, passionately inveighing against the terms of the peace, which were on the other hand calmly defended by the whigs, though on grounds considerably different from those taken by ministers.

Mr. Addington delivered a speech nearly in unison with that of Lord Hawkesbury. He candidly admitted, however, that the treaty of Amiens had never been regarded by him as a subject of exultation, but he trusted the honour of the country remained unsullied. The territorial acquisitions of France could not, he acknowledged, be viewed without regret; and the state of Europe was far from being such as we could regard with satisfaction. “But,” said the premier, “it is given to us to redress that grievance? We ought to reserve our strength for future occasions, when it might be put forth with a prospect of success; and not waste it, as it must have been in this case, without any chance of advantage.”

Mr. Sheridan closed the debate with a speech of great animation. He remarked that the discussion of the necessary, though disgraceful treaty of peace, furnished the best defence of the conduct of those who had uniformly opposed the war. For his part he supported the peace because he supposed it the best that ministers could obtain. Their predecessors had left them to choose between an expensive, bloody, fruitless war, and a hollow, perilous peace. For the attainment of what object or purpose, Mr. Sheridan inquired, did we go to war?—To prevent French aggrandizement. Have we done that?—No. We were at least to rescue Holland. Is that accomplished?—No. But the recovery of Flanders and Brabant, we pronounced a *sine qua non* of peace. Are they recovered?—No. Then came security and indemnity. Are they obtained?—No. The late minister told us, that the example of a jacobin government in Europe, founded on the ruins of a holy altar, and the tomb of a martyred monarch, was a spectacle so dreadful and infectious to Christendom, that we could never be safe while it existed, and it was our

duty to put forth our last effort for its destruction. For these fine words, which had at last given way to "security and indemnity," we had sacrificed near two hundred thousand lives, and expended three hundred millions of money—and had gained Ceylon and Trinidad, which might henceforth be named the Indemnity and Security Islands. He admitted the splendid talents of the late minister, but he had misapplied them in the government of this country. He had augmented our debt, diminished our population, abridged our privileges, and had done more to strengthen the power of the crown, at the expense of the constitution, than any minister who had ever conducted the affairs of this country.

The house at length divided on Mr. Windham's address, when the majority in favour of the treaty amounted to two hundred and seventy-six to twenty.

During this session of parliament, the sum of ten thousand five hundred pounds was voted to Dr. Edward Jenner, for the promulgation of his invaluable discovery of the system of vaccine inoculation, by which it was hoped ultimately to extirpate that destructive malady, the small pox.* A reward of twelve hundred pounds was also voted to Mr. Henry Greathead, for the invention of the life boat, by which it was said that the lives of five hundred seamen had been saved in one year.† The sum of five thousand pounds was also voted

* *Vaccination.* Dr. Jenner's enquiry into the nature of the cow pox commenced about the year 1776. His attention to this disease was first excited by observing, that among those whom he inoculated for the small pox, many were insusceptible of that disorder. These persons he was informed had undergone the casual cow pox, which had been known in the daries of Gloucestershire from time immemorial, and a vague opinion had prevailed, that it was a preventive of the small pox.—While engaged in the investigation of the nature of the cow pox, he was struck with the idea, that it might be practicable to propagate the disease by innoculation, after the manner of the small pox; first, from the cow, and then from one human subject to another. The first case in which he put his theory to the test, inspired him with confidence; and a regular series of experiments, which he afterwards instituted for that purpose, were crowned with success. This happy discovery was communicated to the world by Dr. Jenner, in a treatise published in June, 1798; but the same fortune which has attended all other great discoveries, and all other great benefactors of mankind, attended Dr. Jenner. Envy assailed his fame; his discovery was first depreciated, and then denied; and as he surpassed Harvey himself in glory, so he also surpassed him in the opposition which he had to encounter. Truth, however, ultimately prevailed. Vaccination obtained a complete triumph; and the foes of Jenner and of humanity were covered with confusion.

† *Life Boat.* The principle of this boat appears to have been suggested to Mr. Greathead by the following simple fact: Take a spheroid, and divide it into quarters; each quarter is elliptical, and nearly resembles the half of a wooden bowl, having a curvature with pro-

to Dr. James Carmichael Smyth, for his discovery of the nitrous fumigation, for preventing the progress of contagious disorders—a process which had been introduced into the navy and army hospitals with the most beneficial effects.*

On the 28th of June, being the last day of the session, the new speaker presented, according to ancient usage, the money bills to his majesty, and on the day following, parliament was dissolved by proclamation. The prime minister, Mr. Addington, with laudable impartiality, avoided any interference on the ensuing elections, and the choice of the nation fell almost uniformly, wherever any contest took place, upon men of independent and constitutional principles.

The nation, no longer agitated by foreign wars, began once more to enjoy the inestimable blessings of internal repose. The spirit and conduct of those to whose hands the administration of public affairs was confided, were forbearing and conciliatory; the turbulence of party spirit, which had at one time raged with so much violence, as to threaten the nation with intestine war, was hushed into tranquillity; and the extraordinary measures of precaution and coercion, adopted at a period of general alarm, were suffered silently to expire, and to give place to the free operation of our invaluable institutions.

jected ends; this, thrown into the sea or broken water, cannot be upset, or lie with the bottom upwards. Of the life boat the length is thirty feet; the breadth ten feet; the depth from the top of the gunwale to the lower part of the keel, in midships, is three feet three inches. The first vessel of this description, was launched from South Shields on the 30th of January, 1790, and it has so well answered, and indeed exceeded every expectation, that it will live in the most tremendous broken sea, and in no instance has it ever failed.

Report of the Committee of the House of Commons.

* *Nitrous Fumigation.* In the year 1795, Dr. Smyth recommended the nitrous acid gas, as the means of destroying contagion, and directed an experiment which was made in the Union hospital-ship, and again in part of the Russian squadron at Sheerness; the success of this experiment was nearly as complete as a similar process had been under the direction of M. de Morveau, at Dijon, in the year 1773; the immediate effect of fumigation was to destroy the offensive smell arising from so many sick crowded together; none of the attendants were afterwards attacked by the fever, and the general state of the ship was speedily improved. In the House of Recovery in London this method is pursued, and the following formula is adopted in the fumigation of small apartments, where typhus fever, dysentery, or foul ulcers, &c. prevail: "Take an equal quantity of powdered nitre and strong vitriolic acid or oil of vitriol (about six drachms of each are sufficient,) mix them in a tea cup, stir them occasionally with a tobacco-pipe or piece of glass; the cup must be removed occasionally to different parts of the room, and the fumes will continue to rise for several hours. The oil of vitriol should be taken by measure, not by weight." The vitriolic acid should be added by about a drachm at a time to the nitre, and the cup containing

CHAPTER XXII.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Epitome of the French Revolution—Bonaparte appointed President of the Italian Republic—Annexation of Piedmont and Parma to the French Republic—Ratification of the Concordat—Bonaparte appointed First Consul for Life, with Power to appoint his Successor—Creation of the Legion of Honour—Change in the French Constitution—Expedition to St. Domingo—Arrival of the French Armament under General Leclerc—Bonaparte's Letter to Toussaint Louverture—The Campaign disastrous to the Africans—Submission of their Generals—Death and Character of Toussaint—Surrender of Guadaloupe, Tobago, and Dominica, to the French, in virtue of the Treaty of Amiens—Re-establishment of Slavery in the French Colonies—French Mediation in the Affairs of Switzerland—German Indemnities finally adjusted.*

FRANCE, persecuted into greatness, had obtained every object which could be coveted by a great people, save that for which she originally contended. The history of that country, from the dawn of the revolution to the ratification of the treaty of peace at Amiens, presents no less than five grand epochs, all of which interest the community, and afford materials for the pen of the historian, but each varies in shape and feature from that which precedes, as well as that which follows it.

The first period exhibits a numerous body of men, long retained in thralldom by the despotism of their government, arousing from the slumber of ages, indignantly bursting their manacles, and declaring themselves free. The monarchs of the continent, decked in the recent spoils of violated Poland, immediately associate, under pretence of assisting a prince more gentle, more amiable, and consequently more beloved, than themselves; a war ensues, the shock of arms takes place, and the forest of Argonne, and the heights of Valmy, decide a campaign pregnant with the fate of France and of Europe. How glorious the struggle of a liberated nation! But a sudden transition takes place, and all the horrors of a civil war seem fated to accompany all the disasters of a foreign contest. A sovereign, revered as a martyr by one part of the nation, and detested as a traitor by another, perishes by a violent death; monarchy itself is annihilated with Louis XVI. and a republic proclaimed upon his tomb. The founders of the commonwealth are doomed to perish in their turn, and that too by the instrument employed for the decollation of the

the latter be placed on a *hot heater*, or piece of solid iron. Such is the simple but efficacious process of nitrous fumigation, which may rank in utility with the first discoveries of the age.

Bourbon king. Robespierre, adored by the populace during his life, and Marat, deified after his assassination, are next wafted along the sanguinary torrent to the possession of supreme power, and rule for a while by means of spies and executioners. A less unfavourable epoch next presents itself, and the directorial government promises to repair the errors and the crimes of the tyrants. Immense armies take the field, decisive battles are fought, great victories achieved, and Germany is prepared for dismemberment, and Italy for subjugation. At length a military leader arises and conquers, first for the republic, and then for himself. In consequence of a peace, as brilliant as the war which he achieves, he seems to consider Europe too small a theatre for his ambition; and arriving with a powerful fleet and army in Africa, wishes to imitate the Macedonian hero, and finish his career of conquests by the subjugation of Asia. After gaining many victories over the degenerate Turks and the warlike Mamelukes, he at length experiences a repulse before an ill-fortified city garrisoned by the half-disciplined troops of a rebel pacha, but led by an European chief, and is reduced to the mortifying necessity of treating with the Ottoman Porte, whose confidence he had betrayed, and whose dominions he had invaded. Uncertain of his destiny, he leaves Egypt and his army by stealth; arriving suddenly in Europe, takes advantage of the corrupt and feeble government of those who happen to be invested with the administration of public affairs; surrounds himself with an ambitious soldiery, and uniting the wily policy of Monk with the decisive conduct and victorious career of Cromwell, becomes sovereign under the name of consul. Not yet secure on his recently acquired elevation, he flies into Italy by a rout deemed impassable, again overwhelms veteran armies and ancient states, once more erects new commonwealths, renders his foes and his confederates tributary, extends the limits of France, and of his own power, and is hailed, first as the pacificator of the continent, and then as the tranquillizer of Europe.

Such is a brief epitome of a revolution which commenced with the mild despotism of a French king, and issued in the accession of a military chieftain. No man, either of modern or of ancient times, can be compared with this extraordinary character. His unparalleled life resembles a romance rather than a history, and many of the most striking incidents in his career of successful ambition still remain to be recorded.

In the month of December, 1801, and while the negotiations at Amiens were yet pending, a grand consulta assembled in the city of Lyons, consisting of no less than four hundred

and fifty persons, convoked by the authority of the Cisalpine republic, and apparently chosen from the most respectable of her citizens. The object of this meeting was to determine upon a permanent constitution for the new republic; and early in the year 1802, the first consul arrived at Lyons, to assist in person at the deliberations. A committee of thirty members was appointed to prepare the business; and on the 25th of January, the new plan of government was presented, and received the immediate and unanimous sanction of the whole body. An essential part of this plan was to vest the supreme magistracy in the hands of the first consul, who, on the following day, repairing to the hall of the consulta, in regal state, formally declared his acceptance of the honour thus conferred upon him. The appellation of the Cisalpine was changed by acclamation to that of the Italian Republic, of which Bonaparte was declared president for ten years. But the term republic was a mere figure of speech, for the form of government suggested by the committee, and adopted by the assembly, was in reality an absolute monarchy, the whole of the executive, and a principal part of the legislative power being vested in the first consul. While the personal authority of the head of the French government was thus extended, and while in the Italian republic a new satellite was ordained to move within the influence of French attraction, France itself received a considerable accession of territory by the acquisition of Piedmont and Parma, which territories were, by a decree of annexation, added to the territory of France, and constituted an integral part of the republic.

The famous convention, known by the appellation of the *Concordat*, concluded between the first consul and the pope,*

* See Book II. chap. XX. page 151.—The concordat, which ordained that the Roman catholic religion should be the established religion of France, guaranteed universal liberty of conscience to the French people of every persuasion. The hierarchy of the catholic church of France was to consist of ten archbishops, and fifty bishops, the former to enjoy a fixed annual revenue of fifteen thousand francs, (625*l.* sterling) and the latter a revenue of ten thousand francs. The parish priests were divided into two classes for the larger and the smaller parishes. The salary of the first class was not to exceed 15,000, nor that of the second 1000 francs. § The archbishops and bishops were to be nominated by the first consul, and afterwards confirmed by the pope. And the church relinquished all claims to its confiscated revenues and domains. The different protestant churches were established on the same political model; none but Frenchmen were permitted to exercise the functions of an ecclesiastic, either in the catholic or protestant churches; and no person could be elected a minister or pastor of any protestant church, who had not studied a fixed period in one of the French seminaries appointed for ministers of that persuasion.

§ The value of a *franc* or *livre* is ten-pence English.

received in the month of April, 1802, its final ratification from the French legislative body, by a majority of two hundred and twenty-eight to twenty-one voices. And this imposing event, in conjunction with the definitive treaty of peace between Great Britain and France, was celebrated with extraordinary magnificence by a solemn *Te Deum*, at the cathedral church of Notre Dame, and grand illuminations in the city and vicinity of Paris. Cardinal Caprara, legate from his holiness, was escorted to the Thuilleries by a honorary guard of cavalry, and the crosier was borne before him to the palace. In his speech to the first consul he complimented him in the following words: "The arm that gained battles, and signed peace with all nations, restores splendour to the temples of the true God, re-builds his altars, and re-establishes his worship." The first consul, in reply, extolled the apostolical virtues of his eminence, and expressed his own satisfaction at this new triumph of christianity.

At Rome also high mass was performed, on Ascension Day, at the church of St. Jean de Lateran, by the pope in person, accompanied by every demonstration of joy, for the restoration of the Gallican church. Nor was it without reason that the sovereign pontiff, who scarcely two years before had been in a state of melancholy exile, exulted in the happy change in his fortunes. With the pope, the college of cardinals, the members of which had wandered over Europe in extreme distress, seeking in vain for some safe asylum, were reinstated in their thrones and palaces. The aged Cardinal of York, in particular, the last heir male of the royal house of Stuart, reduced to the lowest stage of dependency, accepted of a pension from the King of England, the possessor of that crown which the cardinal claimed by divine and indefeasible right.*

The Protestant churches, equally gratified at the church of Rome by the arrangements in favour of religion which had just taken place in France, hastened to present to the first consul the homage of their gratitude; and a deputation was appointed to assure him of the obligations they felt for the gua-

* In a letter from Cardinal York to Sir John Hipposley Coxe, dated Venice, Feb. 26, 1800, he acknowledges the receipt of 2000*l.* from Lord Minto, the British ambassador at Vienna, accompanied by a power to draw for the same sum, at the end of six months, and with affecting expressions of gratitude adds:—"I own to you that the succour granted to me could not be more timely; for, without it, it would have been impossible for me to subsist, on account of the irreparable loss of all my income; the very funds being also destroyed; so that I should otherwise have been reduced for the short remainder of my life to languish in misery and indigence."

rantee he had afforded to the universal exercise of liberty of conscience. This deputation was received by Bonaparte with marks of peculiar attention, and addressing himself to the members of the protestant church then in his presence, he said,—“I do not wish men to think themselves indebted to me because I have been merely just—conscience is not within the jurisdiction of human laws.”

On the 6th of May, the definitive treaty of Amiens was presented to the tribunate, on which occasion a proposition was made in that assembly to confer some striking mark of the public gratitude on “the great pacificator.” This proposal was unanimously agreed to, and having received the ready concurrence of the other constituent bodies, the senate, on the 8th of the same month, decreed, that this mark of gratitude, ought to be the re-election of Bonaparte to the consular dignity for ten years succeeding the term for which he had been already chosen. The first consul, in imitation of the first Roman emperor, when this proposal was communicated to him, declared, “that the interest of his glory, and of his happiness, suggested that the termination of his public life should be the moment that the peace of the world was proclaimed; the glory and happiness of an individual, however, must be silent when the interest of the state and voice of the public call upon him.” “But,” added he, “it was the suffrages of the people that invested me with the chief magistracy, and I shall not consider myself sure of still possessing their confidence, if the act for retaining me in that situation be not ratified by the public voice. In the three last years fortune has smiled on the republic; but,” (said he in conclusion, and in terms almost prophetic) “fortune is inconstant, and how many men has she loaded with her favours who have afterwards outlived them!” In compliance with the wish of the first consul, registers were opened in the different departments for inscribing the suffrages of the citizens on this subject; but as a full indemnity for this condescension, the question was, in the mean time, materially changed, and in the new form it stood—“Shall Bonaparte be elected consul for life?” A second question was in a short time subjoined—“Shall Bonaparte be invested with the power of naming his successor?” Both questions were carried by the immense majority of 3,577,259 citizens, who voted in the affirmative, while only 9074 negatived these daring innovations. In the tribunate, one dissentient voice alone was heard—that of the celebrated republican minister at war, Carnot. On the third of August, the act of the senate was presented to the first consul, who, on receiving this distinguished mark of public confidence, thus addressed the

senate—"The life of a citizen belongs to his country; the French people wish that the whole of mine should be devoted to them. I obey their will. Content with having been called by the order of Him from whom all things emanate, to bring back upon the earth justice, order and equality, I shall hear my last hour sound without regret, and without an undue anxiety about the opinion of future generations." The event was celebrated with great magnificence in Paris, and addresses of congratulation poured in from every part of the republic; and in the sequel from almost every court in Europe.

Bonaparte, ever anxious to aggrandize the army, and aware that to their instrumentality he was indebted for his present elevation, had for some time contemplated the formation of a military order of nobility, under the designation of the **LEGION OF HONOUR**. The legislature, in obedience to the will of the first consul, accordingly decreed, that a legion of honour should be established in France; and that that body should be composed of fifteen cohorts, and a council of administration. That each cohort should consist of seven grand officers, twenty commandants, thirty subordinate officers, and three hundred and fifty legionaries; that the first consul should always be the chief of the legion, and of the council of administration; and that the members of the legion should be appointed for life. The pay of each grand officer to be five thousand francs, of each inferior officer one thousand francs, and of each legionary two hundred and fifty francs. All military men who had received arms of honour to be members of the legion; those citizens also who had rendered eminent services to the state in the late war, or who, by their knowledge, talents, and virtues, had contributed to establish and defend the principles of the republic, or had caused the government to be respected, to be eligible to that appointment: and Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the first consul, was elected grand-master of the new order. Thus was the consular throne not only declared permanent, but a military order of nobility was created for its protection and support.

The first consul, considering his authority as incomplete while any power was left in the state which did not immediately emanate from himself, promulgated to the people, through the medium of the senate, an *organic senatus consultum*, or act of the conservative senate, in virtue of which considerable changes were made in the constitution, for the purpose of strengthening the authority of the executive power. By this act the first consul was virtually invested with the nomination of the senate: to which body were confided the administration of the colonies; every thing not provided for by the con-

stitution ; and the interpretation of all the articles of the constitution itself. To this oligarchical assembly also belonged the power of suspending the functions of juries ; of proclaiming departments out of the protection of the law ; of determining when persons arrested in extraordinary cases were to be brought before the tribunals ; of dissolving the legislative body and the tribunate, and of appointing the consuls.— And in order the more fully to rivet the fetters of despotism on the nation, the members of the grand council of the legion of honour were appointed members of the senate. But the worst feature in this code of slavery was to be found in the administration of justice : a grand judge was appointed by the first consul, who presided over the tribunal of ultimate appeal, and held the power of censure and discipline over all the other tribunals. To depress the authority of the legislative body and the tribunate, founded, however imperfectly, on the principle of representation, and to exalt the senate, who depended chiefly on the choice and nomination of the first consul, were the grand objects of this despotic change, by which political liberty was in effect annihilated.

The restoration of peace with England once more opened the seas to the marine of France, and induced the French government to turn their attention to the recovery of St. Domingo. A fleet of twenty-six ships of war was with this view collected in the harbours of Brest, L'Orient, and Rochefort, in the latter months of 1801, and put to sea on the 14th of December in that year. This fleet, and the transports by which it was accompanied, carried an army of twenty-five thousand men. A fleet was also fitted out in the Texel, which sailed two days afterwards, and as single ships conveying troops and supplies continued to sail from France till the end of the month of March, in the following year, the whole force sent on this fatal service amounted probably to nearly forty thousand men. Early in the month of February, this formidable armament reached its destination, when the commander-in-chief formed his forces into three divisions : the first, under the orders of Rear-admiral Latouch, was intended to disembark a body of troops at Port-au-Prince, under the command of General Boudet. The second was destined to debark the division of General Rochambeau at the bay of Mancenille. Villaret conducted the rest of the fleet and forces to Cape Francois, with an intention of taking possession of Cape Town. This last division was under the immediate orders of the commander-in-chief, General Leclerc. On the arrival of the French fleet, Toussant Louverture, the African chief, whose talents had elevated him from the station

of a slave to the rank of governor and commander-in-chief of the forces in St. Domingo, was absent from the Cape, having confided the command to Christophe, another of the negro generals. The French general hastened to announce his arrival, and demanded the necessary facilities for disembarking his troops; but the answer returned to his summons was, that Toussaint was absent from the Cape, and that if any attempt were made to effect a landing before his return the town would be consigned to the flames. To this intimation Leclerc replied, that if Christophe did not that very day deliver up to the French army the forts of Piccolet and Belair, with all the batteries on the coast, an army of fifteen thousand men would be employed the day following to take possession of them by force. This letter was accompanied with a proclamation from Bonaparte, to the people of St. Domingo, inviting them to peace and submission. The chief consul had also addressed a letter to Toussaint, presenting to him all the blandishments of riches, honour, and public favour, and expressed in these terms:

To Citizen TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, General-in-Chief of the Army
of St. DOMINGO.

“CITIZEN GENERAL,

“Peace with England, and all the powers of Europe, which places the Republic in the first degree of greatness and power, enables, at the same time, the government to direct its attention to St. Domingo. We send thither Citizen Leclerc, our brother-in-law, in quality of captain-general, as first magistrate of the colony. He is accompanied with the necessary forces to make the sovereignty of the French people respected. It is under these circumstances, that we are disposed to hope that you will prove to us, and to all France, the sincerity of the sentiments you have constantly expressed in the different letters you have written to us. We have conceived an esteem for you, and we wish to recognize and proclaim the great services you have done the French people. If their colours fly on St. Domingo, it is to you and to your brave blacks, that they are indebted. Called by your talents, and the force of circumstances, to the first command, you have destroyed the civil war, put a stop to the persecutions of some ferocious men, restored to honour the religion and worship of God, from whom all things proceed. The constitution that you have formed, though containing many good things, contains others which are contrary to the dignity and sovereignty of the French people, of which St. Domingo forms but a part.—

“We have made known to your children, and to their preceptor, the sentiments by which we are animated. We send them back to you. Assist with your councils, your influence, and your talents, the captain-general. What can you desire? the freedom of the blacks? You know, that in all the countries we have been in, we have given it to the people who had it not. Do you desire consideration, honours, fortune? It is not after the services you have rendered, the services you can still render, with the particular sentiments we have for you, that you ought to be doubtful with respect to your consideration, your fortune, and the honours that await you. Make known to the people of St. Domingo, that the solicitude which France has always evinced for their happiness, has often been rendered impotent by the imperious circumstances of war;

that men, who came from the continent to agitate and nourish factions, were the produce of the factions which destroyed the country ; that in future, peace, and the power of the government, insure their prosperity and freedom.

“ Rely, without reserve, on our esteem ; and conduct yourself as one of the principal citizens of the greatest nation of the world ought to do.

“ The First Consul—BONAPARTE.”

“ Paris, 17th Brumaire, 8th Nov. 1801.”

The French general, finding Christophe immovable, and considering further delay as dangerous, effected the debarkation of his troops in the bay of Limbe, several leagues from Cape Town, with the intention of marching to the heights behind the Cape, while General Rochambeau gained the heights of St. Sauzanne, Dondon, and Grande Riviere. The object of these combined movements was to save the beautiful plantations which surrounded the Cape, and if possible the city itself. The fleet under Villaret sustained, on entering the road, an obstinate, though not a very injurious fire from Forts Belair and St. Michael, but the city suffered much, and General Leclerc, on his approach, beheld it in flames. The progress of the fire was with much difficulty arrested by the united efforts of the naval and military force, and Leclerc at length obtained complete possession of Cape François. In every other quarter the French were equally successful, and at the town of St. Domingo they were received by the Spaniards with every demonstration of joy.

The French general now directed his attention to the sable chief—Toussaint Louverture ; he transmitted to him the first consul’s letter, already quoted, and planned an attack upon his parental feelings by means of an interview with his children. Their mother, who received her long absent offspring with feelings of natural transport, joined with the children in supplicating her husband to accept the terms proposed to him by the mother country. But the inflexible mind of the African could not be moved from his purpose, and after an arduous struggle between affection and duty, he returned to his camp, to share in the dangers and abide the destiny of his countrymen. Irritated at the failure of a plan from which so much was expected, Leclerc disdained all further pacific overtures, and issued a proclamation in which he designated General Toussaint as a “frantic monster,” accused him of perfidy and rebellion, declared that officer and his compeer Christophe out of the protection of the law, and ordered all good citizens “to pursue them and treat them as rebels.”

Although some progress had been made towards the conquest of St. Domingo, it was not till the 17th of February, 1802, that the campaign in that island actually commenced.

On that day the division of Desfourneux advanced to the Limbe ; the division under General Hardi to the Grand Bouchamp ; and that under General Rochambeau, against La Januerie and the wood of l'Ame. A small corps, composed of the garrison of the Cape and Fort Dauphine, at the same time advanced against St. Sauzanne, Le Tron, and Valliere ; where they had to contend with great disadvantages in the ground, and to encounter the attacks of the negroes, concealed amongst the trees and bordering the vallies. Notwithstanding every resistance, the columns appointed to this service took possession of the positions of Plaisance, St. Michael, and Marmelade, from which they succeeded in expelling General Christophe, with an army of two thousand four hundred men. Of this interesting and sanguinary campaign the only official account extant is to be found in the despatches of General Leclerc, and the following details are given on his authority :

“ The attempt of General Debelles to dislodge the rebel General Maurepas from his position at Gonaives, entirely failed, owing to a very heavy fall of rain, which harassed the French troops and prevented them from acting with effect. Several other columns, however, of the French army advanced against him, and a few days after Maurepas thought proper to surrender himself, upon the condition held out in General Leclerc's proclamation of retaining his rank. General Dessalines proved the most dexterous as well as the most bloody of the rebels ; and by a succession of rapid manœuvres he found means to set fire to the Leogane, in spite of the efforts of General Boudet. General Laplume, commanding the south, voluntarily submitted to the French Government ; by which means this portion of the island was put into possession of the French forces, and General Dessalines was forced in consequence to retire into the fastnesses of the country. Christophe, after setting fire to Gonaives, was driven from post to post, and at length obliged to seek refuge in the mountains. The strong position of Ravine-a-Coulenore was occupied by Toussaint, with a chosen body of troops, composed of five hundred grenadiers, twelve hundred picked men, and four hundred dragoons. Every means had been employed to render this position impregnable, but it was attacked with irresistible impetuosity by General Rochambeau, and after a desperate conflict, in which Toussaint's troops fought man to man, he was at length forced to give way, and to retreat in confusion to the Petite Riviere, leaving eight hundred men dead on the field of battle.” “ Thus,” adds General Leclerc in conclusion, “ has the army of St. Domingo, in a campaign of five days, dispersed the principal bodies of the enemy, and made

itself master of their baggage, and a part of their artillery ; desertion has reached their camp ; Clervaux, Laplume, Maurepas, and several other black chiefs, or men of colour, have submitted ; the cultivators have returned to their habitations ; and the plantations of the south are preserved entire, while all the Spanish part of the island has completely submitted.”*

In another letter, dated the first of March, the general says, “ We are now in pursuit of Toussaint, who has retired into the Mirebelais. General Rochambeau, who has passed the Ester ; General Boudet, who has set out for Port-au-Prince ; and the columns of the Spanish army, which are marching in that direction, induce me to hope that he cannot long escape us. Of his five hundred horse guards three hundred have deserted him. Dessalines, the most ferocious of the African rebels, has massacred some whites. All the coasts and the ports of the island are in our possession, but nothing can equal the fatigues of our troops, except their indignation against these ferocious banditti.”

General Leclerc’s details of the campaign, even at its commencement, present a dreadful picture of the nature of this contest, which seems to have been conducted upon an indiscriminate massacre on one side, and a horrible system of retaliation on the other. The important post of Oreetea Pierrot was defended with the utmost obstinacy by the rebel army ; and the French force, not sufficiently strong to protect its other conquests and to attack this position, marched into the interior, while Toussaint and Christophe fell upon the country in their rear, and after burning all the towns in the northern plain, braved General Boyer in his intrenchments within a few miles of the Cape. The reinforcements from Havre and Flushing, which arrived soon after these actions had been fought, gave the French a decided superiority ; but though the rebels were unable to meet them in the field, yet the European forces, weakened by the climate, and diminished by the sword, could neither follow up their advantages nor retain possession of many of their conquests.

In another despatch from General Leclerc, dated the 8th of May, from the head-quarters of the Cape, he says, “ Previous to the arrival of the succours from Europe, the rebels were beaten and dispersed in every direction ; terror filled their camps ; their magazines were exhausted ; their gun-powder failed ; and for food they were obliged to eat bananas. The arrival of the squadron from Flushing and Havre gave the

* Despatch from General Leclerc to the French Minister of Marine, dated February 27, 1802.

finishing blow to their hopes. Christophe sent to inform me, that he had always been a friend to the whites, whose social qualities and information he had esteemed most highly : that all the Europeans who had been in St. Domingo could bear testimony to his principles, and to his conduct ; but, that imperious circumstances, which govern, and frequently decide the conduct of public characters, had deprived him of the power of acting according to his own inclinations. In a word, he was anxious to know whether there remained any hopes of safety for him." "I answered in return," adds General Leclerc, "that with the French people, the door of repentance was always open ; that the constant habit of the first consul was to weigh the actions of men, and that a single misdeed, whatever were its consequences, never effaced the remembrance of services formerly rendered ; that, in fact, the information I had received previous to my departure from Europe was personally favourable to him ; and that, if he was willing to place himself at my disposal, he would have reason to be satisfied. Still he hesitated. Several columns accordingly marched in pursuit of him, and some slight encounters took place. At length, Christophe apprised me, that I had only to send him my orders, and he would obey them. The orders I sent were, that he should repair alone to the Cape, dismiss all the labouring negroes whom he had still with him, and collect all the troops under his command. Every thing was punctually executed ; and the submission of this chief completed the consternation of the rebel cause. Toussaint employed every means to acquaint me with the afflicting situation in which he was placed, and with what pain he saw hostilities continued without object and without end. He added, that though adverse circumstances had impaired his strength, yet that he still remained sufficiently powerful to burn, ravage, and destroy ; and to enable him to sell dearly a life, which had once been useful to the mother country. I caused Toussaint to be informed," says the general in conclusion, "that he had only to repair to the Cape, and that the hour of pardon might still return. He did not fail to profit by the permission I had given him ; he came to see me, intreated that he might be restored to favour, and took an oath of fidelity to France. I accepted his submission, and ordered him to repair to a plantation near Gonaives, and never to leave it without my permission. Dessalines I have placed at a plantation near St. Marc."

The terms of the negociation on which the submission of the negro generals was grounded have been studiously concealed, but they no doubt had for their bases the personal freedom of the chiefs, and a recognition and security of their property.

But whatever might be the terms of the treaty, it is evident that the captain-general of the French army had no intention to fulfil them ; for no sooner was the negro chief in his power, and the conquest of the colony apparently secured, than he perpetrated one of the basest acts of perfidy that ever disgraced any government. The abdicated general was accused of a conspiracy, though no time had elapsed from his submission to his seizure to meditate, much less to organize such a measure. Toussaint had retired to his estate, to enjoy in the bosom of his family that happiness which he had not found in the tented field. But his tranquillity was of short duration. Before the expiration of the first month of his retirement, in the dead of the night, the Creole frigate, escorted by the *Hero*, a seventy-four gun ship, from Cape Francois, stood in close to the shore of Gonaives : troops landed from several boats employed in this midnight mission, surrounded the dwelling of Toussaint, where his family lay asleep, unconscious of their impending fate, and Brunet, chief of brigade, and Ferrari, an aid-de-camp of Leclerc, entered Toussaint's chamber with a file of grenadiers, and demanded his immediate surrender. This unfortunate chief declared himself indifferent to his own fate, but pleaded for his family ; " I shall not resist the power you have obtained over me," said he, " but my wife is feeble, and my children can do no harm, suffer them to remain at home." These entreaties were in vain ; they were hurried on board the ship, and before the country became alarmed were under sail to France.*

* TOUSSAINT LOUVERTURE, an African by birth, was sold at a very early age into slavery. The disadvantageous circumstances of his youth, precluded him from the enjoyment of a liberal education. But nature had compensated his misfortune ; and so early as the year 1796, his superior talents had elevated him to a command in the French army of St. Domingo, under General Rochambeau. The influence he possessed over the blacks, and the confidence bestowed upon him by the European part of the population, induced him, after the expulsion of the French from St. Domingo by the English, to aspire to sovereign power, and he consolidated his authority by the wisest and most humane regulations. On the arrival of the formidable armament from France, under General Leclerc, the most alluring offers of personal aggrandizement were made to him by the first consul ; and in rejecting those proposals he displayed a firmness and dignity of soul that would have done honour to a Roman. Of his humanity, it is a sufficient testimonial that he possessed the respect of the white inhabitants, whom the rage of insurrection had spared ; nor does he appear to have been devoid of religion, but on the contrary, to have applied the principles of christianity to one of their noblest purposes—to soften the ferocity, and temper the violence of the savage tribes placed under his command. The history of this gallant but unfortunate chief, from the time he was forced away from St. Domingo, is soon told ; on his arrival in France he was immured in a dungeon, where he died in the following year, of apoplexy, as it was asserted, but not without violent suspicion that his life was terminated by the hand of an assassin.

The tranquillity of St. Domingo was of short duration: Christophe and Dessalines, apprehensive of sharing the fate of their commander, saved themselves by flight. The negroes complained that they had been betrayed, the whole island revolted, and the climate came to the assistance of "these avengers of tyranny and falsehood." The mortality among the French troops, during their short campaign in the West Indies, was beyond all example; and in the month of September, their whole force, including a corps of four thousand blacks, was reduced to twenty-seven thousand five hundred men, one fifth of whom were in the hospitals. But the catastrophe of this West Indian tragedy must be reserved for a future chapter.

At this period the island of Guadaloupe, like that of St. Domingo, became the theatre of civil war. Here too the negroes struggled with great resolution against the chains which were prepared for them; but after a sanguinary resistance, they were subdued by a large military force, under the command of Admiral Bouvet and General Richepanse. The extermination of those who continued what was termed refractory, that is, of those who preferred privation and death to slavery, was continued with cruel zeal and unrelenting rigour by the French general; until at length, either the empire of the grave, or the sullen tranquillity of slavery, was established over the whole island.

In Tobago, when intelligence arrived that the island was to be restored to France, the people of colour flew to arms; and determined to attack the British troops under Brigadier-general Carmichael, who had under his command only 200 men; but the British general having gained intelligence of the plot, seized thirty of the ringleaders. The following day, he hung one of them, on the signal staff at the fort, and gave orders that his body, thus suspended, should be lowered and hoisted about thirty times. The negroes, who saw the execution from a distance, considered each elevation as a separate execution, and concluding that all their chiefs had suffered death, they abandoned the further prosecution of their project as hopeless. In consequence of this early, and comparatively bloodless suppression of the mutiny, the French experienced no serious opposition, when, in the month of October following, they took possession of the island in virtue of the treaty of Amiens.

In the island of Dominica a very serious alarm was created by the mutiny of an entire regiment of blacks, who, in the first transport of their fury, put to death Captain Cameron, Lieutenants Mackay and Wastneys, Commissary Laign, and Quarter-master Mackay, besides wounding two other officers.

No sooner had intelligence of this tragical event, which originated in the pay of the troops being delayed, and the accustomed allowance of food diminished, come to the knowledge of the Hon. Cochrane Johnstone, who was colonel of the revolted regiment, and governor of the island, than he immediately collected all the militia and European troops that could be mustered, and embarked for Prince Rupert's, the scene of the insurrection. After an ineffectual resistance on the part of the mutineers, who resisted the landing of the troops, they were at length totally routed, and the whole of their force, with the exception of forty grenadiers, were either killed, or made prisoners.

While these contests prevailed in the Western Archipelago, the French legislative body, as if resolved that the sufferings and calamities of the French revolution should be compensated by no advantages to the human race, abrogated the decree of the national convention, declaring "that negro slavery in all the colonies was abolished."* By this act of the legislative body, which was passed on the 17th of May, in the present year, slavery was re-established in all the French colonies, on the same footing as it stood previous to the year 1789; and the slave trade, and the importation of negroes, were ordered to be renewed, with all the encouragement and advantages which this detestable traffic enjoyed under the old French government. But the consequence of this retrograde act of oppression was soon manifest, and contributed, with every page of the history of the West Indies, to furnish a practical illustration of the truth of the remark, that "human policy never fixes one end of a chain round the ankle of a slave, but divine justice rivets the other round the neck of his tyrant."

The oppression and rapacity of the government of France under the directory had been no where more conspicuous than in Switzerland; but since the establishment of the consular constitution, the general state of public affairs in that country had undergone, as in France, a great amelioration, more particularly in the proceedings that had taken place subsequent to the treaty of Luneville. But the government of Switzerland was still formed on the French model, and the people, ardently attached to their ancient laws and institutions, hoped, with the return of peace, to attain the restoration of their former system of government. No sooner had the French troops withdrawn themselves from the Swiss democratic cantons, than the inhabitants rose in arms, and after wresting the cities of Zurich, Berne, and Friburg, from the officers of the ob-

* See Book I. Chap. XVIII. Page 278.

noxious government, appointed Aloys Reding, a man of commanding talents, the chief of the insurrection.

In these circumstances the principal members and adherents of the new constitution, now assembled at Lausanne, invoked the powerful assistance of France. While on the other hand, the leaders of the insurgents established a provisional government without delay at Berne, and deputed one of their body to Paris, who arrived in that city on the 28th of September, for the purpose of intreating the first consul to suffer the people of Switzerland to settle their affairs among themselves, without foreign interference. At the same time they issued a proclamation, leaving the inhabitants of the several cantons at liberty to choose and regulate their own local governments, and recommending a liberal and rational plan as the bases of the Helvetic Confederacy.

The agent of the insurgents who had been despatched to Paris had instructions to address himself to the ministers resident there, of the principal powers of Europe, and to solicit their interference and assistance in the objects of his mission. For some time he flattered himself, from the result of an interview with M. Talleyrand, that the first consul would interpose no obstacle in the way of any arrangement which the Swiss might agree upon among themselves. But how great was his surprise when a proclamation was issued the very next day from the palace of St. Cloud, signed "Bonaparte," and addressed to "the eighteen cantons of the Helvetic Republic," in which he declared, "that it had been determined by him not to interfere further with their affairs, but as he neither could nor ought to remain insensible to the misery of which party had made them the victims, he recalled his determination." "I will," added he, "be the mediator of your differences; but my mediation shall be efficacious, such as befits the great people in whose name I speak." The first consul then commanded all hostilities to cease, and required the senate and each canton to send deputies to Paris to consult with him upon the means of restoring union and tranquillity.

The Helvetic diet, in a despatch written from Schwitz, on the 8th of October, and addressed to the first consul, replied, "The movements which have taken place in Switzerland are not, general consul, the result of a spirit of party; the Swiss nation has no other object in view than to make use of the right which she claims, of giving herself a central and cantonal constitution, founded on her position and her wants; a sacred and precious right, which you deigned yourself to insure by the treaty of Luneville."

Further negotiations ensued; but the most unanswerable

reply to all these remonstrances was found in the introduction of a French army of thirty thousand men, under the command of General Ney, into the territory of Switzerland. The diet at Schwitz, fully aware how utterly unavailing it would be to attempt any resistance against the overwhelming force that might be brought against them, took the resolution of delivering up their powers into the hands of their constituents as soon as the French troops should enter Switzerland, and on the 28th of October that body was dissolved by its own act. In the mean time, the confidential agent of the Swiss patriots addressed himself in the most urgent terms to the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian ambassadors at Paris, soliciting them jointly to intercede with the first consul, in order to avert the impending evil ; but not one of these ministers would deign to admit him to an audience. From the British resident, Mr. Merry, to whom he at the same time made a similar application, he met with a more favourable reception ; and an intelligent negotiator, Mr. Moore, was sent by the English government to Switzerland, in order to establish a communication with the chiefs of the insurrection ; but finding, on his arrival, that the people were, as they had previously declared, "without arms, without ammunition, without stores, and without money to purchase them," his efforts to advance the interests of the cause of independence failed, and the mission was abandoned.

On the 10th of December, the deputies from the eighteen Swiss cantons, fifty-six in number, assembled at Paris, when a letter was addressed to them by the first consul, in which he declared, "that he would fulfil the obligations he had contracted, to re-establish tranquillity in Switzerland. To this end the three important points to be enforced and fixed were, 1st, Equality of rights between all the cantons. 2d, Complete renunciation of all family rights. And 3d, A federative organization for each canton. On the 12th, a deputation from the consulta, the name given to the Helvetic deputies, was admitted to a personal audience of the first consul, at St. Cloud, on which occasion he developed his intentions towards Switzerland, in a speech of considerable length ; and in a few weeks the final act of mediation was promulgated.

This Mediatorial Decree is stated to be the result of long conferences between well-intentioned men, and friends to order, and its object is to insure to Switzerland both peace and prosperity. "We acknowledge," says the act of mediation, "Helvetia, constituted as follows, to be an independent power. We guarantee the federal constitution, and that of each canton, against the enemies of the tranquillity of Helvetia, be

they who they may ; and we promise to keep the relations of amity, which for ages have united the nations of France and Switzerland." Then follow the particular constitutions of the eighteen cantons, which are divided into three classes, democratic, aristocratic, and cantonal, and each of which are to supply a stipulated quota of troops and money towards the exigencies of the federative state. It is further provided that the diet shall meet alternately, and from year to year, at Friburg, Berne, Soleure, Basle, Zurich, and Lucerne ; that the avoyer of the canton wherein the diet assembles is to be the Landamman of Switzerland, charged with all diplomatic negotiations, and appointed to watch over all the laws and ordinances of the diet, as well as of the particular constitutions. The diet is composed of a deputy from each canton, who has full powers, limited only by his instructions. The deputies from the eighteen cantons have thirty-five voices. The diet to assemble every year, on the first of June, and to continue its sittings but one month ; during which time it is to conclude treaties of peace, of alliance, and of commerce with foreign powers.

On the introduction of this new constitution, to which it was in vain to oppose any opposition, the Helvetic troops were passed into the service of France ; and the Landamman, Louis D'Affry, issued a proclamation, informing them, that they were received into the armies of the first consul, under whose paternal care they would forget all their past sufferings. An address of thanks was also voted by the diet to Bonaparte, on the ground " that he had restored to them their ancient constitution, the only one adapted to their wants or consistent with the wishes of the people ;" but it must not be forgotten that this constitution, however excellent, was the production of a foreign power ; and that it was dictated under circumstances repugnant to the first principles of political liberty, and of national independence.

The daily extension of the power of France could not be viewed by the Emperor of Germany without serious apprehension ; and although the imperial cabinet was bound, by the seventh article of the treaty of Luneville, to admit of the German indemnities, and the secularization of several of the ecclesiastical sovereignties, the government was nevertheless extremely averse to the prosecution of this ungrateful business. In a matter where so many conflicting interests were implicated ; where states and princedoms were to be disposed of ; and where the lesser powers were to be sacrificed to compensate for the losses of the greater, the proceedings were of necessity slow in their progress, and difficult in their accom-

plishment. In order to bring this complex and difficult affair to some decisive termination, the Emperor of Russia resolved, after a long interval of time had elapsed in fruitless discussions, to take an active and efficient part, conjointly with France, in the mediation of the existing differences.

Nothing, however, was effectually done till the 17th of July, on which day the Emperor of Germany transmitted a rescript to the diet of Ratisbon, stating that his attention had been unceasingly occupied with the means of terminating the important business of the peace; but that he found the parties principally interested, had applied in the mean time to Russia and France, and solicited the mediation of those powers in order to obtain the indemnities they waited for; that Russia had consequently proposed to open negotiations at Paris, in February, 1802; that soon after a convention was concluded between France and Russia, without the participation of his imperial majesty, and that he was now desired to direct the definitive arrangement so begun, according to the constitution of the empire. The emperor, seeing his authority about to be wrested from him, submitted for a time to the humiliating necessity under which he was placed, but by his persevering endeavours in favour of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, he obtained terms for his royal relative, somewhat more advantageous than those originally projected. The newly modified scheme of the indemnities, was called a supplement to the plan, according to which the Elector of Mentz obtained the cities of Ratisbon and Wetzlar. The Princes of Baden, Wirtemberg, and Hesse Cassel, were made electors. The King of Great Britain accepted the cession of the bishopric of Osnaburg, in perpetuity, as a compensation for Hildesheim, Corvey, and Hoexter; stipulating at the same time to abandon the rights and privileges he had formerly exercised over Hamburg and Bremen. And to the Prince of Orange, for the surrender of the stadtholderate, and other claims and possessions in Holland and Belgium, were awarded the bishoprics of Fulda and Corvey, and the city of Dortmund.

After much discussion, and the interchange of various imperial rescripts and replies, the influence of France rose predominant in the diet, and on the 22d of November, in the thirtieth sitting of the deputation, a final *conclusum* was voted, and reluctantly acceded to on the part of the emperor. By this arrangement the influence of the emperor was diminished in the diet, in consequence of the abolition of the two ecclesiastical electorates of Treves and Cologne, and the constitution of Germany suffered a more serious infraction than that effected, after the thirty years war, by the treaty of Westphalia.

CHAPTER XXIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Colonel Despard's Conspiracy—Its Progress and Detection—Trial of the Conspirators—Their Conviction and Execution—Trial of M. Peltier, a French Emigrant, for a Libel on Bonaparte*—IRISH REBELLION OF 1803: *The Character and Condition of the principal Leaders—Preparations of the Rebels—The Horrors of the 23d of July—Assassination of Lord Viscount Kilwarden—His Character—Defeat and Dispersion of the Rebels—Discovery of the Magazines and Archives—Precautionary Measures of Government—Unsuccessful Attempt to plant the Standard of Rebellion in the North of Ireland—Trials and Execution of Emmett, Russel, and others of the Conspirators—Tranquillity completely restored.*

AT no time within the last ten years had Great Britain enjoyed so much domestic tranquillity as during the period that intervened between the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace and the close of the year 1802. The policy and temper of ministers in the management of all the internal affairs of the country had been uniformly mild and conciliatory, and the effect produced upon the public mind was at once gratifying and remarkable. Every trace of party animosity seemed to vanish under their auspicious rule, and all were eager to rally round that constitution, which all alike revered, and which some had laboured to support by augmenting the prerogatives of the crown; and others by upholding the privileges of the people. In this posture of affairs, it excited the strongest surprise to hear that a treasonable plot was discovered, of which Colonel Despard was the head, and indeed the only individual of any consideration in the conspiracy.

The object of this conspiracy was the death of the king, and the subversion of the constitution; but the means by which these traitorous designs were to be effected were so little adapted to the magnitude of the enterprise, that it was scarcely possible that the design could have originated with any man in a sane state of mind. The plan concerted by Colonel Despard, was to ingratiate himself with the soldiery, and particularly with the guards, by which means he hoped to have at his disposal a select corps, trained to the use of arms, and advantageously situated for the execution of his atrocious purpose. The first object of the conspirators was to secure or destroy the king on his return from parliament at the opening of the session, to accomplish which it was proposed to load the great gun in the park with long-ball, or chain-shot, and to discharge the contents at his majesty's carriage as he passed! At the same moment, other parties were to seize the tower, to surround the two houses of parliament, to take possession

of the bank, to destroy the telegraph, and to stop the mail coaches, which last event was to be, as in the Irish rebellion, a signal for a general rising throughout the country. This insane project was to be executed by about forty individuals, and those in the lowest situation in life, both as to rank and intellect. Among the assumed partisans of this sanguinary plot were two soldiers in the guards, of the names of Blaine and Windsor, who, through the medium of Mr. Bownas, an army agent, with whom they were in regular communication, laid before government all the proceedings of the conspirators. On the 16th of November, the day appointed for the meeting of parliament, a general meeting of the conspirators, amounting to about thirty in number, was held at the Oakley Arms, in South-Lambeth, in the borough of Southwark, where they were all arrested and committed to prison. The arrests, which were conducted in every respect according to the due form of law, excited much surprise, but no extraordinary sensation.

The wisdom of government, in permitting the plot to ripen and mature so as to develope completely the designs, and ascertain the guilt of the conspirators, was not more apparent than their moderation and constitutional principles in the conduct of the trials. No affectation of alarm was exhibited, nor was any advantage taken of the plot to enlarge the powers of government, or to contract the privileges of the people by the suspension of the act of Habeas Corpus.

On the 7th of February, 1803, Colonel Despard was brought up for trial before a special commission, at the New Sessions House, in the borough of Southwark, on which occasion Windsor, Blaine, one Emblyn, a watchmaker, and others of the conspirators, were admitted as evidence for the crown. It appeared from the testimony of these witnesses, that on the Friday preceding the 16th of November, Colonel Despard met some of the seduced soldiery, and others of the conspirators, for the first time, at the Flying Horse, at Newington; and that he spoke freely of their traitorous designs, and the best mode of carrying them into execution. At this meeting the intercepting and shooting the king on his way to parliament was discussed, as well as the probable difficulties attending such a traitorous enterprise, on which the colonel exclaimed, "If nobody else will shoot him I will;" adding, with much solemnity, "I have well weighed the matter, and my heart is callous." Every other part of the design was then adverted to and freely debated. Colonel Despard spoke of the strength of the conspiracy at Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and Birmingham, and of his own activity in forwarding the

cause. The people, he said, were every where ripe, and the death of the king would be a signal for a general rising. It further appeared, that through the medium of one Francis, with whom he seemed to have been confidentially connected, Colonel Despard had himself sworn and attempted to swear soldiers and others into engagements, binding them to the destruction of the king and government; and finally, that on the evening of the 16th of November he was, with about thirty other persons, sitting in full convention, assembled for treasonable purposes, at the Oakley Arms public house, in Lambeth, where certain papers were found indicative of their wicked designs, and affording evidence that their ulterior purpose was to be carried by the conflict of arms, and not by the force of reason and argument.*

After a trial which lasted nearly eighteen hours, and in which very honourable testimony was given to the conduct of Colonel Despard as an officer while in the army, by Lord Nelson, Sir Allured Clark, and Sir Evan Nepean, he was found *guilty*: the foreman of the jury adding, at the time the verdict was delivered, "My lord, we do most earnestly recommend the prisoner to mercy, on account of the high testimonials to his former good character, and eminent services."

On Wednesday, the 9th of February, the court resumed its sittings, at nine o'clock, and proceeded on the trials of the other prisoners, twelve in number. The evidence on these trials was substantially the same as on that of Colonel Despard; and after an investigation which continued without intermission till six o'clock the following morning, the jury, at five and twenty minutes before eight, returned a verdict of guilty against John Wood, Thomas Broughton, John Francis, Thomas Newman, Daniel Tyndall, J. Sedgwick Wratten, William Lander, Arthur Graham, and John Macnamara; re-

* The oath which had been tendered by Colonel Despard, was found, printed on a card, in the possession of Broughton, Smith, and others. It was expressed in these terms:

"CONSTITUTION! The independence of Great Britain and Ireland—an equalization of civil, political, and religious rights—an ample provision for the wives of the heroes who shall fall in the contest—a liberal reward for distinguished merits. These are the objects for which we contend; and to obtain these objects we swear to be united in the awful presence of Almighty God."

Form of the Oath.—"I, A. B. do voluntarily declare, that I will endeavour, to the utmost of my power, to obtain the object of this union; namely, to recover those rights which the Supreme Being, in his infinite bounty, has given to all men; that neither hopes, fears, rewards, nor punishments, shall ever induce me to give any information, directly or indirectly, concerning the business, or of any member of this or any similar society—So help me God."

commending Lander, Newman, and Tyndall, to mercy.* Thomas Phillips and Samuel Smith were acquitted; and the charge against John Doyle was abandoned at the close of the evidence.

Colonel Despard was then sent for, and placed at the bar in front of the other prisoners; when Lord Ellenborough passed the awful sentence of death upon these unfortunate men, in one of the most impressive speeches ever perhaps delivered upon a similar occasion. After describing the high enormity of the crime of which they had been convicted, and observing, most truly, that such vile purposes, however zealously begun, generally terminate in schemes of treachery against each other, he thus proceeded:—

“With respect to the wicked contrivers of abortive treason now before me, it only remains for me to acquit myself of my last judicial duty. As for you, Colonel Despard, born as you were to better hopes, and educated to nobler ends and purposes; accustomed as you have hitherto been to a different life and manners, and pursuing with your former illustrious companions, who have appeared upon your trial, the paths of virtuous and loyal ambition—it is with the most sensible pain I view the contrast formed by your present degraded condition, and I will not now paint how much these considerations enhance the nature of your crime. I intreat you, by those hopes of mercy which are closed in this world, to revive in your mind a purpose to subdue that callous insensibility of heart, of which in an ill-fated hour you have boasted; and regain that sensitive affection of the mind which may prepare your soul for that salvation, which, by the infinite mercy of God, I beseech of that God you may obtain.” Having addressed himself to the other prisoners, whom his lordship styled “the sad victims of seduction and of their own wicked purpose,” he thus concluded—“The only thing now remaining for me, is the painful task of pronouncing against you the awful sentence which the law denounces against your crime, which is, that you, and each of you,” naming the prisoners severally, “be taken to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn on hurdles to the place of execution, where you are to be hanged by the neck, but not until you are dead; for, while you are still living, your bodies are to be taken down, your bowels torn out, and burnt before your faces; your heads are to be then cut off, and your bodies divided each into four quarters, to be at the king’s disposal; and may the Almighty God have mercy on your souls.”

At six o’clock in the evening of Saturday, the 19th February, his majesty’s warrant for the execution of Colonel Despard and those six of his associates who were not recommended to mercy, reached the gaol. When the arrival of the death warrant was announced, the colonel seemed more surprised than affected. On Sunday, at three o’clock, Mrs. Despard had a last and most affecting interview with her unfortunate husband, and though he sustained himself with conside-

* After an imprisonment of some years these three culprits were liberated by an act of royal clemency.

rable firmness at the moment of their final separation, he soon after became deeply agitated, and for a short time lost his wonted composure. Between six and seven o'clock in the evening, he threw himself upon the bed, and fell into a short sleep. At eight he awoke, and in the hearing of one of the officers of the prison, said—"Me—they shall receive no information from me—no! not for all the gifts, the gold, and the jewels in possession of the crown." He then composed himself to sleep, and remained on his bed till about half past four o'clock in the morning, at which hour he rose, and continued to pace his cell, till he was led out to execution. Most of the other prisoners spent much of their time in prayer, and received the sacrament at seven o'clock in the morning, but Colonel Despard refused to attend, and remained in his cell.

Between eight and nine o'clock on Monday, the 21st of February, the execution took place, on the top of the New Gaol, in the Borough, with the usual forms in cases of high treason, in the presence of innumerable spectators. The minor culprits displayed the utmost penitence, and expressed their fervent prayers for the divine mercy; but the unhappy principal declined all spiritual assistance from the clergyman, and was never observed, during the whole period of his confinement, to engage in any exercise of devotion. He was the last to ascend the scaffold, which he did with great firmness, and his countenance never underwent the slightest change. He viewed the multitude assembled with perfect calmness, and with a firm and elevated voice thus addressed them :—

"Fellow-citizens, I come here, as you see, after having served my country faithfully, honourably, and I trust usefully, for thirty years and upwards, to suffer death upon a scaffold, for a crime which I am no more guilty of than any man that is looking upon me. This I solemnly declare: but though his majesty's ministers know that I am not guilty, they avail themselves of the legal pretext which they have of destroying a man, because they think he is a friend to truth, to liberty, and to justice, and because he has been a friend to the poor and to the oppressed. But, fellow-citizens, I hope and trust, notwithstanding my fate, and perhaps the fate of many others who may follow me, that still the principles of liberty, justice, and humanity, will triumph over falsehood, despotism, and delusion, and every thing else hostile to the interests of the human race. And now, having said this, I have nothing more to add, but to wish you all that health and happiness, and that freedom, which I have made it my endeavour, as far as lay in my power, to procure for every one of you and for mankind in general."

Immediately after this speech the crowd cheered, but the impulse immediately subsided; and at seven minutes before nine the sufferers were launched into eternity. After hanging about half an hour the bodies were cut down: Colonel Despard the first; his head was then severed from his body, and

the executioner, holding it up to the view of the populace, exclaimed—"This is the head of a traitor, Edward Marcus Despard." The same ceremony was afterwards performed on the other bodies, after which they were all put into shells, the other part of the sentence having been remitted, and the populace dispersed without any indication of tumult.

Thus terminated a conspiracy, unexampled in the annals of history for the extent of its designs, when contrasted with the weakness and paucity of its means. It was, as the attorney-general truly observed, a plot, "in which no political party, no faction, considered its interest involved;" and stood isolated and without supporters beyond the narrow limits of the obscure and visionary few who attended its treasonable assemblies. That Colonel Despard was an enthusiast, that his plans were visionary and impracticable, were facts admitted by all: but it was equally true, that in the same proportion as he was enthusiastic, in that proportion he was dangerous: and it was evident that he had formed to himself a system of revolutionary action, the principal feature of which was, that a convulsion in the state was not to be effected by extensive associations, through which the designs would transpire and must be frustrated; but by a small party of desperate men, who, having struck one great blow, such as the assassination of the king, and having filled the country with consternation, might find then, and not before, numbers of coadjutors. The colonel himself was a man of ardent mind, of inflexible resolution, and of a high and daring spirit. Having, as it appeared, served his country for a long series of years, and having, as it also appeared, been refused the compensation he thought, and perhaps justly, due to his professional claims, he became the victim of chagrin and disappointment, and indulged a spirit of resentment, which led him to form dangerous connections, and to cover culpable designs under the mask of patriotism: but being thrown into prison, severely treated, refused a trial, under the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and precluded from all redress by the act of indemnity which succeeded, his resentment was converted into the madness of revenge, which he scrupled not to gratify by engaging in attempts the most criminal and atrocious. Of his six fellow-sufferers—"the victims of his seduction and example," one only of them was, like their leader, an Irishman by birth, the other were all Englishmen; two of them, Wood and Francis, were private soldiers in the guards, and the other four were all handicrafts men, in low circumstances, and principally in the meridian of life.

On this occasion, loyal and affectionate addresses from both branches of the legislature, and from the clergy, the

laity, and the corporate bodies of the kingdom, poured in upon the sovereign, expressive of attachment to his person, loyalty to his government, and gratitude to the Great Disposer of all events for the gracious protection vouchsafed unto him.

The day which witnessed the execution of Colonel Despard and his associates, was also rendered memorable, by the first, and hitherto by the last trial of a French loyalist in England, for a libel upon the First Consul of France, written in the French language, and published in London, by Jean Peltier, the journalist in a periodical paper, under the title of *L'Ambigu*. The libel consisted in a figurative, but palpable call upon the people of France to assassinate the first consul; and this prosecution was instituted by the British government, on an *ex-officio* information, with a view to allay the jealousy, and appease the irritation felt by the French government at the countenance given in this country to the partisans of the ancient *regime*. The Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, who presided on this trial, in summing up the evidence, observed, that it was manifest, that the nature and direct tendency of the publications charged in the indictment, was to interrupt and destroy the peace and amity now happily subsisting between Great Britain and France, and that such publications were, in point of law, a libel.* His lordship further said, that he was certain the verdict of the jury would be founded upon the real facts of the case, and that no recollection of the past, or expectation of the future, would warp their minds from the straight and even course of justice: they would consider the necessary effects of plans of assassination and murder, and that if they were not discountenanced and discouraged in this country, they might be retaliated on the safety of all that was most dear to us. The jury, without hesitation, returned a verdict of guilty; but the renewal of hostilities, which soon after took place between the two countries,

* To shew that the writings of M. Peltier, then under the consideration of the court, contained a direct incitement to the assassination of the first consul, Lord Ellenborough cited the following passages:—"Oh! eternal disgrace of France! Cæsar, on the bank of the Rubicon, has against him in his quarrel, the Senate, Pompey, and Cato, and the plains of Pharsalia. If fortune be unequal—if you must yield to the destinies, Rome, in this sad reverse, at least, there remains to avenge you, a poignard among the last Romans." Again; "As for me," says the writer, "far from envying his (Bonaparte's) lot, let him name, I consent to it, his worthy successor. Carried on the shield, let him be elected emperor. Finally (and Romulus recalls the thing to mind) I wish he may have *this* apotheosis." Every body, his lordship said, knew the supposed story of Romulus; he disappeared, and his death was supposed to be the effect of assassination.

prevented the court from pronouncing judgment upon the emigrant defendant.

Ireland, which had been so many centuries under the crown of England, still seemed *unnaturalized*—alien to those feelings of satisfaction and loyalty, which have generally animated the people of Great Britain, and which at the period now under consideration glowed in their breast with peculiar effulgence. To develope the causes of Irish disaffection, would be to review a large portion of her history, and would require a compass of investigation incompatible with the limits of this work.* But without entering into the more remote causes of this unhappy state of things, it could scarcely be expected that the animosities which had prevailed during the late sanguinary rebellion should have instantly subsided, or that the vehement discussions originating in the project of a legislative union, should have left behind them no leaven of disaffection. These germs of discontent, which had struck their roots deep in the soil of Ireland, unfortunately received considerable augmentation from the disappointment of those expectations which had been cherished by Mr. Pitt; and when the Roman Catholic subjects of that country found that the British minister was compelled to retire from office because he could not accomplish the boon of emancipation, hope sickened in the breast, and gave place to feelings of despair. The protestants of the north of Ireland, however, who had with too much precipitation formed conclusions favourable to the French revolution, had now seen and abjured their error, and could not be prevailed upon to take any part in a conspiracy, the probable issue of which, if successful, would have been to place their beloved country under the power and control of France. Nor were the Catholics, as a body, disposed to repair to the standard of rebellion, or to second the visionary designs of men, who took their impulse from a feeling of disappointed ambition, and a deep-rooted spirit of revenge. The unfortunate men who acted the most prominent parts in the fatal scenes of the year 1803, had experienced the clemency of government after the suppression of the rebellion in 1798, and had retired to France. The person who assumed the office of director and principal mover of this new plot upon the British dominions in Ireland, was Mr. Robert Emmett, a young man of specious and promising talents—the brother of Thomas Addis Emmett, who had, previously to the rebellion of 1798, abandoned a respectable situation at the bar, in order to erect an Irish republic, and effect a separation from Great

* See Chap. VII. Book II. page 448.

Britain. Robert, the younger brother of the Irish director of 1798, had been sufficiently unguarded in his conduct, while the late disturbances existed, to become an object of the vigilance of government, and had found it prudent to reside abroad so long as the Habeas Corpus act was suspended; but on the removal of that obstacle he returned to Ireland, and arrived in that country in the month of December, 1802. The death of Dr. Emmett, his father, who was one of the state physicians in Dublin, had placed the sum of two thousand pounds in ready money at his disposal; and with this exchequer he proposed to himself the subversion of the government of Ireland! His principal associates at this time were, Dowdall, a man who had formerly filled an inferior office under the Irish house of commons; Redmond, a man of narrow means, engaged in a small line of trade; and Allen, a bankrupt woollen-manufacturer. A conspirator of a different stamp, and of a much higher rate of abilities than those just mentioned, was Quigley, a mechanic of considerable address, who having been outlawed in 1798, had since that period resided in France, and had recently returned to Ireland, under circumstances which clearly indicated his agency in the approaching insurrection. In another part of the country a second enthusiast presented himself as a chief; this was Mr. Thomas Russel, who had served as an officer in the British army with some reputation, and who, unlike the majority of those that had imbibed the political principles of the revolutionary school of France, was religiously inclined, even to enthusiasm. This unfortunate man was among the number of those banished to Fort George, in Scotland, at the close of the late rebellion, from whence he was allowed to embark for France, and did not return to his native country till the spring of the present year.

Such were the characters and condition in life of the principal leaders of the conspiracy of 1803. Emmett and Dowdall were stationed in Dublin; Quigley in the county of Kildare; and Russel in the populous districts of the north; while others of less note were subdivided through various parts of the country, with authority from their leaders to forward the object of their rebellious mission by every means in their power. Some important assistance was likewise expected, in the acquisition of a person of the name of Dwyer, a leader of banditti in the Wicklow mountains, and who had remained in arms from the period of the rebellion in 1798. His party did not ostensibly exceed twenty, but he was supposed to possess considerable influence over the peasants of that district; and he intimated to Mr. Emmett, that "though he would not

commit his brave followers upon the good conduct of the rabble of Dublin, yet when he should see the green flag, (the standard of rebellion) elevated above the king's, on the tower of the castle, he would be at hand to cover or second the enterprise."

On the first arrival of Mr. Emmett in Ireland, he resided in obscure lodgings, under the assumed name of Hewitt, but the nature of his designs did not admit of his remaining in this retreat longer than was necessary to mature the plans for carrying into effect his unhallowed purpose. About the end of April, he engaged, along with Dowdall, a house and premises of some extent, situated near the heart of the city. In this place, surrounded by about twenty of his associates, he established a depot of arms; here muskets and other weapons were procured as opportunity served, a large manufacture of pikes was secretly carried on, and bullets to the amount of upwards of thirty thousand were fabricated. On the 21st of July, a person was found loitering near the depot, and being supposed to have observed some suspicious proceedings, he was seized by the conspirators, and would have been put to death but for the interference of Emmett, at whose instance he was confined, and compelled to labour in forming pikes, and other services conducive to the furtherance of the object of the conspiracy. At this crisis an accident occurred that threatened to lead to a premature developement of the whole plot: by some means which are not explained, an explosion of a quantity of gunpowder took place, in the house of one of the conspirators in Patrick-street, but by the address of the conspirators, or the remissness of the police, this incident did not lead to any discovery, though it is more than probable that the apprehension of detection which it produced might precipitate the ulterior operations of the insurgents. Though the persons immediately connected with Emmett, Russel, Dowdall, and Quigley, the principals in the plot, did not exceed from eighty to one hundred; yet these infatuated men were so sanguine in their expectations, as to suppose that the spirit of rebellion would, at their bidding, pervade the whole kingdom; and the usual intimation, the stoppage of the mail coaches, was to be the signal of revolt in the country, while the first object of the insurgents in the metropolis, was to secure the seat of government, and the principal persons engaged in its administration.

For some days previous to the fatal explosion, information had been conveyed to government of threatening assemblages of the people, and other indications tended to awaken a suspicion that "*a rising*," as it was termed, was in agitation.

But it does not appear that the members of the Irish government paid much attention to these intimations ; nor perhaps is this much to be wondered at, as such reports, in the recent state of Ireland, must have been frequent, and in many cases groundless.

On the morning of Saturday, the 23d of July, the day appointed for this momentous enterprise, unusual crowds of peasants were observed on the great road to Dublin, directing their hurried steps towards the capital from all parts of the county of Kildare, which lies in that direction, and in which district Quigley had exercised his pernicious functions. The city continued to fill during the whole of the day ; and it was observed by travellers and others, that many parts of Kildare were emptied of the adult part of the male population.—Towards evening, the populace began to assemble in vast numbers in St. James's-street and its neighbourhood, without having any visible arrangement or discipline. These were, however, the materials with which Mr. Emmett proposed to construct the edifice of republicanism. The next object was to arm the body thus collected ; and for which purpose pikes were deliberately brought out from the store in that neighbourhood, and with unmolested regularity placed along the sides of the streets, for the accommodation of all who might choose to equip themselves. The inhabitants, during this dreadful and alarming scene, were panic-struck, and seeing no prospect of succour or protection, withdrew within their houses, barred their doors and windows, and betook themselves to imploring the protection of providence, to avert from them the impending calamity.

About nine o'clock, the concerted signal that all was in readiness, was given by a number of men riding furiously through the principal streets ; but general alarm was not excited, until Mr. Clarke, the proprietor of a considerable manufactory in the neighbourhood of Dublin, and who had that afternoon apprised government of the intention of the insurgents, was shot at and dangerously wounded. About the period of this premeditated assassination, a small piece of ordnance, which had been in readiness for the purpose, was discharged, and a sky-rocket let off at the same moment, so as to be observed throughout the whole city. Mr. Emmett, at the head of his chosen band, now sallied forth from the obscurity of his headquarters, in Marshalsea-lane, and brandishing his sword in the street, excited his followers to action. Before they had reached the end of the lane in which they were assembled, a confidential member of the party discharged his blunderbuss at a person dressed in a military uniform, and who was pass-

ing hastily along the street. The ball of the assassin unhappily took effect, and thus perished Colonel Browne, a most respectable and meritorious officer, and one of the first victims of this sanguinary night. Here we lose sight of the general and his staff—here ended his short-lived course of military and political achievement. It is to be hoped, and there is no evidence to contradict the charitable presumption, that this unfortunate enthusiast did not participate in the subsequent horrors of the night—he was indeed a fanatic, but he was not a fiend. Henceforward we do not discern him, or any of his brother conspirators, till we find them fallen from their day-dreams of empire, beneath the power of the offended justice of their country. The next victim to this spirit of revolutionary fury, was a corporal of the ordinary-guard, stationed at the prison for debtors, situated contiguous to the chief rendezvous of the insurgents. The most vigorous attempt, and indeed the only one that could be considered in the light of an act of courage, was an assault made upon a few soldiers composing an outpost, who were overpowered by numbers and put to death.

But the circumstance from which this hopeless and disastrous commotion derived a degree of consequence far beyond that which would naturally belong to the ordinary acts of turbulence in a disaffected country, and in an ill-regulated metropolis, was the dreadful catastrophe of the Chief Justice of Ireland, the Lord Viscount Kilwarden. This unfortunate nobleman had, on the day of the insurrection, retired to his country seat, near four miles from Dublin, as was his custom after having passed the week in fulfilling the duties of his exalted situation. On the first intimation of the circumstances which denoted disturbances being conveyed to him, his lordship, who, ever since the period of the outrages in 1798, had been in perpetual apprehension of being surprised and assassinated by rebels, ordered out his carriage, and taking with him his daughter, and his nephew, the Rev. Richard Wolfe, set off instantly for Dublin, where he expected to find protection and safety! Unfortunately for the lord chief justice and his family, the carriage appeared in Thomas-street immediately after the opening of the depot, and was surrounded by a mob of armed persons, equally infuriated and infatuated. His lordship announced his name, and earnestly prayed for mercy; but in vain.—The party were all dragged from the carriage, and Lord Kilwarden and his nephew fell to the ground, pierced with innumerable wounds, but the lady was requested to make her escape, and she was permitted to pass through the whole rebel column to the castle without molestation!

The alarm having been universally spread, the approach of a small military force hastily collected, caused the cowardly and ferocious wretches to abandon their mangled prey ; and as soon as the streets were a little cleared, some humane persons ventured to approach the scene of blood and massacre. The body of Mr. Wolfe was found quite dead, at the distance of a few yards from the place where the carriage had been stopped ; but strange to relate, his unfortunate uncle, Lord Kilwarden, still survived. His lordship was immediately carried to the nearest watch-house, where he received such assistance as could be procured, and while the vital spark still quivered on his lips, this truly great man exclaimed—" Murder must be punished, but let no man suffer for my death, but on a fair trial, and by the laws of his country." These were his last words ; and they compose the noblest epitaph for his tomb.*

About half past 10 o'clock the rebels were in their turn severely attacked ; the mighty projects and elaborate preparations of the chiefs were all discomfited and dissipated in less than an hour, by two subaltern officers of the 21st regiment, each having about fifty men under his command. After the rebels had taken possession of certain streets, they put to death several persons in military attire, and cut off a number of regulars and volunteers who were anxiously repairing to the rendezvous appointed for them in case of danger. While engaged in this murderous pursuit, Lieutenant Brady, with about fifty men, came unexpectedly upon the rear of the mob ; and while attempting to seize the first pike-man he met, a shot was fired from an entry, by which one of his soldiers was wounded. The lieutenant, finding these acts of aggression

* ARTHUR WOLFE, Lord Viscount Kilwarden, was a native of Ireland, and had served the crown, in the usual gradations of the highest offices of the law. He became Solicitor-General of Ireland when Viscount Carleton was promoted to the common pleas, and attorney-general, on the late Lord Clare's accession to the seals. The Earl of Clonmell was his lordship's immediate predecessor in his high office of Chief Justice of Ireland. As crown prosecutor, during a period which unfortunately called for the frequent exercise of the duties of that office, he was fair, candid, and gentle ; disposed to give the accused every advantage, and always less desirous to exaggerate guilt, than to ascertain innocence. As a judge, no man ever attempted to censure him on any ground other than a strenuous, and what some considered an overstrained assertion of the liberty of the subject. He was not, from his talents and attainments, calculated to extend the limits of science, or multiply the lights of his profession, but he was really what his dying expressions bespoke him, an upright, honest man, who well knew how to appreciate law and justice, and who had fully and deeply impressed on his mind the sound maxims of both, by unwearied sedulity, and long habits in their distribution.

repeated, order his men to fire, and in a few minutes the mob fled in every direction, leaving the lieutenant and his party completely masters of the field. A column of rebels proceeding down Thomas-street, seemed desirous to attack the light-company of the 21st under Lieutenant Douglas, and two or three shots were discharged at the soldiers, when the mob advancing as if to charge, received a volley from the troops, which obliged them to fall back; a second volley dispersed them, and after this no further attack or resistance was experienced. No return was ever made of the number of lives lost on this occasion, but the most probable conjecture is, that of soldiers and volunteers there were about twenty, and perhaps about fifty of the insurgents. Nor is it easy to form an opinion of the number of rebels in arms, though various conjectures have been made, some carrying their muster roll up to three thousand, and others diminishing their force to five hundred.

The plan of the insurrection, as developed in the papers afterwards found in the depot, embraced the whole of Ireland, a certain number of men from each parish being fixed on to march for the capital. The explosion, however, was confined to Dublin and its immediate vicinity. A schism, which divided the leaders, produced this premature attempt, one party being desirous of coming to immediate action, and the other wishing to postpone the execution of their plan, till the co-operation of a foreign force could be procured. Fortunately for the united kingdom, the weaker counsels prevailed.

The activity of the government soon discovered the depots, detected the plans, and annihilated the resources of the conspirators. At the Malt-Store, in Dirty-lane, the principal of their depots, were found eight thousand pikes, and thirty-four thousand ball cartridges, besides a number of hand grenades,* and other military stores.† On the banks of the river, at a place called the Coal-Quay, a second depot was found; in the apartment where it was discovered, the wainscot had been removed to a considerable distance from the wall, and constructed so as to move like a sliding door. Behind this was found an immense number of pikes and other weapons. In many parts of the city, and chiefly in vacant grounds, and against what are termed dead walls, boxes of pikes were

* These instruments are formed of bottles filled with powder, rusty nails, bullets, and scraps of iron, to which a fusee is fixed, and when discharged in the streets of a crowded city, spread death and destruction in every direction.

† Speech of Sir John Wrottesley, in the House of Commons, March 7th, 1804, on a motion for inquiry.

discovered, formed so as to resemble logs of timber; their situation and contents being well known to the adherents of the conspirators. In Bridgefoot-street, and Smithfield, was also found a quantity of clothing, among which was a magnificent suit of green and gold, evidently intended for some insurgent general. But perhaps the most material discovery was the finding of the papers connected with the insurrection, and which, as they not only pointed out the leaders of the conspiracy, but also all the places in the country, which were considered as favourable for similar movements, enabled government to take effectual means to prevent or repel any further effort on the part of the disaffected. The most remarkable of the papers found at the depot, was a proclamation or manifesto of the intended provisional government to the people of Ireland. This address was written in a turgid and inflated style, much resembling some of the papers published in the early part of the French revolution, and among other assertions stated, "that the present effort was for the developement of a system which had been organized within the last eight months." It obscurely intimated that the conspiracy of Despard was a branch of the same system; and laid down as the basis of the whole, an eternal separation from British connection; and concluded with a declamatory invective against what was termed the tyranny of England. There was also in the archives of the rebels, an address to the citizens of Dublin, and the project of a decree, by which the abolition of all tythes was announced; no transfer of debenture or public securities was to take place till the national government should be organised; the troops of the line were to be treated as prisoners of war, but the Irish militia, yeomen, and volunteers, found in arms against the republic fourteen days after the date of the decree, were made liable to suffer death by the sentence of a court-martial. And among other regulations in this decree was a provision for electing a house of representatives.

The entire failure of the rebellious enterprise of Emmett and his associates, reduced their proclamations and decrees to the standard of waste paper; and every precaution was immediately taken by the government to restore the public tranquillity. The privy council issued a proclamation, calling on the magistrates to unite their exertions with those of the military power, and offering a reward of one thousand pounds for the discovery and detection of the miscreants who murdered Lord Kilwarden. A reward was also offered to those who should discover the murderers of Lieutenant-colonel Browne; and an official notice was issued by the lord-mayor, requiring all the inhabitants of Dublin, except yeomen, to keep

within doors after eight in the evening. At the same time, bills for suspending the Habeas Corpus act, and for placing Ireland under martial law, were passed with uncommon rapidity through their different stages in the parliament of the united kingdom. Arrangements were also made for sending large bodies of troops from England, and every measure which prudence could suggest, or courage execute, was immediately adopted, for the preservation of the public tranquillity. On this occasion, the Roman Catholics, with Lord Fingal at their head, came forward in the most loyal and patriotic manner, and after expressing their utmost abhorrence and detestation of the enormities committed on the 23d of July, made an offer to government of their assistance and co-operation. By these and similar exertions the flame of rebellion was completely extinguished; and it reflects no small praise on the existing administration, that the public peace was preserved by means perfectly constitutional, and without resorting in any one instance to the exercise of those extraordinary powers with which the legislature had seen proper to clothe the government of Ireland.

While such were the proceedings, and the issue of the insurrection in the metropolis, Russel, who had attempted to erect the standard of rebellion in the north, was completely disappointed, and it does not appear that more than twelve persons, and those of the lowest rank, and most desperate character, ever entered into his treasonable designs. Disappointed in all his endeavours, he returned to Dublin soon after the 23d of July, where he remained concealed in the house of Mr. Mulet, a gunsmith, till the 9th of September, when he was apprehended by the vigilance of the police, and on the following day committed to prison.

Emmett, after he had acted the general for the short space of an hour, finding himself either deserted by his army, or at the head of a mob, by whom his commands, and even his entreaties, were slighted, fled in despair and mortification from Dublin, to the adjacent mountains. But here he was pursued, and obliged again to seek refuge in Dublin, where he was in about a month traced to the house of a Mrs. Palmer, and having been secured, was committed to prison. Dowdall and Alien had the good fortune to escape out of the country; but Redmond was arrested at Newry, at the moment when he was about to take his passage for America; while Quigley and Stafford, two others of the leaders, were soon after taken in the interior of the country.

A special commission was issued for the trial of the rebels, and Edward Kearney, a calenderer; and Thomas Maxwell

Roche, an old man, of nearly seventy years of age, were the two first persons brought before this tribunal. After a patient investigation of all the circumstances of the case, both the prisoners were found guilty, and executed in Thomas-street, the focus of the insurrection. Several others of their associates were also tried, found guilty, and expiated their offences with their lives. But the most important of these judicial proceedings was the trial of Robert Emmett, Esq. who was arraigned on the 19th of September, and found guilty on the clearest evidence. Before the awful sentence of the law was pronounced, Mr. Emmett addressed the court in a long and animated speech, in which he candidly avowed that it was his intention to separate Ireland from her dependence on Great Britain, and gloried in the measures he had taken to accomplish his purpose. He at the same time solemnly disclaimed all agency or connection with France :—

“Small indeed,” exclaimed he, with impassioned energy, “must have been our claims to patriotism or to common sense; absurd indeed our professions of the love of liberty, if I and my associates could encourage the profanation of our shores by a people who are themselves slaves, and the unprincipled and abandoned instruments of imposing slavery on others. Did I live to see a French army approach this country, I would meet it with a torch in one hand and a sword in the other: I would receive them with all the destruction of war! I would animate my countrymen to immolate them in their very boats, before our native soil should have been polluted by the tread of a foreign foe. If they succeeded in landing, I would burn every blade of grass before them; raze every house, contend to the last for every inch of ground, and the spot in which the hope of freedom should desert me, that spot I would make my grave. What I cannot do I leave as a legacy to my country, because I feel conscious that my death would be unprofitable, and all hope of liberty would be extinct, the moment a French army obtained a footing in this land.” After some further observations in the same strain, he concluded thus: “My lamp of life has nearly expired; my race is finished; the grave opens to receive me, and I sink into its bosom. All I request at departing from the world is the charity of its silence. Let no man write my epitaph, for as no man who knows my motives will dare to vindicate them, let no prejudice or ignorance asperse them; let them and me repose in obscurity and peace, and my tomb remain uninscribed, till other times, and other men, can do justice to my character.”

At the close of this speech, Lord Northbury proceeded to pronounce the sentence of the law upon the prisoner; and the following day this misguided young man, who was at that time only in the 24th year of his age, was executed on a temporary gallows in Thomas-street.

On the 20th of October, the trial of Mr. Thomas Russell came on at Carrickfergus, and the charge of endeavouring to excite insurrection was proved against him by a chain of clear and incontestible evidence. On being asked if he had any thing to say why sentence of death should not be passed upon him,

he addressed the court in a speech which occupied about twenty minutes in the delivery, in which he took a view of the principal transactions of his life for the last thirteen years ; and on a retrospective view of which he said he looked back with triumph and satisfaction : he endeavoured to justify what he had done by the plea that he had acted from conscientious motives ; and he anxiously intreated the court that his might be the last life sacrificed on the present occasion.

Mr. Baron George then pronounced the awful sentence of the law upon the prisoner, which he listened to with the greatest composure and attention, and bowing to the court, retired with the sheriff. This fatal sentence was carried into execution on the following day at Downpatrick.

Soon after this execution, Quigley and Stafford were apprehended in the county of Galway, and were both arraigned at the commission of Oyer and Terminer, opened at Dublin on the 29th of October, but in consideration of their having made a full disclosure of all the circumstances connected with the conspiracy, no further proceedings were had against them, nor any of the remaining prisoners. The mildness and constitutional conduct of administration in this unhappy business excited praise from many who were politically hostile to them ; and it no doubt contributed more to the restoration of tranquillity than the most rigorous and sanguinary measures. It was generally suspected at this period that Bonaparte was the real author of this conspiracy, and that Emmett and Russel were merely his tools and agents in the business ; but no evidence has ever been produced in support of this fact, and the dying declarations of Emmett directly negative the supposition ; to which we may add, that the marks of precipitation, and want of arrangement, evident in the plan, characterizes the enterprise rather as the offspring of an enthusiastic and heated imagination, than the product of a mind like that of the first consul, cool, lucid, and calculating.

CHAPTER XXIV.

NEGOTIATIONS : *Complaints of the French Government against the Countenance given in Great Britain to French Emigrants, and against the Abuse poured upon the First Consul by the Newspaper Press—Reply—Lord Whitworth appointed Ambassador to the Court of Paris, and General Andreossi to the Court of London—Discussion relating to the Evacuation of Malta—Abstract of Colonel Sebastiani's Report (note)—Lord Whitworth's interview with the First Consul in his Cabinet—Negotiations continued—His Majesty's Message, announcing Preparations in the Ports of France and Holland—Lord Whitworth's Interview with the First Consul at the Levee—Correspondence between Lord Hawkesbury and General Andreossi—Project of the English Government—Ultimatum—Rejected by the French Government—Unsuccessful Issue of the Negotiations.*

THE treaty of Amiens, which had not yet attained its first anniversary, was now, from a variety of causes, fast approaching to its dissolution. It was evident almost from the moment of the conclusion of the treaty, that the external relations of peace were unaccompanied with that spirit of amity which can alone render peace desirable, or the intercourse between two countries reciprocally beneficial. After so long a contest, embittered more than ordinary wars by personal rancour, and conducted in a manner of which history affords no example, it was indeed natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail, and that there should remain some feelings of resentment both in the people and in their governors. These feelings it appeared to be the interest and the duty of the two governments gradually to allay by mild and temperate conduct, and above all, cautiously to abstain from every thing calculated to produce irritation, and excite jealousy and distrust. But unhappily for the interests of humanity, this was not the policy pursued either by Great Britain or France. In this country the treaty of Amiens was represented as fatal to England, because it was not disgraceful to France; and the British ministry and the French government were assailed by every species of attack; even in parliament, the French government was represented as plotting the destruction of this country, and their negotiators at Amiens were designated by a noble senator, as “adepts in duplicity, regardless of principle, and unpractised in virtue;”^{*} and this indecent language, thus authorised by the highest example, soon descended into general use, and pervaded both the senate and the press of Great Britain.

^{*} See Lord Caernarvon's Speech on the Definitive Treaty.

The first consul of France, on the other hand, actuated by a narrow and vindictive policy, hastened to promulgate an obsolete edict against British commerce, seized a number of English vessels, that had, in the imaginary security of the restoration of the relations of peace, repaired to the ports of France, and perseveringly refused to satisfy the recognised claims of British subjects. This conduct, at once irritating and uncalled for, did not fail to produce ungracious discussions between the two governments, almost as early as the date of the treaty; and in stating the nature of those discussions, the objects of the respective governments will be developed, the justice of their professed desire to preserve the relations of peace and amity ascertained, and the causes of the disastrous war in which Europe was again speedily to be involved, made manifest.

So early as the 4th of June, 1802, a verbal complaint was made by M. Talleyrand, to the British minister, Mr. Merry, resident at Paris, relating to several circumstances which, he said, stood in the way of that perfect reconciliation and good understanding between the two governments, which it was the first consul's sincere wish to see re-established.* M. Talleyrand then proceeded to state, that it was the wish of the first consul, that his majesty's government might be disposed to remove out of the British dominions all the French princes and their adherents, together with the French bishops, and other French individuals, whose political principles and conduct must necessarily occasion great jealousy to the French government; and concluded by saying, that he thought the residence of Louis XVIII. was now the proper place for that of the rest of his family. To these intimations it was, on the part of the British government, replied, that his majesty "should certainly expect, that all foreigners who may reside within his dominions, should not only hold a conduct conformable to the laws of the country, but should abstain from all acts which may be hostile to the government of any other country, with which his majesty may be at peace. As long, however, as they conducted themselves according to these principles, his majesty would feel it inconsistent with his dignity, with his honour, and with the common laws of hospitality, to deprive them of that protection, which individuals resident in his dominions could only forfeit by their own misconduct." This topic was again resumed by M. Talleyrand on the 16th of June, when he observed, that the first consul

* See Despatch from Mr. Merry to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, June 4th, 1802.

had solicited no more than the British government itself had, at the time, demanded of France when the pretender was in that country ; and that the removal of the French princes and their adherents out of the British dominions would be in the highest degree agreeable and satisfactory to the first consul, and be considered by him as a most convincing proof of his majesty's disposition to see a cordial good understanding established between the two countries.

Another cause of complaint was speedily brought forward by M. Otto : in a letter from that minister addressed to Lord Hawkesbury, on the 25th of July, he complained of the reiterated insults conveyed through the medium of the press, by a small number of foreigners, assembled in London : adding " It is not to Peltier alone, but to the editor of the *Courier Francois de Londres*, to Cobbett, and to other writers who resemble them, that I have to direct the attention of his majesty's government. The perfidious and malevolent publications of these men are in open contradiction to peace." To which Lord Hawkesbury replied : " That it was impossible that his majesty's government could peruse the publication of Peltier without the greatest displeasure, and without an anxious desire that the person who published it should suffer the punishment he so justly deserved ; and that although, under a constitution like that of Great Britain, it was impossible to prevent the abuse often unavoidably attendant on the greatest of all political benefits (the liberty of the press), yet in the present case he had thought it his duty to refer the article in Peltier's journal to his majesty's attorney-general.*

These explanations, satisfactory as they will appear to the mind of every Englishman, failed to produce that effect upon the head of the French government ; and in a note to Lord Hawkesbury, under date of the 17th of August, the subjects under discussion were formed into a regular series, and M. Otto was, as he stated, ordered to solicit :

1st. " That his majesty's government will adopt the most effectual measures to put a stop to the unbecoming and seditious publications, with which the newspapers and writings printed in England are filled.

2d. " That the individuals mentioned in the undersigned minister's letter of the 23d of July last, shall be sent out of the Island of Jersey.

3d. " That the former bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and all those, who, like them, under the pretext of religion, seek to raise disturbances in the interior of France, shall likewise be sent away.

4th. " That Georges and his adherents shall be transported to Canada, according to the intention which the undersigned has been directed to transmit to his government by Lord Hawkesbury.

5th. " That, in order to deprive the evil-disposed of every pretext

* See Book II. Chap. XXIII. p. 211.

for disturbing the good understanding between the two governments, it shall be recommended to the princes of the house of Bourbon, at present in Great Britain, to repair to Warsaw, the residence of the head of their family.

6th. "That such of the French emigrants as still think proper to wear the orders and decorations belonging to the ancient government of France, shall be required to quit the territory of the British empire."

To which propositions M. Otto added: "These demands are founded upon the treaty of Amiens, and upon the verbal assurances that the French minister had had the satisfaction to receive, in the course of the negociations, with regard to the mutual agreement for maintaining tranquillity and good order in the two countries."

Lord Hawkesbury in his reply says: "It is impossible not to feel considerable surprise at the circumstances under which it has been thought proper to present the above note; at the style in which it is drawn up; and at the complaints it contains. It has hence become of the utmost importance that a frank explanation should be made of the line of conduct which his majesty has determined to adopt, on reasons of the nature of those to which this note refers, and of the motives on which it is founded."

"The propositions" adds his lordship, "in M. Otto's official note are six in number; but may in fact be divided into two heads: the first, that which relates to libels of all descriptions, which are alleged to be published against the French government: the last comprehending the five complaints which relate to the emigrants resident in this country. As to the first, his majesty cannot, and never will, in consequence of any representation, or any menace, from a foreign power, make any concession which can be in the smallest degree dangerous to the liberty of the press, as secured by the constitution of this country. This liberty is justly dear to every British subject. The constitution admits of no previous restraints upon publications of any description; but there exist judicatures, wholly independent of the executive government, capable of taking cognizance of such publications as the law deems to be criminal, and which are bound to inflict the punishment the delinquents may deserve; these judicatures may take cognizance, not only of libels against the government and the magistracy of this kingdom, but, as has been repeatedly experienced, of publications defamatory to those in whose hands the administration of foreign governments is placed."

With respect to the complaints under the second head, the French government are informed,

"First, that the emigrants in Jersey, many of whom have remained there solely on account of the cheapness of subsistence, have actually

removed, or were removing, previous to the representation contained in M. Otto's note, and that, before this explanation can take place, there will probably, not be an emigrant in the island.

"To the second complaint, which relates to the Bishops of Arras and St. Pol de Leon, and others, his majesty can only reply, that if the fact alleged against them can be substantiated; if it can be proved that they have distributed papers on the coast of France, with a view of disturbing the government, and of inducing the people to resist the new church establishment, his majesty would think himself justified in taking all measures within his power to oblige them to leave the country.

"On the third complaint, which respects the removal of Georges, and those persons supposed to be his adherents, measures are in contemplation and will be taken for the purpose of removing them out of his majesty's European dominions.

On the fourth complaint, respecting the princes of the house of Bourbon, his majesty has no desire that they should continue to reside in this country, if they are disposed or can be induced to quit it; but he feels it to be inconsistent with his honour and his sense of justice, to withdraw from them the rights of hospitality, so long as they conduct themselves peaceably and quietly; and unless some charge can be substantiated of their attempting to disturb the peace which subsists between the two governments.

"With respect to the fifth complaint, which relates to the French emigrants wearing, in this country, the orders of their ancient government; there are few, if any, persons of that description in this country. It might be more proper if they abstained from it; but the French government could not persist in expecting that, even if it were consistent with law, his majesty should be induced to commit so harsh an act of authority, as to send them out of the country on such an account.

From this period to the end of the month of October the official correspondence relates principally to the interference of France in the affairs of the Helvetic republic, to the continuance of French troops in Holland, and to the applications made to the courts of St. Petersburg, Vienna, and Berlin, to guarantee the independence of Malta, conformably to the tenth article of the treaty of Amiens. From the first portion of this part of the correspondence it appears, that Mr. Moore, an accredited agent from the British government, was ordered to repair to Constance, in order to ascertain the disposition of the people of Switzerland regarding the act of mediation proposed by Bonaparte; but on receiving information, immediately on his arrival, of the submission of the diet of Switzerland, assembled at Schwitz, to the French arms, he left that country, conformably to his instructions, and repaired again to England. On the second point, a despatch from Mr. Liston to Lord Hawkesbury, dated from the Hague on the 29th of October, announces that a French corps of between ten and eleven thousand men, who were to have been withdrawn from Holland on the conclusion of the definitive treaty with Great Britain, still remain in that country, and that it is the intention of the Dutch government to make application to the principal powers of Europe to intreat their intervention and good offices

with a view to the maintenance of the independence of the republic. From a series of despatches which relate to the guarantee of the island of Malta, Austria, it appeared, immediately transmitted an act of guarantee and accession to that part of the treaty of Amiens; Prussia professed to take a very slight interest in the fate of that island; and Russia consented to become one of the guarantees on certain conditions, meant the more effectually to secure the independence and neutrality of the island both in time of war and during the period of peace.

In the mean time, Lord Whitworth had repaired to Paris, in the capacity of British minister at the court of the Tuilleries, and M. Otto was at the same time superseded by General Andreossi at the court of St. James's. The first published despatch from Lord Hawkesbury to Lord Whitworth, dated November 30, relates to a complaint made against England of delaying the fulfilment of one of the conditions of the treaty of Amiens, which provides for the evacuation of Egypt; on this subject his lordship is instructed to state, that although General Stuart had signified to Colonel Sebastiani his inability to evacuate Egypt until he should receive specific orders for that purpose, yet that this delay has arisen entirely from a misunderstanding on the part of the general; and that, to obviate all further difficulties, instructions have been sent to General Stuart, directing him to remove the king's troops from Egypt with as little delay as possible.

The next despatch in the series laid before parliament is from Lord Whitworth to Lord Hawkesbury, dated Paris, the 27th of January, 1803. This communication consisted of a report of a conversation which had taken place on the Tuesday preceding, between Lord Whitworth and M. Talleyrand; and related to two points, both, as the latter observed, equally important to the maintenance of good harmony between the two countries: the first concerned the English newspapers, against which the French minister pronounced a most bitter philippic, and assured Lord Whitworth that the first consul was extremely hurt to find that his endeavours to conciliate had hitherto produced no other effect than to increase the abuse with which those papers continually loaded him; and at this he was the more highly incensed as the abuse came from a country of whose good opinion the chief consul was so very ambitious. To which his lordship replied, that whatever was said in the English papers might be considered but as a retaliation for what was published in the French papers—secondly, that what was officially published in France, was by no means so in England; and thirdly, that although the go-

vernment possessed a control over the press in France, the English government neither had nor could have, unless they purchased it at the same price, any whatever in England.—M. Talleyrand persisted in his opinion, that his majesty's ministers might keep certain papers in order, as Lord Whitworth did in assuring him, that until the first consul could so far master his feelings as to be as indifferent to the scurrility of the English prints as the English government was to that which daily appeared in the French, this state of irritation was irremediable. On the second point, the evacuation of Malta, the French minister was directed to inquire what were his majesty's intentions regarding it? He said that another grand-master would now be very soon elected; that all the powers of Europe, invited so to do, with the exception of Russia, whose difficulties it was easy to remove, and without whom the guarantee would be equally complete, were ready to come forward; and that, consequently, the time would very soon arrive when Great Britain could have no pretext for keeping longer possession. To which Lord Whitworth replied, that he would report this conversation to the English secretary of state for foreign affairs, and would communicate the answer to the French minister as soon as it was received.

On the subject of Malta, the British minister was directed to reply,* “That the late treaty of peace was negotiated on a basis not merely proposed by his majesty, but specially agreed to in an official note by the French government, viz. that his majesty should keep a compensation out of his conquests for the important acquisitions of territory made by France upon the continent; and if the interference of the French government in the general affairs of Europe since that period; if their interposition with respect to Switzerland and Holland, whose independence was guaranteed by them at the time of the conclusion of the treaty of peace; if the annexations which had been made to France in various quarters, but particularly those in Italy, have extended the territory and increased the power of the French government; his majesty would be warranted, consistently with the spirit of the treaty of peace, in claiming equivalents for these acquisitions, as a counterpoise to the augmentation of the power of France. His majesty, however, anxious to prevent all grounds of misunderstanding, and desirous of consolidating the general peace of Europe as far as might be in his power, was willing to have waved the

* See Lord Hawkesbury's Despatch to Lord Whitworth, dated February 9, 1803.

pretensions he might have a right to advance of this nature, if the attention of his majesty's government had not been attracted by the very extraordinary publication of the report of Colonel Sebastiani to the first consul.* This report contained

* COLONEL SEBASTIANI'S REPORT.

The report of Colonel Sebastiani, submitted to the chief consul, and inserted in the *Moniteur* of the 30th of January, 1803, consists of observations made in discharge of a mission, undertaken by order of the French government, to the principal cities of Egypt and Syria. The remarks of Colonel Sebastiani are more military than commercial, and his report abounds with compliments paid in every stage of his journey to the first consul. "The Egyptian astrologers," says this republican courtier, "make predictions every day, on what concerns the first consul." "In Egypt, chiefs, merchants, people, all like to talk of the first consul—all offer up prayers for his happiness. All the news which concerns him spreads from Alexandria or Damietta to the Pyramids and the Grand Cataracts with astonishing rapidity." Even D'jezzar, the Pacha of Acre, was found to have conceived a high esteem for the French, and in speaking of Bonaparte, is represented by Colonel Sebastiani to have said, "In stature Bonaparte is small, but he is nevertheless the greatest of mankind. I know that he is deeply regretted at Cairo, where they wish to see him again!" On the 16th of October, 1802, Colonel Sebastiani arrived at Alexandria, and on the same day he waited upon General Stuart, commandant of the English forces by sea and land: "I communicated to him," says the report, "the order of the minister for foreign affairs, which enjoined me to proceed to Alexandria, and if the English still occupied that place, to demand a speedy evacuation, and the execution of the treaty of Amiens. General Stuart then told me, that the evacuation of the place would shortly be effected; but seeing that I insisted, and that I desired an answer less vague, he declared to me that he had no orders from his court to quit Alexandria, and that he even believed he should pass the winter there. General Stuart," continues the colonel, "is a man of *mediocre* talents: he has for his aide-de-camp a French emigrant, called the Chevalier de Sades, a man of talents, and an enemy to France, who has much influence over the general." "The English army in Egypt," says Colonel Sebastiani, towards the close of his report, "consists of 4,430 men. They wholly and exclusively occupy Alexandria and the neighbouring forts, and the Turks who formed the garrison of some of these forts have been removed. The Pacha of Cairo furnishes to the English army corn, rice, wood, and provisions, without any payment. The consumption is treble what it should be: they commit great waste. A great misunderstanding reigns between General Stuart and the Pacha. The Turkish army amounts to about 16,000 men. The Pacha of Alexandria is, as one may say, a prisoner with the English. The Turkish soldiers are without discipline, and their officers are destitute of the first principles of the military art. Six thousand French would at present be enough to conquer Egypt." "D'jezzar's army at present consists of from 13,000 to 14,000 men, of which 9,000 are employed in the siege of Jaffa. The weakest part of the fort of Acre is towards the sea, and particularly the point which defends the entrance to the port. The English wished to interfere as mediators between the Emir and D'jezzar, but the latter refused their mediation." On announcing to the Captain Bey, commander of the forces of the Ottoman Porte at Alexandria, that the agents of French commerce would assemble in Egypt: "This communication," says Colonel Sebastiani, "gave them the greatest pleasure, and they did

the most unjustifiable insinuations and charges against the officer who commanded his majesty's forces in Egypt, and against the British army in that quarter. His majesty could not therefore regard the conduct of the French government, on various occasions, since the conclusion of the definitive treaty, the insinuations and charges contained in the report of Colonel Sebastiani, and the views which that report disclosed, without feeling it necessary for him distinctly to declare, that it would be impossible for him to enter into any further discussion relative to Malta, unless he received satisfactory explanation on the subject of this communication."

To these representations M. Talleyrand replied, that the jealousy felt by England on the score of Egypt, with a view to her possessions in India, was natural; but he could not admit that any thing had appeared in the conduct of the French government in justification of the alarm expressed by Lord Whitworth. After repeating what he had said in a former conversation on the subject of Sebastiani's mission, which he asserted to be strictly commercial, he expatiated at great length on the sincere desire of the first consul to maintain inviolable the peace which had been so lately concluded; adding, that were not this desire of peace in the first consul an effect of system, it would be imperiously dictated to him by the state of his finances; and concluded by desiring to know what was the nature and degree of satisfaction which his majesty would require? On this Lord Whitworth replied, that he could not pretend to say by what means those apprehensions, which the conduct of the French government had raised in England, were to be allayed; but he could assure him, that, in the discussion of them, the British government would be animated solely by a sincere desire to be convinced of the truth of his assertions, since on that depended the peace and happiness of Europe.

The negotiations had now assumed a most portentous aspect, when the chief consul, departing from the usual course of diplomatic communication, requested a conference with the British minister, the particulars of which, as reported by the latter, claim, from their importance and singularity, to be given entire in the annals of the times.

not conceal that they saw with grief the stay of the English in their country. D'jezzar too said, that he should himself be the French commissary at Acre, and should take care that their countrymen were well received; he desired that the commissary sent by the first consul should reside at Seide, as that was the most commercial part of his dominions." Such are the materials that form the memorable report of Colonel Sebastiani—memorable as one of the ostensible causes of that war by which Europe was soon again to be desolated.

DESPATCH FROM LORD WHITWORTH TO LORD HAWKESBURY, DATED
PARIS, FEB. 21st, 1803.

"My despatch, in which I gave your lordship an account of my conference with M. de Talleyrand, was scarcely gone, when I received a note from him, informing me that the first consul wished to converse with me, and desired that I would come to him at the Thuilleries, at nine o'clock. He received me in his cabinet with tolerable cordiality, and after talking on different subjects for a few minutes, he desired me to sit down, as he himself did on the other side of the table. He began the conversation with saying, that he felt it necessary, after what had passed between me and M. Talleyrand, that he should, in the most clear and authentic manner, make known his sentiments to me, in order to their being communicated to his majesty; and he conceived this would be more effectually done by himself than through any medium whatever. He said, that it was a matter of infinite disappointment to him, that the treaty of Amiens, instead of being followed by conciliation and friendship, the natural effects of peace, had been productive only of continual and increasing jealousy and distrust; and that this mistrust was now avowed in such a manner as must bring the point to an issue.

"He now enumerated the several provocations which he pretended to have received from England. He placed in the first line our not evacuating Malta and Alexandria, as we were bound to do by treaty. In this he said that no consideration on earth should make him acquiesce; and of the two he had rather see us in possession of the Fauxbourg St. Antoine than Malta. He then adverted to the abuse thrown out against him in the English public prints; but this he said he did not so much regard as that which appeared in the French papers published in London. This he considered as much more mischievous, since it was meant to excite the people of France against him and his government. He complained of the protection given to Georges, and others of his description, who, instead of being sent to Canada, as had been repeatedly promised, were permitted to remain in England handsomely pensioned, and were constantly committing all sorts of crimes on the coasts of France, as well as in the interior. In confirmation of this, he told me that two men had, within these few days, been apprehended in Normandy, and were now on their way to Paris, who were hired assassins, and employed by the Bishop of Arras, by the Baron de Rolle, by Georges, and by Dutheil, as would be fully proved in a court of justice, and made known to all the world.

"He acknowledged that the irritation he felt against England increased daily, because every wind (I make use as much as I can of his own ideas and expressions) brought nothing but enmity and hatred against him.

"He now referred back to Egypt, and told me, that if he had felt the smallest inclination to take possession of it by force, he might have done it a month ago, by sending twenty-five thousand men to Aboukir, who would have possessed themselves of the whole country, in defiance of the four thousand British in Alexandria. That instead of that garrison being a means of protecting Egypt, it was only furnishing him with a pretext for invading it. *This he should not do, whatever might be his desire to have it as a colony, because he did not think it worth the risk of a war, in which he might, perhaps, be considered as the aggressor, and by which he should lose more than he should gain, since, sooner or later, Egypt would belong to France, either by the falling in pieces of the Turkish empire, or by some arrangement with the Porte.*

"As a proof of his desire to maintain peace, he wished to know what he had to gain by going to war with England. A descent was the only means of offence he had, and that he was determined to attempt, by putting himself at the head of the expedition. But how could it be supposed,

that after having gained the height on which he stood, he would risk his life and reputation in such a hazardous attempt, unless forced to it by necessity, when the chances were that he and the greatest part of the expedition would go to the bottom of the sea. The first consul talked much on this subject, but never affected to diminish the danger. He acknowledged that there were one hundred chances to one against him ; but still he was determined to attempt it, if war should be the consequence of the present discussion ; and that such was the disposition of the troops, that army after army would be found for the expedition.

“ He then expatiated much on the natural force of the two countries. France, with an army of four hundred and eighty thousand men, (for to this amount he said it was to be immediately completed,) all ready for the most desperate enterprises ; and England, with a fleet, which made her mistress of the seas, and which he did not think he should be able to equal in less than ten years. Two such countries, by a proper understanding, might govern the world, but by their strife might overturn it. He said, if it had not been for the enmity of the British government, on every occasion since the treaty of Amiens, there would have been nothing that he would not have done to prove his desire to conciliate ; participation in indemnities as well as influence on the continent ; treaties of commerce ; in short any thing that could have given satisfaction, and have testified his friendship. Nothing, however, had been able to conquer the hatred of the British government, and therefore it was now come to the point whether we should have peace or war. To preserve peace the treaty of Amiens must be fulfilled : the abuse in the public prints, if not totally suppressed, at least kept within bounds, and confined to the English papers ; and the protection so openly given to his bitterest enemies, alluding to Georges, and persons of that description, must be withdrawn. If war was chosen, it was only necessary to say so, and to refuse to fulfil the treaty. He now made the tour of Europe to prove to me, that, in its present state, there was no power with which we could coalesce for the purpose of making war against France ; consequently it was our interest to gain time, and if we had any point to gain, renew the war when circumstances were more favourable. He said it was not doing him justice to suppose, that he conceived himself above the opinion of his country or of Europe. He would not risk uniting Europe against him by any violent act of aggression ; neither was he so powerful in France, as to persuade the nation to go to war, unless on good grounds. He said, that he had not chastised the Algerines, from his unwillingness to excite the jealousy of other powers, but he hoped that England, Russia, and France, would one day feel that it was their interest to destroy such a nest of thieves, and force them to live rather by cultivating their land than by plunder.

“ In the little that I said to him, for he gave me in the course of two hours but very few opportunities of saying a word, I confined myself strictly to the tenor of your lordship’s instructions. I urged them in the same manner as I had done to M. de Talleyrand, and dwelt as strongly as I could on the sensation which the publication of Sebastiani’s report had created in England, where the views of France towards Egypt must always command the utmost vigilance and jealousy. The first consul, in reply, urged, that what ought to convince us of his desire of peace, was, on the one hand, the little he had to gain by renewing the war, and on the other, the facility with which he might have taken possession of Egypt with the very ships and troops which were now going from the Mediterranean to St. Domingo ; and that with the approbation of all Europe, and more particularly of the Turks, who had repeatedly invited him to join with them, for the purpose of forcing us to evacuate their territory.

“ I do not pretend to follow the arguments of the first consul in detail ; this would be impossible from the vast variety of matter which he took

occasion to introduce. His purpose was evidently to convince me, that on Malta must depend peace or war, and at the same time to impress upon my mind a strong idea of the means he possessed of annoying us at home and abroad.

“With regard to the mistrust and jealousy which he said constantly prevailed, since the conclusion of the treaty of Amiens, I observed, that after a war of such long duration, so full of rancour, and carried on in a manner of which history has no example, it was but natural that a considerable degree of agitation should prevail; but this, like the swell after a storm, would gradually subside, if not kept up by the policy of either party; that I would not pretend to pronounce which had been the aggressor in the paper war of which he complained, and which was still kept up, though with this difference, that in England it was independent of government, and in France its very act and deed. To this I added, that it must be admitted, that we had such motives of mistrust against France as could not be alleged against us, and I was going to instance the accession of territory and influence gained by France since the treaty, when he interrupted me by saying, “I suppose you mean Piedmont and Switzerland; *ce sont des bagatelles* :”^{*} and it must have been foreseen while the negotiation was pending; “*Vous n’avez pas le droit d’en parler a cette heure*.”[†] I then alleged as a cause of mistrust and jealousy, the impossibility of obtaining justice, or any kind of redress, for any of his majesty’s subjects. He asked me in what respect, and I told him, that since the signing of the treaty, not one British claimant had been satisfied, although every Frenchman of that description had been so, within one month after that period; and that since I had been here, and I could say as much of my predecessors, not one satisfactory answer had been obtained to the innumerable representations which we had been under the necessity of making in favour of British subjects and property detained in the several ports of France and elsewhere, without even a shadow of justice; such an order of things, I said, was not calculated to inspire confidence, but on the contrary must create mistrust. This he said must be attributed to the natural difficulties attending such suits, when both parties thought themselves right; but he denied that such delays could proceed from disinclination to do what was just and right.

“With regard to the pensions which were granted to French or Swiss individuals, I observed, that they were given as a reward for past services, during the war, and most certainly not for the present ones, and still less for such as he had insinuated, of a nature repugnant to the feelings of every individual in England, and to the universally acknowledged loyalty and honour of the British government. That as for any participation of indemnities, or other accessions which his majesty might have obtained, I could take upon myself to assure him, that his majesty’s ambition led him rather to preserve than acquire. And that with regard to the most propitious moment of renewing hostilities, his majesty, whose sincere desire it was to continue the blessings of peace to his subjects, would always consider such a measure as the greatest calamity; but, that if his majesty was so desirous of peace, it must not be imputed to the difficulty of obtaining allies; and the less so, as those means which it might be necessary to afford such allies, for perhaps inadequate services, would all be concentrated in England, and give a proportionate increase of energy to our own exertions.

“At this part of the conversation he rose from his chair, and told me that he should give orders to General Andreossi to enter on the discussion of this business with your lordship; but he wished that I should at the same time be acquainted with his motives, and convinced of his sin-

* “Mere trifles.”

† “You have no right to speak of it now.”

cerity, rather from himself than from his ministers. He then, after a conversation of two hours, during the greatest part of which he talked incessantly, conversed for a few moments on indifferent subjects in apparent good humour, and retired.

"Such was, as nearly as I can recollect, the purport of this conference.

"It must however be observed, that he did not, as M. Talleyrand had done, affect to attribute Colonel Sebastiani's mission to commercial motives only, but as one rendered necessary, in a military point of view, by the infraction by us of the treaty of Amiens.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"WHITWORTH."

The British minister, in his instructions to Lord Whitworth on the subject of this conference, recapitulated all the reasons which precluded the evacuation of Malta, in pursuance of the stipulations of the peace of Amiens.—"With regard to that article of the treaty which relates to Malta," says Lord Hawkesbury, "the stipulations contained in it (owing to circumstances which it was not in the power of his majesty to control) have not been found capable of execution. The refusal of Russia to accede to the arrangement, except on the condition that the Maltese *langue* should be abolished;—the silence of the court of Berlin, with respect to the invitation that has been made to it in consequence of that treaty, to become a guaranteeing power;—the abolition of the Spanish priories, in defiance of the treaty, to which the King of Spain is a party; the declaration of the Portuguese government of their intention to sequester the property of the Portuguese priory, as forming a part of the Spanish *langue*, unless the property of the Spanish priories is restored to them; the non-election of a grand master: these circumstances, without any other special cause, would have been sufficient to have warranted his majesty in suspending the evacuation of the island, until some new arrangement could be adjusted for its security and independence: But when it is considered how greatly the dominion, power, and influence of France have of late been extended, his majesty must feel that he has an incontestible right, conformably to the principles on which the treaty of peace was negotiated and concluded, to demand additional securities, in any new arrangement which it might be necessary to make, with a view of effecting the real objects of that treaty. And these considerations, sufficient as they might be in themselves, have received additional force from the views which France has recently, and unreservedly manifested."

Lord Whitworth, in pursuance of these instructions, made a communication to M. Talleyrand on the subject, on the 4th of March, on which occasion he recapitulated the arguments contained in his instructions, dwelling particularly on the open

avowal of the first consul's views in Egypt ; and concluding with the resolution of his majesty not to withdraw his troops from Malta, until some security should be given, that, by so doing, his majesty should not expose the safety of his dominions. This communication was received with much patience by the French minister, who endeavoured to convince Lord Whitworth that there was no foundation whatever for the apprehensions entertained by the British government, and inquired very pointedly, what security would be required which the first consul could give ? To which Lord Whitworth replied, that must be the subject of the negotiation.

At this period of the correspondence a circumstance arose which gave a very hostile turn to the negotiations, and indicated their unfavourable result. On the 8th of March, a message from his Britannic Majesty, of which the following is a copy, was sent to the house of commons, and another of similar import to the lords :—

G. R.

“ His majesty thinks it necessary to acquaint the house of commons, that as very considerable military preparations are carrying on in the ports of France and Holland, he has judged it expedient to adopt additional measures of precaution for the security of his dominions. Though the preparations to which his majesty refers are avowedly directed to colonial service, yet as discussions of great importance are now subsisting between his majesty and the French government, the result of which must be uncertain at present ; his majesty is induced to make this communication to his faithful commons, in the full persuasion, that whilst they partake of his majesty's earnest and unavailing solicitude for the continuance of peace, he may rely with perfect confidence on their public spirit and liberality, to enable his majesty to adopt such measures as circumstances may seem to require for supporting the honour of the crown, and the essential interests of his people.”

This message was immediately transmitted to Lord Whitworth, who was instructed to assure the French government of his majesty's wish for the preservation of peace : M. Talleyrand assured his lordship that there was no foundation whatever for the alarm which was felt by the British government ; that the first consul was pacific ; that he had no thoughts whatever of attacking his majesty's dominions, unless forced to do so by a commencement of hostilities on his part ; but that he should always consider the *refusal to evacuate Malta as such a commencement of hostilities* ; and that, as we had hitherto hesitated to do so, he was justified in adopting the measures which might eventually be necessary.

M. Talleyrand, after an interview with the first consul, in which he acquainted him with the message of his Britannic Majesty, had a further conference with Lord Whitworth, in which he stated to his lordship, that though the first consul had been highly irritated at the unjust suspicions which his

majesty's government entertained, yet he would not allow himself to be so far mastered by his feelings as to lose sight of the calamities which the present discussion might entail upon humanity. M. Talleyrand concluded by presenting his lordship with a memorandum, which he had that morning drawn up with the first consul, giving his lordship permission to transmit it to England if he thought proper. This *Note Verbale* stated in substance, that if his Britannic Majesty in his message meant to speak of the expedition of Helvoetsluys, all the world knew that it was destined for America ; but that in consequence of his majesty's message it must be countermanded ; that if the armaments in England actually took place, it would be natural for the first consul to march twenty thousand troops into Holland ; to form an encampment on the frontiers of Hanover ; to embark additional troops for America ; to form several camps at Calais ; to continue a French army in Switzerland ; to send a French force into Italy ; and as England was arming, and arming with so much publicity, to put the armies of France on the war establishment—a step so important, as could not fail to agitate all Europe.

The result of all these movements, continued the *Note Verbale*, will be to irritate the two countries still more. France will have been compelled to take all these precautions in consequence of the English armaments, and nevertheless every means will be taken to excite the English nation by the assertion that France meditates an invasion. The whole British population will be obliged to put themselves under arms for their defence, and their export trade will, even before the war, be in a state of stagnation throughout the whole extent of the countries occupied by the French arms. The experience of nations, and the course of events, prove, that the distance between such a state of things and actual hostility is unfortunately not remote. As to the difference, of which mention is made in his Britannic Majesty's message, we know not of any that we have with England : for it cannot be imagined that a serious intention can have existed in England of evading the execution of the treaty of Amiens under the protection of a military armament. Europe well knows that it is possible to attempt the dismemberment of France, but not to intimidate her.

Two days after this conference with Talleyrand, the British minister had that interview with the first consul, which has been so differently represented, and with such improbable exaggerations ; the following relation of it is from Lord Whitworth himself :—

DESPATCH FROM LORD WHITWORTH TO LORD HAWKESBURY, DATED
PARIS, MARCH 14th, 1803.

"The messenger, Mason, went on Saturday with my despatches of that date, and until yesterday (Sunday) I saw no one likely to give me further information such as I could depend on, as to the effect which his majesty's message had produced on the first consul. At the court which was held at the Thuilleries on that day, he accosted me, evidently under very considerable agitation. He began by asking me if I had any news from England. I told him that I had received a letter from England two days ago. He immediately said, "and so you are determined to go to war." "No," I replied, "we are too sensible of the advantages of peace." "We have," said he, "already waged war these fifteen years." As he seemed to wait for an answer, I observed only, "That is already too long." "But," said he, "you wish to carry it on for fifteen years more, and you force me to do it." I told him that was very far from his majesty's intention. He then proceeded to Count Markoff and the Chevalier Azara, who were standing together at a little distance from me, and said to them, "The English wish for war; but if they be the first to draw the sword, I shall be the last to sheath it. They have no regard for treaties. We must henceforth cover them with shame." He then went his round. In a few minutes he came back and resumed the conversation, if such it can be called, by something personally civil to me. He began again, "For what reason are those armaments? Against whom are these measures of precaution? I have not a single ship of the line in the ports of France; but if you will arm I shall arm likewise: If you will go to war I shall go to war also. You may perhaps be able to destroy France, but never to intimidate her." "We do not desire," said I, "either the one or the other: we wish to live in good understanding with her." "It is requisite then to pay regard to treaties," replied he, "woe to those who pay no regard to treaties: they will be responsible for it to all Europe." He was too much agitated to make it advisable for me to prolong the conversation. I therefore made no answer; and he returned to his apartment repeating the last phrase. It is to be remarked, that all this passed loud enough to be overheard by two hundred people that were present; and I am persuaded that there was not a single person who did not feel the extreme impropriety of his conduct, and the total want of dignity as well as of decency on this occasion.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

"WHITWORTH."

This intemperate departure from the established usages of diplomatic intercourse was very far from promoting conciliation. The first time that Lord Whitworth saw M. Talleyrand, his excellency related to that minister what had passed between him and the first consul, intimating, that unless he could have from him an assurance of not being exposed to a repetition of the same disagreeable circumstances, he should be under the necessity of discontinuing his visits to the Thuilleries. M. Talleyrand assured his excellency, that it was very far from the first consul's intention to distress him; but he had felt himself personally insulted by the charges brought against him by the English government, and that it was incumbent on him to take the first opportunity of exculpating himself, in the presence of the ministers of the different powers of Europe. After this apology for the conduct of the

first consul, M. Talleyrand assured his lordship that nothing similar would in future occur.

Whilst these transactions were taking place at the court of the Thuilleries, negotiations on the same subject were carried on between the French Minister Andreossi and Lord Hawkesbury, in London. Two days after the delivery of the king's message, General Andreossi presented a note to Lord Hawkesbury, requiring some explanation respecting the protracted occupation of Malta by the English troops, and pressing particularly the article of the treaty which provided for the evacuation within three months. In answer to this note, the British minister justified the delay on the ground of the aggressions of France, and the increase of power and influence she had obtained since the execution of the definitive treaty, and the impossibility of having, in the existing order of things, a sufficient guarantee for the future independence of that island.

On the 29th of March, General Andreossi delivered to Lord Hawkesbury an official note in answer to the preceding reply of the British minister, in which he says ; " His majesty believes that his kingdom is menaced by preparations made in the ports of Holland and France. He has been deceived : the first consul has made no preparations. There were at the time of the message but two frigates in the roads of Holland, and but three corvettes in the roads of Dunkirk." In this note, the French minister complains of the precipitation of the British court, in appealing to arms without previously demanding explanation ; and asserts that there were no discussions pending ; that the power of France had not increased since the peace ; that the first consul considered it his glory to have been taken in an unprovided state for war ; and adds that, since the message, he has given no orders, he has made no dispositions, no preparations, and that he will continue in this system of honest frankness, until his Britannic Majesty has reflected fully on the part he proposes to take. After adverting again to the calumnies in the English newspapers, and complaining of the continued residence of Georges and his associates in Great Britain, he mentions the report of Colonel Sebastiani, which had occasioned so much disquietude to the British government, and accounts for the publication of that report, by observing, that " a colonel in the English army* had published a work in England, filled with the most atrocious and disgusting calumnies against the French army and its general." " The lies it contains," says General Andreossi, " have been contradicted by the reception which Colonel

* Sir Robert Wilson.

Sebastiani experienced. The publicity of his report was at once a refutation and a reparation which the French army had a right to expect. On his arrival in Egypt, this officer, to his great astonishment, found the English army there, although they should have evacuated it, and the Turks prodigiously alarmed at the continuance of the English army, and at its relations with the natives, in rebellion and open revolt against the Sublime Porte. There remains therefore," says he in conclusion, "but one object worthy of fixing the attention of both nations, the execution of the treaty of Amiens, as far as respects Malta. His majesty has engaged to restore it to the order, and to trust it to the Neapolitan army, till the order should be in a condition to guard it. His majesty will reject all sophistry, every distinction, every mental reservation which might be offered to him, to put in doubt the force and validity of his engagement. His Britannic Majesty's equity, his conscience, in this respect are guarantees for the French Republic. Were it otherwise, what means in future would the two nations have for coming to an understanding? Would it not be all chaos? This would indeed be adding another calamity to those which have menaced social order. The undersigned is directed to declare in short, that the first consul will not take up the defiance of war by England to France; and that as to Malta he sees no subject for discussion, the treaty having provided for every thing and settled every thing."

Lord Hawkesbury in reply states, that his majesty has directed his ambassador at Paris to ascertain distinctly from the French government, whether they are determined to persevere in with-holding all satisfaction and explanation on the points of which his majesty has complained. And on the following day, a letter was sent to Lord Whitworth, instructing his lordship to demand such satisfaction and explanation; intimating at the same time, that if the French government continued to evade all discussion on the points in question, and to confine themselves to a categorical demand that Malta should be immediately evacuated, his lordship was in that case to declare the impossibility of the relations of amity continuing to subsist between the two countries, and the necessity he would be under of leaving Paris within a certain time.

These instructions Lord Whitworth immediately endeavoured to carry into effect, and on the 7th of April he had an interview with the French minister of foreign affairs, to whom he gave a note containing the substance of the demands he was instructed to make upon the French government, and

which M. Talleyrand promised to lay before the first consul. In a conference with Lord Whitworth on the following day, M. Talleyrand informed him, that though the first consul insisted, and would always insist on the full execution of the treaty, yet he would not object to any mode by which the independence of Malta might be secured to the satisfaction of his Britannic Majesty; and that the French government had no objection to conclude a convention with respect to any grievances or matters, which shall not be contrary to the treaty of Amiens.

Lord Whitworth having communicated this proposition to his government, was shortly after instructed to consent to an arrangement, by which the island of Malta should remain in the possession of his Britannic Majesty for a limited number of years, and to wave his demand for a perpetual occupation, provided that the number of years was not less than ten; that in that case the island of Malta should be given up to the inhabitants at the expiration of that period, and it should be acknowledged as an independent state; and it was at the same time intimated, that his majesty would be ready to concur in any arrangements for the establishment of the order of St. John in some other part of Europe.

The British ambassador, finding it impracticable to prevail upon the French government to listen to the proposal of keeping Malta in perpetuity, obtained an interview with Joseph Bonaparte, who promised to take the last projet to the first consul at St. Cloud; and he added, that he was not without hope that he might be authorized to propose to the ambassador, the occupation of the fortresses for a term of years, provided the British government would acknowledge the new governments in Italy.

Several days now intervened without any communications from the French government, on which Lord Whitworth wrote home for further instructions, and requested to be furnished with the terms on which his majesty's ministers would be willing to conclude a convention, that he might propose them in the form of an *ultimatum*; he also suggested a wish, that at the expiration of the period allowed for deliberation, he might be authorized, not only to declare that he was to leave Paris, but actually so to do, unless, in the intermediate time, the French government should accede to his demands. The answer to this letter informed his lordship, that it was his majesty's pleasure that he should communicate officially to the French government, that he had gone in point of concession to the full extent of his instructions, and that if an arrangement founded upon the propositions submitted to the French government,

could not be concluded without further delay, he should leave Paris as soon as his personal convenience would admit of it, and in no case remain there more than seven days after the date of that despatch.

The British minister, having received his majesty's commands to leave Paris, in case he should find himself unable to conclude the negotiations on the terms specified, assiduously endeavoured to bring these protracted discussions to an amicable issue, but without effect. M. Talleyrand assured him that the first consul would never consent to his Britannic Majesty retaining Malta, either in perpetuity or for a term, although of the two he would prefer the former tenure as the less repugnant to his feelings.

Under these circumstances, Lord Whitworth found it necessary to demand his passports; but at the moment when he expected to receive them, a note was transmitted to him from the French minister, containing the answer which the first consul had directed him to make to his Britannic Majesty's demands. This answer purported, that the first consul had no objection to the evacuation of Holland; as to the island of Lampedosa, it did not belong to him either to accede to or to oppose the cession of it to Great Britain, as it did not appertain to France. With respect to Malta, as the demand would change a formal disposition in the treaty of Amiens, he could not consent to it without a previous communication with Spain and Holland; and that as the stipulation relative to Malta had been guaranteed by the Emperor of Germany, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, the contracting parties were bound to act in concert with those guaranteeing powers before they made any change in the articles. The first consul added, that he should not refuse his consent, but that it did not belong to him to propose it, since it was not he that urged any change in the stipulations.

This explanation Lord Whitworth thought so unsatisfactory that he again made a formal demand of his passports, to enable him to return to England. His lordship's departure was however delayed by a note from M. Talleyrand, in which it was stated, that as the French minister had a communication of the greatest importance to make, Lord Whitworth must not expect that evening the passports which he had demanded. In consequence of this communication, his lordship was prevailed upon to postpone, for a few days, his departure from Paris, in order to transmit to his court the proposals of the French government, and to receive a definitive answer. The project formed by the first consul was that of placing Malta in the hands of either Austria, Russia, or Prussia. To

this proposal the British government answered, that his majesty was determined to adhere to his former *ultimatum*, but that, to save the honour of the French government, the number of years during which he was to occupy the island might be inserted in a secret article, and the possession of it in the open treaty be made to depend on the present state of the island of Lampedosa. This proposal it was the intention of Lord Whitworth to have communicated verbally to the French minister, but not having an opportunity of communicating personally with him, in consequence of his being at St. Clouds with the first consul, he reduced the proposal to the form of a *projet*, which he sent to the office of the foreign department, on the 9th of May, couched in the following terms:—

PROJET.

1st. The French government shall engage to make no opposition to the cession of the island of Lampedosa to his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies.

2d. In consequence of the present state of the island of Lampedosa, his majesty shall remain in possession of Malta until such arrangements shall be made by him as may enable his majesty to occupy Lampedosa as a naval station; after which period the island of Malta shall be given up to the inhabitants, and acknowledged as an independent state.

3d. The territories of the Batavian republic shall be evacuated by the French forces within one month after the conclusion of a convention founded on the principles of this projet.

4th. The King of Etruria, and the Italian and Ligurian republics, shall be acknowledged by his majesty.

5th. Switzerland shall be evacuated by the French forces.

6th. A suitable territorial arrangement shall be assigned to the King of Sardinia in Italy.

[Appendant to this projet was a secret article, stipulating that his majesty should occupy Malta for ten years, and that articles 1, 5, and 6 might be entirely omitted, or all be inserted.]

On the 12th of May, the British ambassador had his last interview with M. Talleyrand at the foreign office. The French minister proposed to conclude a convention, formed on the basis of the last projet, or indeed extending it, since the first article of the treaty would be the cession of Malta in perpetuity to England, in return for a consideration. To this Lord Whitworth replied, that he was not authorized to enter into "any engagement of such a nature, which would make the negotiation one of exchange, instead of a demand of satisfaction and security." His lordship urged the determination of his majesty's ministers, to avoid every thing which could protract the negotiation, and observed, that he saw no other mode of acting up to those views, than by making his stand on the projet already submitted. His excellency however pressed M. Talleyrand to explain himself more fully on the nature of the demand which he should make for Malta, but he could not,

or would not explain himself.* After much contest, it was agreed that the proposal should be submitted to the British minister in the course of a few hours. The remainder of this eventful day passed without Lord Whitworth receiving any communication from M. Talleyrand. On the following morning, the British ambassador demanded his passports, which demand he renewed at two o'clock, and was informed that he should have them immediately. They arrived about five o'clock, when his lordship left Paris, and arrived in London on the 19th of May, his majesty's declaration of war against France having been issued on the preceding day.

Thus, after a peace of only one year and sixteen days, did Europe again see herself plunged into a contest, in which neither of the belligerent countries had any definite object; whose means of mutual annoyance were as limited as their rancour and enmity were boundless, and to which of consequence no period could be fixed even in idea. It remains for future ages to pronounce with impartiality on this war of temper, and to award to each nation its due share of praise or censure, and to apportion with accuracy the ultimate influence of the contest on the happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER XXV.

BRITISH HISTORY: *His Majesty's Message, announcing the Recall of Lord Whitworth, and the departure of the French Ambassador—Debate on the Message in the House of Lords—In the House of Commons—Private Instructions to the French Commercial Agents (note)—Proffered Mediation of the Emperor of Russia—State of Parties, as developed in the Discussions on a Motion for Censure—Measures of Finance, Revival of the Income tax—Spirit of the Country—Motion for the Appointment of a Military Council—Miscellaneous Proceedings in Parliament—Close of the Session—Correspondence between the King and the Prince of Wales, on the Subject of Military Promotion.*

THE parliament which assembled in the winter of the year 1802, was the first which had been elected since the union between Great Britain and Ireland. The state of parties continued nearly the same as at the close of the preceding ses-

* It appears that this proposition, which was subsequently and unofficially communicated to Lord Whitworth, was to confirm the possession of Malta in perpetuity, or otherwise, to England, on condition that France should be allowed for the same period to possess Otranto and Tarentum—places which she occupied at the time when the treaty of Amiens was concluded.

sion ; and Mr. Pitt appeared still to adhere, with some occasional relaxation, to the pledge he had given to afford to his majesty's government his "constant, zealous, and active support." The Grenville party, at the same time, prosecuted their opposition with undiminished vigour, while the whigs, adhering stedfastly to their predilection in favour of peace, liberty, and economy, supported the existing administration. In all the measures which seem calculated to promote those objects. The proceedings of parliament in the early part of the session claim no particular place in general history ; but as the session advanced, the topics brought under discussion rose in importance, and the message from the king, announcing the failure of the negotiations, and the consequent departure of Lord Whitworth from Paris, imparted to the proceedings of both branches of the legislature, an unusual degree of animation and public interest.

On the 16th of May, a message was presented from his majesty to both houses of parliament, announcing that he had recalled his ambassador from Paris, and that the French ambassador had left London. The message to the commons was expressed in these terms :—

GEORGE R.

"His majesty thinks it proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the discussions which he announced to them in his message of the 8th of March last, as then subsisting between his majesty and the French government, have been terminated ; that the conduct of the French government has obliged his majesty to recall his ambassador from Paris, and that the ambassador from the French Republic has left London. His majesty has given directions for laying before the house of commons, with as little delay as possible, copies of such papers as will afford the fullest information to his parliament at this important conjuncture. It is a consolation to his majesty to reflect, that no endeavours have been wanting, on his part, to preserve to his subjects the blessings of peace ; but under the circumstances which have occurred to disappoint his just expectations, his majesty relies with confidence on the zeal and public spirit of his faithful commons, and on the exertions of his brave and loyal subjects, to support him in his determination, to employ the power and resources of the nation, in opposing the spirit of ambition and encroachment, which, at present, actuate the councils of France ; in upholding the dignity of his crown ; and in asserting and maintaining the rights and interests of his people."

His majesty's message was taken into consideration in the house of lords, on the 23d of May, when Lord Pelham rose to move the address :—He observed, that the only question was, whether a distinct and legitimate ground of war was established by the correspondence now on the table. Without wishing to go minutely into these documents, he should briefly advert to the principal points in dispute between the two governments ; and first, with respect to Malta. It would be seen from the papers on the table, that up to a given period,

his majesty's ministers had taken every step to carry into effect the provisions of the treaty relating to this island. It was about the 27th of January that the French government began to press in a very peremptory manner, for the evacuation of that island; and it was about that period, that ministers thought themselves bound to demand some satisfactory explanations of the pretensions advanced, and the views disclosed by the French government. Circumstances then existed, which rendered it necessary to refer back to what had been the conduct of the first consul, from the period when the treaty was concluded. In the course of this view, the plain and intelligible inference was, that the conduct of the French government had been one constant series of acts totally inconsistent with a sincere desire to preserve the peace of the two countries. The answers returned by ministers to the complaints of the French government, regarding the liberty of the British press, the residence of the Bourbons, and the countenance afforded by this country to French emigrants, would be found in the correspondence, and he entertained a confident expectation that the language of ministers on those subjects was of a nature to meet with universal support and approbation. Adverting next to the tour made by Colonel Sebastiani, by order of the first consul, through the principal part of the provinces of the Turkish empire, and to the report grounded thereon, his lordship observed, that from every page of that extraordinary document one most important lesson was to be collected—namely, that the views of the first consul relative to Egypt had never been for one moment abandoned; indeed the first consul himself, in his interview with the British ambassador, had not thought it necessary to throw the slightest veil of secrecy over his designs, but on the contrary, he had openly declared that Egypt must sooner or later be in the possession of France. He would put it to the candour and feelings of their lordships, whether, under such circumstances, ministers were not entitled to demand from the French government some security for its future views relative to Egypt, beyond what the treaty of Amiens provided? and Malta, in the hands of this country, could only be viewed as a security. But independent of these considerations, there were others which justified ministers in retaining possession of Malta, and among these might be enumerated the confiscation of the revenues of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, and the impossibility of obtaining an adequate guarantee for the independence of that island. “Ministers,” said his lordship in conclusion, “have shewn the utmost reluctance to resort to any measure which might hasten the renewal of hostilities; but

the conduct of the French government could no longer be tolerated, consistent with the honour, dignity, and safety of this country. War then has become inevitable ; and it is a war in which the national spirit ought to be exerted in every way which will demonstrate to a proud and insolent foe, that while the people of England are not anxious for an opportunity of taking offence, they are sensibly alive to the least imputation of dishonour, and determined on punishing insults with the most exemplary vengeance." His lordship concluded by moving the address.

The Dukes of Cumberland and Clarence, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Melville, Earl Spencer, and others, spoke in favour of the motion.

Earl Stanhope thought, that by a pacific and judicious conduct on the part of his majesty's ministers, peace might yet be preserved ; and Lord King moved an amendment to the address, beseeching his majesty to listen to any further offer of amicable settlement, consistent with the honour and interests of the country.

Lord Grenville rose towards the conclusion of the debate, and after descanting with great force and energy upon the justice and necessity of the war, proceeded to observe, that the French government had actually proposed to other governments the partition of the Turkish dominions, and it was no doubt intended that her share should comprehend Egypt. Without taking the report of Colonel Sebastiani at all into the account, this circumstance, which rested on the authority of his majesty's declaration, was quite sufficient to warrant the inference, that the first consul meditated a breach of the treaty of Amiens. Under those circumstances he was perfectly convinced that peace or war was not a matter of choice ; and he would suggest to the noble lord who proposed the amendment, that as a temporizing policy had hitherto produced no other effect than to torture the people of this country by suspense, and embolden the pretensions of the first consul, it would not be advisable to make any further experiments in that way. In pursuance of that system, his majesty's ministers had given up the Cape of Good Hope and Martinique, and if still more were to be given up, the country would soon be convinced, that protection was not to be obtained by such means against any project that France might have in contemplation, either upon our Indian Empire or elsewhere. Being convinced that war alone was the remedy left for this country, he would strenuously exhort to every possible exertion.

On the question being put, there appeared, contents 142 ; non-contents 10—majority in favour of the address, 132.

This great national question was on the same day discussed in a full assembly of the commons' house of parliament, and continued by adjournment on the following day.

Lord Hawkesbury opened the debate in a very able speech, in which he enumerated all the subjects of complaint this country had against France, and concluded with moving an address, assuring his majesty of the just sense that house entertained of his anxious and uniform endeavours to preserve to his people the blessings of peace; of their strong feelings of indignation that his majesty's endeavours had been frustrated by the restless spirit of ambition and domination in the government of France; and of their firm determination to co-operate in calling forth the resources of the united kingdom, for the vigorous support of his cause.

Mr. Erskine combated the statements of Lord Hawkesbury; and was followed by Mr. Grey, who moved an amendment, limiting the address to assurances of co-operation, and an expression of the satisfaction with which the house received his majesty's declaration, that he was willing to afford, as far as might be consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, every facility to any just arrangement, by which the blessings of peace might be restored.

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox took each a prominent part in the debates on this occasion, and the speeches of these distinguished statesmen embraced the principal topics involved in the momentous question that now engaged the attention of parliament.

Mr. Pitt flattered himself, that whatever difference of sentiment might arise in many points included in the papers now upon the table, yet upon the great and important question at issue between this country and France, and upon the justice and necessity of the grounds on which we were compelled to enter into the war, he thought it almost impossible that the house should not be unanimous. In the first place, there was such clear evidence of views of aggression and hostility on the part of France, as justified this country in retaining Malta for its own security. This he maintained to be the first great point on which the question turned; and he contended, that the whole of Sebastiani's report, the avowal by Bonaparte himself of his views and intentions, in a formal conference with Lord Whitworth, afforded the clearest evidence that the first consul had formed the determination of resuming his hostile projects against Egypt; and the pursuit of such a project was an undeniable act of hostility against this country, and a direct violation both of the letter and spirit of the treaty of Amiens. He then more particularly commented on several cir-

cumstances connected with the report of Sebastiani. It was, he said, an official paper, addressed to, and published by the authority of the French government, and the whole tenor of that paper made it impossible to doubt, that Sebastiani had been sent to Egypt to prepare for the execution of a fresh attempt to put that country under the dominion of France. Mr. Pitt dwelt on this topic a considerable time, exhibited the matter in various points of view, and concluded his remarks upon it by observing, that if the question were closed here, he was prepared to maintain, that on these grounds alone the war was both just and necessary, and such as ought to call forth the utmost exertions of parliament and the nation in its support. But the question was far from resting here ; numerous other causes of complaint were enumerated in his majesty's declaration, any one of which was a clear and evident ground of war, and such as would have been acted upon in almost every period of the history of this country. He here referred to the annexation of Piedmont, as the first act by which the French government had proceeded in their system of aggrandizement, and to the arrogant manner in which France had prescribed to the German states the mode of arranging those indemnities on which the diet of the empire was convened to deliberate. He next adverted to the violence offered to Switzerland, on which he thought it the less necessary to dwell, because the conduct of France towards that country had excited one universal sentiment of detestation. With respect to the continuance of the French armies in Holland, he observed, that it was directly inconsistent with the principles on which the treaty of Amiens had been negotiated, and with the engagements which were known to subsist between France and Holland. It was not however necessary to determine how far each act of aggrandizement might be in itself a sufficient ground of war, yet still it could not be contended that they were not now material, as furnishing proofs of that deliberate system of ambition and encroachment which had been pursued by France, ever since the treaty of Amiens. Mr. Pitt here drew a striking picture of the continued and rapid succession of the acts of violence and oppression, which, during this period, had desolated so many of the countries of Europe ; and after comparing the irresistible force and overwhelming progress of French ambition, to those dreadful convulsions of nature, by which provinces and kingdoms were consumed and buried in ruins, he asked whether we could contemplate those dreadful scenes, without reflecting how soon the torrent of liquid fire might direct its ravages against ourselves. Having here closed his review of what had passed on the continent, he directed his

attention to those aggressions and insults, which more immediately related to this country. The first of these was the demand which had been made by the French government, respecting the restraints on the liberty of the press, and the expulsion of the French emigrants now remaining in this country ; but his majesty's ministers having resisted these demands, with a proper degree of spirit, on grounds which were stated with great force and ability in one of the papers on the table, it would be unnecessary for him to enlarge at present upon those topics. The second instance related to the commercial agents which the French government made a formal proposition to send, not only at a time when there existed no commercial treaty between the two countries, but when the commercial intercourse of British subjects with France was suffering every degree of violence and oppression. This proposition had indeed been refused, but in defiance of this refusal, the French government proceeded clandestinely to send these agents in the train of their ambassador, and addressed to them instructions, the object of which was to direct them to take measures, in time of peace, for which they would have been hanged as spies in time of war.* He regretted that ministers had contented

* "PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE."

The instructions here referred to are contained in the following:—

"Copy of a Letter from Citizen Talleyrand to Citizen Fauvelet, Paris, 26th Brumaire, 10th Year, November 17th, 1802.

"I forward to you, citizen, a series of questions, concerning which I am desirous of having your answers. You will have the goodness to place them opposite the questions, on the same sheet of paper, doubled in two, similar to the one which I have the honour to send to you. I shall be obliged to you to send me this paper as soon as possible, without, however, suffering your too great haste to be prejudicial to your accuracy. If you are doubtful upon any point, you will have the goodness to mention it. You will probably find no difficulty in consulting with some well-informed merchants or clerks in the custom-house, who you think may have it in their power to give you some positive information, and you will declare the sources from whence you have drawn that information. You will not consider this business as forming a part of your official correspondence. You must not number it, but you must content yourself with putting at the top of it, as in the projet which I inclosed to you, *Private Correspondence.*

"To Citizen Fauvelet, at Dublin.

QUESTIONS.

"1. What number of vessels have entered and cleared out of the ports within your district, within each year, from 1792 to 1801, inclusive?

"2. What is their tonnage, or their admeasurement in sea tons of 2,000 4 p.

"3. Under what flag do they navigate?

"4. From whence they come?

"5. Whither bound?

"6. With what merchandize freighted?

themselves with applying to the French government to withdraw those persons, instead of ordering them to quit the kingdom within twenty-four hours, and afterwards demanding from France the reparation due for so gross an insult. Mr. Pitt said, he did not think it necessary to dwell on the violence committed against the vessels and property of his majesty's subjects in the French ports, and the withholding to this hour all satisfaction for those injuries. These proceedings, he said, would have been a sufficient ground of complaint in ordinary times, but they could scarcely give additional force to the outrageous transactions which he had just enumerated, and which appeared to him as if they had been designedly calculated, to include, under two distinct heads, the grossest insults that could be offered to the independence of any country; after dilating at some length on this topic, he exhorted ministers and parliament to make those exertions which would be necessary to ensure success; exertions which must far exceed the unexampled efforts made in the former war. He was aware, he said, that these exertions could not be made without material and extensive personal sacrifices, and without great additional burdens, which must to a degree affect the ease, convenience, and even comfort, of many classes of society. He concluded

"7. What was the price of freight to the principal ports of Europe, each sea ton of 2,000 4 P. S. ?

"8. What French productions are most in request in the market of the town where you reside, as well as of the other considerable towns in your district ?

"9. What is the merchandize which can be exported to France, with greater advantage from the said markets, than from any other ?

"10. What are the course of exchange, and the current prices of merchandize, from three months to three months, from the year 1792 to 1801 ?

"11. You are required to furnish a plan of the ports of your districts, with a specification of the soundings, for mooring vessels.

"12. If no plan of the ports can be procured, you are to point out with what wind vessels can come in and go out, and what is the greatest draught of water with which vessels can enter therein deeply laden ?

"13. What are the principal commercial houses ?

"If the heads of these houses are foreigners, you are to point out of what country they are; and in all cases, you are to state with what countries they are principally connected, and what is their chief line of commerce.

"14. What is the usual course of exchange ?

"15. Whether there is a public bank, and what is its organization ?

"16. Whether there are any insurance companies, public or private, and what are the customs and rules, and the prices of insurance, for European and long voyages ?" &c.

The other questions, of which there are four, relate to the state of the manufactories and fisheries; to weights and measures; to sales of merchandize; and to the fairs, and the various species of traffic carried on in each of the districts of the commercial agents to whom these circulars were addressed.

with expressing his confidence, that the temper and courage of the nation would conform itself to the difficult situation in which it was placed, and that the people would be prepared collectively and individually to meet the struggle, not merely with resignation and fortitude, but with that active zeal, and vigorous exertion, proportionate to the magnitude of the crisis, demanded from a brave and free people. Reflecting, even in the hour of trial, what abundant reason we have to be grateful to providence, for the distinction we enjoyed over most of the countries of Europe, and for all the advantages and blessings which national wisdom and virtue have hitherto protected, and which perseverance in the same just and honourable sentiments will still guard and preserve.

Mr. Fox said, that he should be very unwilling to trouble the house, if he did not think it an absolute duty to rescue them out of a situation of great danger, even if the contest in which they were about to engage should be attended with the most brilliant success. After some observations on the conduct of ministers, Mr. Fox went over the whole of the correspondence between the two countries, and maintained that there had been a great deal of shuffling between the representatives of the two countries. He condemned the demand made by the first consul, that the members of the Bourbon family should quit this country : he could not tolerate the idea that, under any pretence whatever, an independent state was to be called upon to deny to any unfortunate and persecuted emigrant the rights of hospitality. He considered the application made to us to abridge the liberty of the press to be the offspring of the most profound ignorance of our laws and constitution. "I am unquestionably," said Mr. Fox, "one of those who would not disturb the freedom of the press in England to please any foreign state, and should, to the utmost of my power, equally resist such an attempt on the part of our own government. Proposals to that effect made by the government of France could only proceed from the grossest ignorance of our laws and constitution ; but being capable of explanation, they could afford no proper ground of quarrel." Mr. Fox, adverting to the menaces said to have been used by Bonaparte towards this country, observed, that too much stress had been laid on several of the expressions of the first consul in his conversation with Lord Whitworth, the accuracy of which could not be depended upon, as the report from memory of a long conversation was necessarily defective. He ridiculed some conclusions that were drawn from the tone and manner of Bonaparte, when he talked of making an attempt on our coast, particularly his assertion that it was a hundred to

one that he would be destroyed in the attempt, and that he despaired of accomplishing his end, but that still he was determined to try. With respect to Egypt, if the first consul had any intention of going there, he would not have been so absurd as to inform our ambassador of his intention. He might possibly have a desire to visit Egypt, but neither the desire of a sovereign to effect any purpose of ambition, or the sending of an agent to visit a distant country, could be considered as a legitimate cause for war. Louis XVI. had an expedition to Egypt in contemplation, and the right honourable gentleman resented that project by making a commercial treaty with France. With respect to the commercial commissioners, who came in disguise to take the soundings of our ports, this was a scandalous breach of faith, for which satisfaction ought to have been demanded, and if this had been refused, the act and the refusal would have constituted a ground of war. But no reparation was demanded. As to the general system of aggrandizement pursued by France, unless it affected this country, we had no more right to complain of it, than France had to complain of our aggrandizement in the East Indies. We ought not to suffer ourselves to be deceived by the hyperbole of eloquence out of our common sense. We were bound by our treaty to deliver up Malta at a certain time, but France wished to throw difficulties in the way! How? For the purpose of preventing its surrender! What was France to get by that? Ministers are then angry that France was not as zealous as themselves in endeavouring to procure the acceptance of the guardianship of Malta. What was the answer of Russia, that she would do it upon certain conditions, and what signified the *Maltese langue* about which so much was said? Was it for a point of good faith that we were so tenacious; but if Malta had been kept for ten years, what was to become of the knights of that order? Then comes Colonel Sebastiani's report, with the mighty disclosure of the first consul's desire to retain Egypt: the letter is undoubtedly a complete proof of a military officer having been sent to take military surveys, and probably to form military connections for France. This desire of possessing Egypt ministers immediately convert into a design and overt act of seizing upon that country: but if every ground of complaint were to be converted into a cause for war, it would be impossible for Europe ever to enjoy the shortest interval of peace. After this came a part of the negotiation, incomprehensible indeed on both sides, but particularly so on ours. Ministers instructed Lord Whitworth to demand an explanation; and when Talleyrand asks what ex-

planation was wanted? he replies—Oh! I can tell nothing about it. Next they would be satisfied with nothing short of security; and when the nature of this security is enquired into, it turns out that they are equally unprepared for a distinct reply. Abandoning this claim of security, they demand Malta in perpetuity. Last of all comes their proposition for ten years, as if ten years, in a political point of view, were to be considered as any thing short of perpetuity. But the manner in which this negotiation was conducted is peculiarly worthy of attention; the simple proposition about Malta would not perhaps have been palatable to the first consul, there would have been an abruptness in it which might have hurt his feelings, ministers therefore determine to make the arrangement as easy as possible. The King of Sardinia had, eighteen months before, been stripped of his dominions. He was politically dead and buried. Ministers however are determined once more to bring him on the scene, and like the ghost in a drama, he plays the part assigned him in the tragedy, and then retires. Ministers go on pushing Bonaparte to agree to their demands about Malta, and the indemnities to the King of Sardinia fill up a niche in their ultimatum, and if this monarch obtains nothing, he is left precisely in the same state in which ministers found him. The most unjustifiable of all the conduct of Bonaparte, continued Mr. Fox, was his treatment of Holland and Switzerland, which was certainly most cruel; but it was not for this country, unaided by the continent, to engage in a war on their account. With respect to the abuse of the one government towards the other, there were but two ways of properly disposing of it, either to pass it over in contempt, or to demand satisfaction. This country had done neither. But the conduct of ministers which he thought most reprehensible was, that they had suffered grounds of complaint to accumulate instead of specifying them as they occurred, and demanding satisfaction, and if satisfaction had been refused, it would then have been time to think of going to war. It was not the injury received, or the insult offered, that was a legitimate ground of war, but the refusal of reparation or satisfaction. Mr. Fox accused both governments of a great deal of duplicity, and charged the British ministry with having at last gone to war upon a sordid principle, the possession of Malta, in which no one was interested but ourselves, and in which we could not expect the co-operation of any of the continental powers. The remedy he proposed was an appeal to the Emperor of Russia, first to become guarantee for Malta, afterwards arbiter between this country and France; and then, if the French should persist in their career of in-

justice, the probability would be that we should have allies, because the thing in contest would then be generally interesting. He should therefore recommend that the house should agree to the amendment, and that an alliance should be formed with Russia for the prevention of French aggression. The other alternative was war, the consequences of which would be an immense addition to the burdens of the country. We should now have exertions to make to which all former exertions were nothing. This the house had been told last night very plainly. "I, who have had such great practice formerly," said a right honourable gentleman, "in drawing your teeth and paring your fingers, cutting you to the quick indeed pretty often, have provided for you a new operator, who has an entire new discipline for you : you fought last war for religion, and social order, and balance of power ; but that is all nothing to what you are now to expect. Lord North and myself were mere triflers. You are not to think of a year, but a continuance of years, and an addition of two or three hundred millions of debt. The late income tax was to many intolerable ; but the new income tax will be much more severe and oppressive. Do not let any body think of paying less than a fifth, a fourth, or perhaps a third, if necessary." And all this for what ? Why for Malta—plain Malta ! Malta, unconnected with any great, general, generous interest of Europe. "We have had," continued Mr. Fox, "philippics that Demosthenes himself might have envied. I remember in the American war we had great luxuriance of hyperbole, metaphor, and romantic rhodomontade. In the last war we had still more of it ; for then we had the most eloquent of men declaiming in favour of the war. All was rich and delightful as a feast, but unfortunately then came the bill, and the enormous charges spoiled all the relish of the entertainment." Mr. Fox concluded with again recommending an alliance with Russia, he thought it the only method of benefiting Europe. He observed, that the address stated a fact which but few could assent to, namely, that ministers had been sincere in their endeavour to preserve peace, and which no one assented to without qualifying his vote ; whereas, the amendment stated that which every body admitted to be true : the way therefore to produce unanimity, was to adopt that which was universally admitted to be true, instead of asserting that which no one could assent to without qualification.

On a division of the house, there appeared for the address 398, against it 67, majority 331.

On the 27th of May, Mr. Fox, in pursuance of a notice he had previously given, moved an address to his majesty, pray-

ing "that his majesty would be graciously pleased to avail himself of the disposition manifested by the Emperor of Russia, to mediate between this country and the French government, which mediation might not only lead to the speedy and honourable termination of the present contest, but might conduce to the general tranquillity and safety of Europe."

Among the advantages which must result from the mediation of this powerful and esteemed sovereign, Mr. Fox particularly insisted upon the following: should this country be obliged to prosecute the war for the attainment of any object which that sovereign should approve, Great Britain would have the strong support afforded by his approbation, which would carry with it the opinion of the world in our favour. Through this powerful mediation, we might hope to procure the adjustment, not merely of the question respecting Malta, but in fact of all the points in dispute. The power and character of the mediator, and his rank in Europe, would justify the strongest hopes. His character stood upon the most elevated ground; he was just to the people committed to his government, and benevolent to all mankind. This monarch had been greatly affected by the changes which had taken place in Europe, was greatly disgusted with the conduct of France since the treaty of Amiens, and yet was warmly attached to peace. If a close alliance were formed with Russia, all the other states of Europe might be protected from the unjust aggressions of France; and with such a junction, Europe would have little to fear from the ambition of any man.

Ministers, though they admitted the truth and justice of the principles laid down by Mr. Fox, were averse to the motion, on the ground of its creating an idea that the country was not disposed to prosecute the war with vigour.

Mr. Pitt said, that to press the motion of Mr. Fox to a division, would be attended with one or two inconveniences: either the previous question would be carried, by which there would be room for the misconstruction, that one part of the house was hostile to the principles on which the honourable gentleman argued; and on the other hand, if the motion were carried, it would imply that the house entertained a doubt of the concurrence of ministers in these principles—a suspicion for which there could be no foundation.

In consequence of these suggestions, Mr. Fox said, if ministers would state that there existed a disposition to accept of the mediation of Russia, he had no objection to withdraw his proposition.

Lord Hawkesbury admitted that an offer to mediate the differences between Great Britain and France had already been

made by Russia. The impression on the mind of the Emperor Alexander was, that there was a certain degree of reluctance on the part of the two governments to explain distinctly the points of mutual dispute. He had accordingly proposed, that the Russian ministers at London and Paris should interpose their good offices for facilitating this explanation; but at the time this offer was made, Lord Whitworth was on the eve of quitting Paris, and looking to an immediate termination of the discussions, ministers considered the offer as too loose, and too general, to be then adopted. At the same time, ministers did not conceal from the court of St. Petersburg, and they were as little desirous of concealing from the house, that with reference, not only to the particular points in dispute between the two governments, but with reference to the establishment of a guarantee for the general independence and security of Europe, they were ready to accept of the mediation of Russia. On this ground, they had not only expressed their willingness to receive any proposition from the court of St. Petersburg, but they had gone much beyond this assurance, they had declared their readiness to explain, in the most frank and explicit terms, the views which they entertained on the points in dispute, and the mode which to them appeared the best calculated to bring about an amicable arrangement. No question of *etiquette* would stand in the way; the whole declaration of ministers had been given in the true spirit of peace. In his majesty's declaration also, an express assurance was given of his readiness to listen to any proposal for restoring the blessings of peace; and he had now to assure the honourable gentleman and the house, that ministers were ready to receive any offer of mediation on the part of Russia, or to offer to the mediation of this power the points in dispute between the two governments. Mr. Fox, considering this explanation as perfectly satisfactory, withdrew his motion.

Although the existing administration continued to enjoy the public confidence, and had produced, by their mild and constitutional conduct, an unanimity of sentiment, and an oblivion of political animosity, hardly to have been expected in so brief an interval, yet were they highly obnoxious to what was called the Grenville party; and the friends of Mr. Pitt, and even the ex-minister himself, began to manifest towards them unequivocal marks of coldness, if not of direct hostility. On the 2d of June, Earl Fitzwilliam moved in the upper house of parliament a series of resolutions, censuring the conduct of ministers in withholding from parliament information on the numberless aggressions and insults offered by the

French government to this country since the treaty of Amiens ; and in holding out to the country the prospect of a permanent peace, at a period when they must have been aware that the continuance of the relations of amity was in the highest degree uncertain and precarious.

Lord Mulgrave, who had hitherto zealously supported the measures of administration, instead of opposing a direct negative to the motion, adopted a middle course, and to the infinite mortification of ministers, moved as an amendment, the adjournment of the house. This mode of evading the question was deprecated by the ministry as disingenuous, and as more injurious to their characters, and offensive to their feelings, than a direct and manly support of the motion for censuring. After an animated discussion, both the original motion and Lord Mulgrave's amendment were rejected by vast majorities. A similar motion was made on the following day in the house of commons, by Colonel Patten, and with similar success. On this occasion, Mr. Pitt said, as he was unprepared to give a direct negative, or affirmative, to the resolutions submitted to the house, he should move that the other orders of the day be read. Lord Hawkesbury, evidently much affected with this open desertion of the ex-minister, said, that he and his colleagues would shrink from their duty if they should accept the compromise offered between a direct censure and a total acquittal. It was his wish that ministers might either be acquitted, or condemned—they had no desire to remain in office longer than they could be useful to their country, nor could he for himself think of remaining an hour in office, if he had forfeited the confidence of the house, and the good opinion of the country.

After a long debate, the order of the day, as moved by Mr. Pitt, was negatived by a majority of three hundred and thirty-three to fifty-six voices, after which, the motion of Colonel Patten was put, and negatived by an equal majority. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, with a few of their friends, having retired before the second division took place.

On the 6th of June, Earl Fitzwilliam brought the subject before the house again, and moved a number of resolutions, varying in form, but in substance the same as those before rejected. The last resolution was couched in these terms, "That by these instances of misconduct, his majesty's ministers have proved themselves unworthy of the confidence of this house, and incapable of administering with advantage the public affairs of the country in a crisis of such unexampled difficulty and danger." The first of these resolutions, after a long and animated debate, was negatived by a majority of 26 to 17 voices, and the others without a division.

The principal part of the remainder of this important session of parliament was occupied by subjects of finance, and with devising the means of providing for the defence of the country against the invasion threatened by the first consul.—The first, and most obvious measure of defence was to render the militia, the constitutional defence of the country, as effective as possible, and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of commons by the secretary of war, on the 20th May, which passed through its several stages without any material opposition: the principal object of this enactment was, to facilitate the raising of the supplementary militia, and to provide for the filling up of the vacancies in the regular militia force, with greater promptness than could be done by the existing laws. The fines upon parishes for deficiencies were also considerably increased, and the penalty upon balloted persons refusing to serve, in person or by substitute, was raised from ten to twenty pounds. But the militia force being considered as perfectly inadequate to the defence of the realm, a message from the crown was sent to parliament, on the 18th of June, stating, that his majesty considered it as important for the safety and defence of the nation, that a large additional military force should be forthwith raised and assembled, and it was recommended to both houses of parliament, to take such measures as should appear to be most effectual for accomplishing this purpose with the least possible delay. In furtherance of the object of this message, a bill was immediately brought into parliament for embodying a new species of militia, under the denomination of the army of reserve. This force, which was to consist of fifty thousand men for England, and ten thousand for Ireland, was to be raised by ballot, and confined to the defence of the united kingdom: the officers to be appointed from the regular army and the half pay list: all persons from the age of eighteen to forty-five were liable to serve, with the exceptions of those persons who were exempt from the militia ballot, and such volunteers as were enrolled previously to the date of the last message of his majesty: all poor persons having more than one child under ten years of age, were also exempt: the persons composing this force to be allowed to volunteer into the regular army. This bill, which underwent a long discussion in the house of commons, passed through the house of lords with uncommon rapidity, and on the 6th of July, obtained the royal assent. But these measures of defence, however important, were only the precursors of one of the most gigantic magnitude, being no less than the arming and training of the whole effective male population of Great Britain. This truly constitutional project was presented to the consi-

deration of parliament, by the secretary of war, on the 18th of July, and passed into a law by receiving the royal assent, on the 27th of the same month. This general enrolment, denominated the *levy en masse*, was divided into four different classes; the first comprehended all unmarried men between the ages of seventeen and thirty; the second, unmarried men between thirty and fifty; the third, all married men between seventeen and thirty, not having more than two children under ten years of age; and the fourth, all under the age of fifty-five, not comprised in the other descriptions. The different classes, who were to be trained and taught the use of arms, in their respective parishes, were, in case of actual invasion, liable to be called out by his majesty, in the orders specified, to co-operate with the regular army, in any part of the kingdom, and to remain embodied until the enemy was exterminated or driven into the sea.

On the 13th of June, the chancellor of the exchequer brought forward the budget; he proposed to raise, by an increase of the customs, duties on sugar, exports, cotton, and tonnage, about two millions annually; and by new duties on the excise of tea, wine, spirits, and malt, six millions more. He then presented a plan of a tax on income, imposing a duty on land, of one shilling in the pound, to be paid by the landlord, and nine pence in the pound to be paid by the tenant, together with a tax of one shilling in the pound on all other species of income, from one hundred and fifty pounds upwards. The nett produce of this revived property tax was calculated at four millions seven hundred thousand pounds, and the whole product of the war taxes, at twelve millions seven hundred thousand pounds annually, to expire six months after the return of peace. In addition to these grants the other taxes were continued, and the whole of the supplies voted by parliament for the service of the year 1803, amounted to upwards of forty-one millions.

While these measures were adopted by parliament, the people were far from being uninterested or inactive. The preparations for invading this country made by France, called forth a simultaneous burst of loyalty and patriotism from all classes and descriptions of persons, and in a very brief interval, upwards of four hundred thousand men in arms appeared ready to defend their native coasts from insult, and to inflict a signal chastisement on those who dared to pollute them with a hostile tread. So numerous indeed were these voluntary armed associations, that it rendered the act for raising the *levy en masse* perfectly superfluous. On this period in British history the mind may repose with satisfaction. There no

longer appeared any distinction of party or sects ; all other distinctions were lost in that of Britons. The first consul viewed with astonishment this extraordinary display of national energy and patriotic feeling, and though his preparations for invasion were continued, the intention of carrying them into effect was no doubt secretly abandoned.

In the midst of these important deliberations parliament found time to pass several bills, the object of which was to consolidate the duties and regulate the collection and management of the several branches of the revenue. An act was also passed to relieve the Roman catholics from certain penalties and disabilities, to which they were before subject, on subscribing the declaration and oath contained in the act of the 31st of the reign of his present majesty.

An important addition was this session of parliament made to the criminal law of the country. By an act, introduced into the house of lords by Lord Ellenborough, and on that account called the Ellenborough act, any person guilty of malicious shooting, cutting, or stabbing, with an intent to commit murder, although death should not ensue, was declared guilty of a capital felony, and made subject to the punishment of death. The same penalty was also attached to all attempts to discharge loaded fire-arms, with an intent to kill or wound.

During the present session of parliament, a grant of 60,000*l.* a year, for three years, to be computed from the 5th of January, 1803, was made to the Prince of Wales, towards providing for the better support and dignity of his royal highness. In moving for this grant, the chancellor of the exchequer took occasion to observe, that in the year 1795, the income of the prince was augmented to the sum of one hundred and thirty-eight thousand pounds annually, exclusive of thirteen thousand a year from the revenue of the duchy of Cornwall. At this time, seventy-three thousand a year had, he said, been set apart to be appropriated to the liquidation of the debts of his royal highness, which, at the period in question, amounted to six hundred and fifty thousand pounds, but which, by the operation of the sinking fund created for their liquidation, were now reduced to below the sum of one hundred thousand pounds.

On the 8th of August, the Duke of Sussex made a motion in the house of peers, for the appointment of a military council. In support of this motion, his royal highness contended that such a council was rendered necessary by the very arduous situation in which the country was placed, when the safety and independence of the nation might depend on the prudence and energy of our military operations ; and when we had to

contend against the first general of the age. Other leading officers of the state had boards or councils to assist their deliberations, and there was no department in the state, in which a false step would be attended with so much danger.

It was objected, on the part of ministers, that such a council would embarrass the commander-in-chief in the discharge of his professional duties, and that the present arrangement of the staff of the commander-in-chief, and the regular communications maintained with district generals, were such as to render a council of this nature perfectly unnecessary. On these grounds the motion was negatived without a division.

In the course of the discussions in the house of commons on the general defence of the country, Mr. Windham had taken occasion to express himself in terms of great asperity and contempt towards the volunteer corps of the country, whom, on one occasion, the honourable gentleman termed, the depositaries of panic. To obviate any supposition that the house concurred in these reproachful and calumnious sentiments towards those brave and loyal defenders of the state, Mr. Sheridan, on the 10th of August, moved the thanks of the house "to the volunteer and yeomanry corps of Great Britain, for the zeal and promptitude with which they had associated for the defence of the country." He also moved, "that a return of the different volunteer corps be laid before the house, in order that they may be handed down to posterity, by being entered on the journals." After an animated debate, continued for many hours, both these motions were adopted unanimously.

The last business of importance in this session, was a motion on the state of Ireland, by Mr. Hutchinson, who moved, that an address be presented to his majesty, praying him to give such information to the house as had been received respecting the late rebellious outrages in Ireland, and the present state of that kingdom. This motion was opposed by administration, principally on the ground of the lateness of the session, and the danger of making a premature disclosure of circumstances, which it might be important to conceal. Mr. Hutchinson, in the conclusion of his reply, said, if the house would not redress the grievances of Ireland, and conciliate its inhabitants, it would be humanity to annihilate it. The motion, after a long debate, was negatived without a division.

On the following day, the 12th of August, this long and momentous session of parliament was closed by a speech from the throne; on which occasion, his majesty expressed his satisfaction at the energy and promptitude which had been displayed in providing for the defence of the country, and for

the vigorous prosecution of the war ; assuring the house at the same time, that as strict a regard would be paid to economy in the public expenditure as was consistent with the exertions necessary to frustrate the designs and weaken the power of the enemy. “ Justly sensible,” said his majesty, “ of the state of pre-eminence in which it has pleased the Almighty to support us, for so many ages, among the nations of Europe, I rely with confidence, that under the continuance of his divine protection, the exertions of my brave and loyal subjects will prove to the enemy and to the world, that an attempt to subvert the independence, or impair the power of this united kingdom, will terminate in the disgrace and ruin of those by whom it may be made, and that my people will find an ample reward for all their sacrifices, in an undisturbed enjoyment of that freedom and security, which, by their patriotism and their valour, they will have preserved to themselves and their posterity.”

At a crisis when every class of his majesty’s subjects was animated to the highest degree by a spirit of military ardour ; when the possessions of the crown, and the rights and privileges of the people, were threatened by a formidable and enterprising invader ; and when the very existence of the country was thought to be in danger, it could not be imagined that the heir apparent to the throne could remain in a state of inactivity, insensible alike to the calls of patriotism and of glory. Feeling such a situation to be derogatory to his character and repugnant to his duty, as the first subject of the realm, his royal highness addressed a letter to the prime minister, urging upon him the propriety of investing him with an efficient military rank, and of placing him in a situation where his example might contribute to excite the loyal energies of the nation, and where his participation in the honours and dangers which awaited the brave defenders of the country, might keep those energies in vigorous activity. In reply to this application, he was informed, “ that the king’s opinion being fixed, he desired that no further mention should be made to him on the subject.” This answer, however, was considered so unsatisfactory by the prince, that he addressed to his royal parent the following letter :

TO THE KING.

“ SIR,

“ A correspondence has taken place between Mr. Addington and myself, on a subject which deeply involves my honour and character. The answer which I have received from that gentleman, and the communication which he has made to the house of commons, leave me no hope but in an appeal to the justice of your majesty. I make that appeal with confidence, because I feel that you are my natural advocate, and

with the sanguine hope that the ears of an affectionate father may still be opened to the supplications of a dutiful son.

"I ask to be allowed to display the best energies of my character ; to shed the last drop of my blood in support of your majesty's person, crown, and dignity ; for this is not a war for empire, glory, or dominion, but for existence. In this contest, the lowest and humblest of your majesty's subjects have been called on ; it would, therefore, little become me, who am the *first*, and who stand at the very foot-stool of the throne, to remain a tame, an idle, and lifeless spectator of the mischiefs which threaten us, unconscious of the dangers which surround us, and indifferent to the consequences which may follow. Hanover is lost—England is menaced with invasion—Ireland is in rebellion—Europe is at the foot of France. At such a moment, the Prince of Wales, yielding to none of your servants in zeal and devotion—to none of your subjects in duty—to none of your children in tenderness and affection, presumes to approach you, and again to repeat those offers which he has already made through your majesty's ministers. A feeling of honest ambition ; a sense of what I owe to myself and to my family ; and, above all, the fear of sinking in the estimation of that gallant army, which may be the support of your majesty's crown, and my best hope hereafter, command me to persevere, and to assure your majesty, with all humility and respect, that, conscious of the justice of my claim, no human power can ever induce me to relinquish it.

"Allow me to say, sir, that I am bound to adopt this line of conduct by every motive dear to me as a man, and sacred to me as a prince. Ought I not to come forward in a moment of unexampled difficulty and danger ? Ought I not to share in the glory of victory, when I have every thing to lose by defeat ? The highest places in your majesty's service are filled by the younger branches of the royal family ; to me alone no place is assigned. I am not thought worthy to be even the junior major-general of your army. If I could submit in silence to such indignities, I should, indeed, deserve such treatment, and prove, to the satisfaction of your enemies, and my own, that I am entirely incapable of those exertions, which my birth and the circumstances of the times peculiarly call for. Standing so near the throne, when I am debased, the cause of royalty is wounded ; I cannot sink in public opinion, without the participation of your majesty in my degradation. Therefore every motive of private feeling, and of public duty, induce me to implore your majesty to review your decision, and to place me in that situation which my birth, the duties of my station, the example of my predecessors, and the expectations of the people of England, entitle me to claim.

"Should I be disappointed in the hope I have formed, should this last appeal to the justice of my sovereign, and the affection of my father, fail of success, I shall lament in silent submission his determination ; but Europe, the world, and posterity, must judge between us.

"I have done my duty ; my conscience acquits me ; my reason tells me that I was perfectly justified in the request which I have made, because no reasonable arguments have ever been adduced in answer to my pretensions. The precedents in our history are in my favour ; but if they were not, the times in which we live, and especially the exigencies of the present moment, require us to become an example to our posterity.

"No other cause of refusal has or can be assigned, except that it was the will of your majesty. To that will and pleasure I bow with every degree of humility and resignation ; but I can never cease to complain of the severity which has been exercised against me, and the injustice which I have suffered, till I cease to exist. I have the honour to subscribe myself, with all possible devotion, your majesty's most dutiful and affectionate son and subject,

(Signed)

"G. P."

"*Brighthelmstone, Aug. 5th, 1803.*"

ANSWER, FROM THE KING.

“ Windsor, 7th August.

“ MY DEAR SON,

“ Though I applaud your zeal and spirit, of which, I trust, no one can suppose any of my family wanting, yet, considering the repeated declarations I have made of my determination on your former applications to the same purpose, I had flattered myself to have heard no farther on the subject. Should the implacable enemy so far succeed as to land, you will have an opportunity of shewing your zeal at the head of your regiment. It will be the duty of every man to stand forward on such an occasion : and I shall certainly think it mine to set an example in defence of every thing that is dear to me and my people. I ever remain, my dear son,

“ Your most affectionate father,

(Signed)

“ G. R.”

The prince, in an animated, but dutiful reply to his royal parent, said—“ Allow me, Sir, to recall to your recollection, the expressions you were graciously pleased to use, when I solicited a foreign service upon my first coming into the army. They were, Sir, that your majesty did not see the opportunity for it ; but if any thing were to arise at home, I ought to be “ the first and foremost.” “ In this,” continues the prince, “ I agree most perfectly with your majesty. *I ought to be the first and foremost.* It is the place which my birth assigns me—which Europe—which the English nation expects me to fill, and which the former assurances of your majesty might naturally have led me to hope I should occupy.” Having received no reply to this second letter, the prince repeated his application, through the medium of his royal brother, the Duke of York, commander-in-chief of the British army, by whom he was informed, “ that before the prince was appointed to the command of the 10th light dragoons, the king caused it to be fully explained to him what his sentiments were with respect to a Prince of Wales entering into the army, and the public grounds upon which he could never admit of the prince considering it a profession, or of his being promoted in the service.” The prince, in reply, positively “ denied that any condition or stipulation of the nature alluded to by the Duke of York, had been made when he came into the army.” However that might be, the resolution to withhold from the prince all military promotion, was inflexibly adhered to ; and his royal highness was doomed to remain in his comparatively humble station of colonel of a regiment of horse.





Leney Sc.

BOOK III.

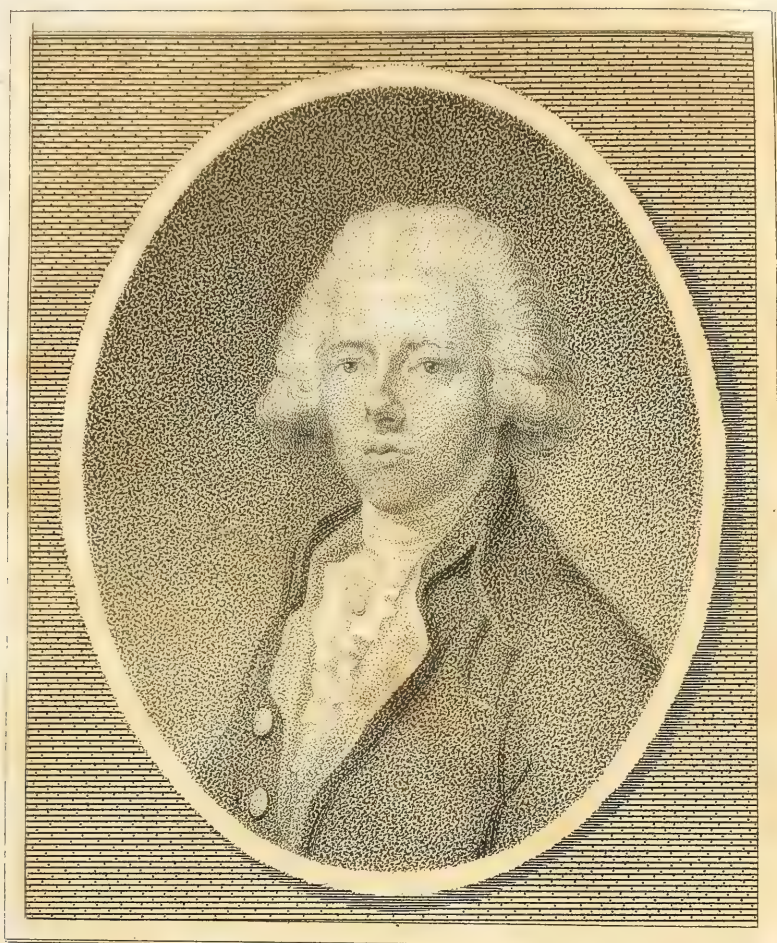
CHAPTER I.

Situation of the principal States of Europe at the Breaking out of the War—His Majesty's Declaration—War in St. Domingo—Cruelties practised in that Island by the French—Critical Situation of the Republican Army—Death of General Leclerc—Rochambeau appointed Commander-in-Chief—Shut up in Cape François—Arrival of the intelligence of the renewal of Hostilities between Great Britain and France—Surrender of Rochambeau's Army to Commodore Loving—Final Expulsion of the French Forces from St. Domingo—Proclamation of the Republic of Hayti—Dessalines appointed Governor-General for Life—Surrender of the French and Dutch West Indian Colonies to the English—French Armament despatched to the East Indies—French Manifesto—Invasion of Hanover—Conquest of that Electorate by the Arms of France—Preparations for the Invasion of England—Arrest of English Travellers in France—Naval Events—Overture to Louis XVIII. to resign his Claim to the Throne of his Ancestors—Rejected.

AFTER the enjoyment of a year of nominal peace, two of the first states of Europe once more determined to appeal to the decision of the sword. During the interval of this state of feverish tranquillity, France had extended her power and influence in every direction. The independence and freedom of Switzerland, of Holland, and of Italy, although guaranteed by the stipulations of the treaty of Luneville, were disregarded and violated, and republican France, though solely contending for her own independence, did not hesitate to exercise an uncontrolled dominion over those countries. Spain, debased by superstition, and enervated by the mines of Mexico and Peru, had sunk into a state of absolute vassalage. Germany, weakened by the defection of some of her principal states, was no longer able to oppose the aggrandizement of her too powerful neighbour. Prussia, ever grasping at extension of dominion, was willing to gratify her territorial cupidity at the expense of her rank among the states of Europe, and though constantly increasing in strength, she was evidently declining in importance. Sweden and Denmark, who had preserved their neutrality, with some slight intermission, while

the rest of Europe was involved in war, had no disposition to relinquish the advantages of this wise and pacific policy : while Russia, governed by a monarch distinguished for the mildness of his rule, and the wisdom of his councils, chose rather to arbitrate the differences of others than to become a party in their quarrels. It remained, therefore, for Great Britain, "single-handed" and unallied, to bear the first shock of that war which had now become inevitable, and to interpose a rampart between military France and universal empire.

Early in the month of May, his Britannic Majesty published a declaration, in which he states, "that his earnest endeavours for the preservation of peace having failed of success, he entertains the fullest confidence that he shall receive the same support from his parliament, and that the same zeal and spirit will be manifested by his people, which he has experienced on every occasion when the honour of his crown has been attacked, or the essential interests of his dominions endangered." "During the whole course of the negotiations which led to the preliminary and definitive treaties of peace between his majesty and the French republic, it was his majesty's sincere desire," says the declaration, "not only to put an end to the hostilities which subsisted between the two countries, but to adopt such measures, and to concur in such propositions as might effectually contribute to consolidate the general tranquillity of Europe ; and the same motives by which he was actuated during the negotiations for peace, have since invariably governed his conduct." His majesty then proceeds to an elaborate enumeration of the acts of aggression and aggrandizement practised by the French government during the interval of peace ; and in conclusion remarks, that "it is impossible to reflect on these different proceedings, and the course which the French government have thought proper to adopt respecting them, without the thorough conviction that they are not the effect of accident, but that they form a part of a system which has been adopted for the purpose of degrading, vilifying, and insulting his majesty and his government. Under these insults and provocations, his majesty, not without a due sense of his dignity, has proceeded, with every degree of temper and moderation, to obtain satisfaction and redress, while he has neglected no means consistent with his honour, and the safety of his dominions, to induce the government of France to concede to him, what is, in his judgment, absolutely necessary for the future tranquillity of Europe. But though the provocations which his majesty has received might entitle him to larger claims than those



Edwin. Sc.

The R^t. Hon^{ble}. W^m. Pitt



which he has advanced, yet, anxious to prevent calamities which might thus be extended to every part of Europe, he is still willing, as far as is consistent with his own honour, and the interests of his people, to afford every facility to any just and honourable arrangement, by which such evils may be averted. He has, therefore, no difficulty in declaring, to all Europe, that notwithstanding the changes which have taken place since the treaty of peace, notwithstanding the extension of the power of France, in repugnance to that treaty, and to the spirit of peace itself, his majesty will not avail himself of these circumstances, to demand in compensation all that he is intitled to require, but will be ready to concur, even now, in an arrangement, by which satisfaction shall be given to him, for the indignities which have been offered to his crown, and to his people, and substantial security afforded against further incroachments on the part of France. His majesty has thus distinctly and unreservedly stated the reasons of those proceedings to which he has found himself compelled to resort. He is actuated by no disposition to interfere in the internal concerns of any other state; by no projects of conquest and aggrandizement; but solely by a sense of what is due to the honour of his crown and the interests of his people, and by an anxious desire to obstruct the further progress of a system, which, if not resisted, may prove fatal to every part of the civilized world."

The line of hostilities which each nation would pursue was prescribed by their relative situation; Great Britain being mistress of the seas, would naturally direct her principal attack against the colonies, and the maritime possessions of her enemy; while France, being equally powerful at land, was resolved to obstruct and attack the commerce of Great Britain, in Italy, in Germany, and in every other part of the continent where her armies could penetrate, and at the same time, to wrest from her weaker neighbours a full equivalent for any colonial loss she might experience in the approaching contest. In pursuance of the different systems of warfare which each nation had adopted, the British government despatched expeditions against the Dutch settlements of Demerara, and Issequibo, and the French islands of St. Lucia, and Tobago. St. Domingo, the most valuable colony that France ever possessed, was, in the mean time, wrested from her by the black population, assisted by a British squadron; and in the East Indies, our successes over the native princes were brilliant, glorious, and decisive.

In St. Domingo, an island which had shared more largely in the calamities of the French revolution than any other spot

on the habitable globe, the want of good faith manifested by the French general towards the negro chief, Toussaint Louverture, excited general distrust in the black population, and the decree of the French legislative body, for the re-establishment of slavery in all the French colonies,* determined that much injured people to declare an interminable war against their oppressors. In pursuance of this resolution, Dessalines and Christophe hastened to assume the command of those negro bands who, notwithstanding their repeated defeats, still continued in a state of hostility against the French government; and at the moment when the captain-general of the French army was felicitating himself on having restored the colony to a state of subjection, the flame of insurrection again burst forth, and spread over this island with inconceivable rapidity. The French troops, no longer animated by the hopes of ultimate success, and unaccustomed to a tropical region, soon began to lose their accustomed vivacity, and at several of their smaller posts, such was the number of sick, that the healthy survivors were scarcely sufficient to attend the hospitals, and bury their dead. The commander-in-chief, himself scarcely convalescent, had lost the best officers of his staff by the ravages of the yellow fever, and the troops who had recently arrived from the mother country, finding themselves unequal to the service to which they were condemned, sunk into despondency, and soon followed their predecessors to the grave.

Early in the month of October, 1802, General Leclerc, finding his situation critical in the extreme, despatched an aide-camp to Paris for instructions and advice from the first consul, but in the mean time, he continued to pursue his sanguinary system with undiminished rigour, and excited in the minds of the black population an inextinguishable hatred against the French name. Among the new chiefs which arose in the interior of the island was a formidable leader, named Sans Souci, of the Cango tribe. Another chief, of the name of Charles Bellair, who had distinguished himself in his attacks upon the invaders, was taken in battle, and put to death, in the presence of his wife, with tortures truly demoniacal. But it was not merely the black chiefs with whom the French had to contend, one of their own generals, Dugua, chief of the staff, shocked with the cruelties perpetrated by his countrymen, determined to leave the French army, and to co-operate with their enemies, but being discovered in the act of making preparations for this purpose, he was sentenced to death, and

* See Book II. Chap. XXII. Page 200.

only escaped the fate that awaited him by becoming his own executioner. To crush the insurrectionary spirit which pervaded every part of the colony, the usual calamities of war were aggravated by the most savage barbarities. Immense numbers of blacks were drowned in the sea, or suffocated, by order of the French, in the holds of ships, appointed to the execution of this diabolical service. In one instance six hundred of these unfortunate men were surrounded by a French force, and punished, for some resistance, by being all butchered upon the spot. Such was the excessive slaughter in the vicinity of the Cape, that the air became tainted by the putrefaction of dead bodies, and produced a pestilential disease, which avenged on the French army these horrible massacres. The work of destruction however still proceeded, and the French commanders, instead of relaxing their cruelties, added to their enormity, and sought to supply the diminished numbers of human executioners by the use of blood-hounds,* which traced the unfortunate victims of European cruelty to the recesses where their employers could not penetrate. A considerable number of blacks, who had been hunted down in the neighbourhood of Fort Republican, were hurried on board the ships at anchor in the bay, and thus freighted, this dishonoured navy stood out from the shore under cover of the night, when the unresisting victims were plunged alive into the sea, in such numbers, that at length the tide, as if the ocean would no longer conceal the deed of blood, brought their bodies to the shore, and rolled them on the beach. (50.)

* These animals, which are brought from the island of Cuba, are generally employed by the Spaniards, in the pursuit of wild bullocks; and the great use of the dog is to drive the cattle from the heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country, which are least accessible to the hunters. Though these dogs are not in general larger than the shepherds' dogs in Great Britain, (which in truth they much resemble) yet when they were introduced into Jamaica, as the auxiliaries of the general assembly, in the Maroon war, in the year 1795, they were represented as equal to the mastiff in bulk, to the bull-dog in courage, to the blood-hound in scent, and to the grey-hound in agility, and the impression made on the mind of the negroes by these canine warriors was equally surprising and unexpected.—*Bryan Edwards*.

(50.) These statements, it should be remembered, are made by an enemy, whose interest it was to throw an odium on the character of the French nation. Cruelties were no doubt committed on both sides during the civil war in St. Domingo, but it is probable that the relations in the text are grossly exaggerated. The English writer too, seems to forget that his own countrymen set the example of employing blood-hounds against the insurgent negroes, and it may be questioned whether if the history of the Maroon war in Jamaica were made known, it would not be productive of details as shocking to humanity, as any of those here narrated.

By the middle of October, Fort Dauphin, Port-au-Paix, and several other important settlements, were completely lost to the French ; towards the end of the same month the general-in-chief, whose health had been long impaired, sunk under the mephetic atmosphere by which he was surrounded, and died on the night of the 1st of November, after giving some directions for the future government of the island.*

On the death of General Leclerc the command of the French army devolved upon General Rochambeau, who pursued the same course of cruelty and blood that had been marked out by his predecessor. The first engagement of importance that took place after the appointment of the new general was fought on the parched plains of St. Nicholas Mole, and issued in the defeat of the French army. About the same period Fort Dauphin surrendered to the arms of France after a gallant resistance to the combined attacks of the fleet and army under General Clausel. But notwithstanding this transient success, the continual diminution of the French army, and the daily increasing strength of the enemy clearly announced that the period of their final expulsion from the island was fast approaching.

The beginning of the year 1803 was marked by a cessation from active hostility, but there was no pause in the progress of disease, nor any relaxation in that system of sanguinary policy, which seemed to have for its object the extermination of a race of men, rendered cruel and ferocious by the joint operation of slavery and oppression. While the French army remained in a state of inactivity, waiting the arrival of reinforcements. General Dessalines, the commander-in-chief of the black forces, was indefatigable in his exertions to repair

* CHARLES EMANUEL LECLERC D'OSTIN, a soldier of fortune, entered on the career of arms at an early age, and distinguished himself at Toulon, in Germany, and in Italy. After the peace of Campo Formio, he accompanied the French expedition to Egypt, and on his return to France contributed to the success of the revolution of the 18th Brumaire, on which occasion he placed himself at the head of a corps of grenadiers, and advancing upon the refractory deputies, expelled them from the hall. General Leclerc was afterwards intrusted with the command of the French army which marched through Spain to subdue Portugal ; and on the return of peace he obtained the appointment of captain-general of the army of St. Domingo. While engaged in this service, he tarnished his former laurels by acts of excessive cruelty, and fell a victim to a disease produced by the atrocities of the army under his command. After his death, his body was conveyed to France, and interred with funeral honours in his estate at Montgobert. His wife, Pauline Bonaparte, the eldest sister of the first consul, who had attended her husband on the expedition to St. Domingo, accompanied his corpse on its return to Europe from the aceldama of Hispaniola, and the first consul and his court put on mourning for the death of the deceased general.

the losses he had sustained during the late campaign, and was soon in a situation to commence offensive operations. Several skirmishes accordingly took place, early in the year, in the vicinity of Acul, and it was at length determined by the French chief, once more to hazard a general action. The battle was begun by the French general, who attacked his sable adversary with so much impetuosity as to oblige him to retreat with precipitation over the Mornes; but in effecting this operation, the French line was weakened, and the negro general taking advantage of this error, rallied his forces, and repulsed the French with considerable loss. In the moment of success, General Rochambeau had secured a number of prisoners, and such was the thirst for blood, that notwithstanding the terrible retaliation which they knew must await their own countrymen, the black prisoners were led out on the plain, and put to death in cold blood. This murderous deed was executed with so much precipitation, that many of the unhappy victims were left half-dead, in a mutilated state, and their moans and shrieks were heard throughout the whole night, in the camp of the exasperated enemy. The negro chief, though he had hitherto acted upon the humane maxim of Toussaint, which forbade all retaliation, was now irritated to an act of terrible revenge, and ordering a number of gibbets to be erected, he selected out all the French officers who had fallen into his hands, and suspended them in every direction, in sight of the French army. The blacks, in the mean time, rendered desperate by these dreadful massacres, sallied out of their intrenchments, with irresistible impetuosity, and obliged their European adversaries to seek their safety under the walls of Cape François.

Such was the state of affairs in St. Domingo, when intelligence arrived at that island of the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France. This unexpected event rendered the situation of the French army critical in the extreme; and the commander-in-chief, apprehending a scarcity of provisions, published a proclamation, allowing the free importation of all the necessaries of life into the stations occupied by the French army, but at the same time declared all the other parts of the island in a state of siege.

The French head-quarters were now established at the Cape, and the negro chief had taken such effectual measures to curtail their boundaries, that they were in effect circumscribed within the narrow limits of two miles round that station. From this period the affairs of France in the island of St. Domingo became desperate, and the commander-in-chief, relinquishing all hopes of conquest, began to address himself to the fortification of the city of the Cape. In a despatch, written

from this place, and dated the 29th of October, 1803, he observes, "There is still some merit in defending a ravaged colony against a civil war on one side, and a foreign enemy on the other." But even this melancholy consolation was not long granted to him, for being menaced by a negro army by land, and strictly blockaded by a British naval force on the side of the ocean, his supplies were entirely cut off, and the troops in the garrison, sinking under the accumulated pressure of pestilence and famine, were reduced to the necessity of feeding on those very blood hounds which they had themselves satiated with human flesh.

The French general, finding his position no longer tenable, concluded a capitulation with the British commodore, on the 30th of November, by which it was agreed, that the French officers and troops, amounting to about eight thousand, should be sent to Jamaica as prisoners of war, and their sick to France and America, in British transports provided for that purpose. No sooner was this capitulation executed, than Captain Bligh was despatched to General Dessalines, to apprise him that all the French ships and vessels in the port had surrendered to the British flag; but notwithstanding this intimation, it was with the greatest difficulty that the blacks could be prevented from firing red-hot balls into the ships in which the French troops had embarked, and revenging their accumulated wrongs by sending them all to the bottom of the bay. The first instant the land breeze enabled them to sail, all the French ships came out of the harbour, and hauled down their colours. In sailing out of the bay, the *Clorinde*, a large frigate of thirty-eight guns, unfortunately took the ground, and was obliged to throw most of her guns overboard, but from the indefatigable exertions and professional abilities of Lieutenant Willoughby, she was at length got afloat without sustaining any material damage.

Commodore Loving, after seeing the prizes, which consisted of three frigates and seventeen merchantmen, properly secured, bore away for the Mole, and on the 2d of December summoned the general of brigade to surrender. Noailles, the French commander in that place, replied, that the garrison was provisioned for five months, and that he should not listen to any proposals for capitulation. On receiving this answer to his summons, the British commodore judged it advisable to steer for Jamaica with his prizes, for the purpose of landing his prisoners and replenishing his stock of provisions, leaving the *Pique* to continue the blockade in his absence. The French general, apprehensive of the return of the British squadron, took the opportunity to evacuate the fort the same night, and embarked his garrison on board six vessels which

were at that time lying in the harbour; but by the vigilance of the Pique, five out of the six vessels were taken, and that only in which Noailles himself was embarked effected its escape. Previously to the evacuation of the Mole, Fort Dauphin had surrendered to the Theseus, and Fort Marie to the Vanguard, the wretched garrisons considering themselves fortunate in being rescued from the fate that awaited them, from the hands of the infuriated blacks, in whose minds revenge against their oppressors had extinguished every spark of pity and humanity. The humane exertions of the British commanders on this station reflected the highest honour upon the national character, and served to dispel the horrible gloom in which the devoted island of St. Domingo had so long been enveloped.

This signal and complete failure of the French expedition against St. Domingo is not to be attributed to any deficiency in military means, or to any want of skill and perseverance in the French troops, but to a sanguinary and vicious policy, which at first sunk the black population into despair, and then called forth on their part exertions and a constancy in suffering almost supernatural. Among the first steps in this career of error, was the bad faith practised towards Toussaint Louverture, and the atrocities which afterwards followed served to confirm a resolution taken by the inhabitants, "to renounce France for ever; to die rather than live under her dominion; and to fight to the last breath for independence."* The evacuation of the island by the French troops left the negroes in the undisputed possession of what is called the French part of St. Domingo, and their first measure was to proclaim themselves an independent state, under the designation of "The Republic of Hayti." At the head of this republic was placed the negro General Dessalines, to whose hands was committed the sovereign prerogative of making peace and declaring war, and whose privilege it was to be invested with the right of naming his successor.† Although the

* Proclamation of the army of St. Domingo, signed DESSALINES.

† "LIBERTY OR DEATH!"

"We, generals and chiefs of the army of Hayti, penetrated with gratitude for the benefits we have received from the general-in-chief, J. Jacques Dessalines, the protector of the liberty which the people enjoy, in the name of liberty, in the name of independence, in the name of the people he has made happy, we proclaim him governor-general for life of Hayti. We swear to submit implicitly to the laws emanating from his authority. We give to him the right to make peace and war, and to name his successor.

"Done at head-quarters, Gonaives, the 1st of January, 1804, and the first day of the independence of Hayti.

(Signed)

"CHRISTOPHE, &c."

French republic still retained possession of the city of St. Domingo, in that part of the island which formerly belonged to Spain, yet the total surrender of the northern part of the island to a race of African governors, possessed of European tactics, and enjoying a knowledge of those arts of civilized life which never visited their native deserts, form a most important epoch in the annals of Hispaniola, and seemed calculated to produce consequences of the greatest importance to Europe, and to the human race.

In addition to the loss of St. Domingo, the most valuable of all the colonial possessions of France, the islands of St. Lucia and Tobago once more fell into the hands of Great Britain. Immediately on the arrival of the intelligence of the renewal of the war between England and France, an expedition sailed from Barbadoes, under the command of Lieutenant-general Grinfield, and Commodore Hood, and arrived at day-break on the 21st of June at St. Lucia. In the course of the day the troops effected a landing near the town of Castries, and after taking that place, summoned the French general Nogues to surrender at discretion. With this summons the enemy refused to comply, and the next morning at four o'clock an assault was made upon Fort Morne Fortunee, which was carried in the most gallant manner with a comparatively small loss. The number of French prisoners made in the garrison amounted to six hundred and forty, and the whole island submitted to the authorities appointed by the British commanders without further resistance.

General Grinfield, pursuing his victorious career, next sailed for the island of Tobago, on the 25th of June, and on the 1st of July, that settlement surrendered to the British force, on condition of the garrison being sent over to France at the expense of the English government.

In addition to these French settlements, the Dutch colonies of Essequibo, Demerara, and Berbice, fell successively into the hands of the English, under the same successful and meritorious commanders; and in the course of the present year, the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, near the coast of Newfoundland, contributed to swell the numerous and important colonial conquests of Great Britain.*

France, well aware of the precarious tenure by which she held her colonies in the west, determined, if possible, to secure

* POPULATION of the French and British West India Islands.
FRENCH.

The following account of the white inhabitants, free negroes, and slaves, in the French West Indies, may serve to gratify curiosity. It is taken from the authority of Mons. Necker; but Mr. Bryan Edwards sup-

her dominions in the east, and with this view an armament was fitted out at Brest, consisting of a strong naval force under the command of Admiral Linois, and on board of which were placed six thousand French troops. This expedition sailed soon after the breaking out of the war, with orders to touch at the Cape of Good Hope, and to place that colony in such a state of defence as to be enabled to resist any attack that might be made upon it by the English. In Europe also, the French armies were immediately put in motion, and the consular government, anxious to justify their conduct to the French nation and to Europe, published a declaration, dated the 20th of May, on the causes which led to the recall of their ambassador from London and the renewal of the war with Great Britain. In this state paper it is said, "that the present age and posterity will see all that has been done by France, to put an end to the calamities of war, and with what moderation and patience she has laboured to prevent their return;" "but nothing," con-

poses that the negro slaves were nearly double the number here stated at the commencement of the French revolutionary wars in 1792:—

	Whites.	Free Blacks.	Slaves.
St. Domingo, in 1779, - - - - -	32,650	7,055	249,098
Martinico, in 1776, - - - - -	11,619	2,892	71,268
Guadaloupe, in 1779, - - - - -	13,261	1,382	85,327
St. Lucia, in 1776, - - - - -	2,397	1,050	10,752
Tobago, (suppose the same,) - - - - -	2,397	1,050	10,752
Cayenne, in 1780, - - - - -	1,358		10,539
	63,682	13,429	437,736

ENGLISH.

The population returns of the British West India Islands rest on the authority of Bryan Edwards, as stated in his history published in 1793:—

	Whites.	Blacks.
Jamaica, - - - - -	30,000	250,000
Barbadoes, - - - - -	16,167	62,115
Grenada, - - - - -	1,000	23,926
St. Vincent, - - - - -	1,450	11,853
Dominica, - - - - -	1,236	14,967
Antigua, - - - - -	2,590	37,808
Montserrat, - - - - -	1,300	10,000
Nevis, - - - - -	1,000	8,420
St. Christopher, - - - - -	1,900	20,435
Virgin Isles, - - - - -	1,200	9,000
Bahamas, - - - - -	2,000	2,241
Bermudas, - - - - -	5,462	4,919
	65,305	455,684

tinues this document, "has been able to interrupt the course of the projects formed to enkindle discord between the two nations. The treaty of Amiens had been negotiated amidst the clamours of a party in England, hostile to peace, and scarcely was it concluded, when it was the object of the bitterest censure. Soon after alarms were disseminated in that country; dangers were pretended, on which was established the necessity of such a peace establishment, as to be a permanent signal of new hostilities. At length, an unexpected message, all at once, terrifies England with imaginary armaments in France and Batavia; she supposes the existence of important discussions, which divided the two governments, while no such discussion was known to the French government. Immediately formidable armaments take place on the coast, and in the ports of Great Britain; the sea is covered with her ships of war; and it is in the midst of these preparations that the cabinet of London demands of France, the abrogation of a fundamental article of the treaty of Amiens. In vain did France consent to shut her eyes to the actual non-execution of the treaty of Amiens, from which England pretended to release herself; in vain was she willing to delay taking a definitive resolution, until Spain and Batavia, both of them contracting parties, could have manifested their disposition. In vain, in short, did she propose to request the mediation of the powers which had been invited to guarantee, and who in effect did guarantee the stipulation required to be abrogated. Every proposition was rejected, and the demands of England became more imperious and more absolute." But "it was not," continues the declaration, "in the principles of the French government to yield to menaces; it was not in their power to bend the majesty of the French people to laws prescribed to them with forms so haughty and so new. The government stopped at the limit traced out by its principles and its duties. The negotiation is interrupted, and we are ready to fight, if we be attacked. We shall, at least, fight to maintain the faith of treaties, and for the honour of the French name; and the result of this contest will be such as we have a right to expect from the justice of our cause, and the courage of our warriors."

This declaration was no sooner promulgated than all the French armies were put in motion. The army of Italy was strongly reinforced, and pushed forward a large detachment upon Tarentum, and the other strong posts on the Adriatic sea. While the French general, charged with the execution of these movements, published a proclamation, maintaining the necessity of France occupying these important positions,

so long as England, in contravention of the treaty of Amiens, retained possession of Malta.

On the side of Germany the French armies were no less active. During the protracted period of the negotiation, a considerable French army was assembled in Holland, and on the frontiers of Hanover; and no sooner had his majesty's declaration of war been laid before the British parliament, than the French general Mortier, advancing from his headquarters at Coeverdon, summoned the Hanoverian electorate to surrender to the republican army. In the attack on Hanover, Bonaparte formally professed that he should occupy that country merely as a pledge for the restoration of Malta, and endeavoured to cover this flagrant violation of the constitution and independence of the Germanic empire, by asserting, that it was merely for the purpose of compelling the King of England to maintain the peace of Amiens, that he ordered his army to occupy that portion of Germany, in which the present reigning family of England were peculiarly interested. Although it was impossible that the electorate could oppose any effectual stand against the immense power of France, the Duke of Cambridge was sent over from England, as commander-in-chief in that country, and proclamations were published in the name of his royal highness, and on the authority of the Hanoverian government, calling upon all the inhabitants, capable of bearing arms, to rally round the standard of their country. But these proclamations, although accompanied by a solemn pledge on the part of the Duke to share all the dangers, produced no important effect upon the people, who seemed more disposed to listen to the warning voice of the French general, than to the patriotic calls of a British prince. On the 26th of May, the invading army entered the town of Bentheim, where the Hanoverian garrison, consisting of an officer and thirty-six men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Two days after this, the French force passed the river Ems, at Mippen, and the following day, a body of ten thousand French troops entered the principality of Osnaburgh, which had been previously evacuated by the Hanoverians. General Walmoden, to whom the command of the Hanoverian troops was intrusted, having collected an army of eighteen thousand regulars, now determined to make a stand in his position, on the Hunte; expecting, in the mean time, to receive considerable assistance from General Hammerstein, who occupied the town of Diepholtz, with a formidable force of infantry, cavalry, and artillery. After the necessary preparations, a division of French infantry, under the command of General Schiner, and another of cavalry, led by General Nan-

souty, advancing to the Hunte, forced the passage of that river, and directed their march to Sublingen, with a view to cutting off whatever force might be stationed between that town and Diepholtz. This manœuvre so far succeeded as to oblige General Hammerstein to retreat during the night, and to take up his station at Borstoen. On the 1st of June, a smart skirmish took place between the Hanoverian rear-guard and the French advanced pickets, which was succeeded on the 2d by a severe cannonade, on the part of the electoral troops ; but General Drouet, advancing with a charge of cavalry, obliged them to retire. The Weser was now the last line of defence for the Hanoverian army, and the banks of that river were strongly planted with artillery ; but at the moment when General Mortier had advanced into the vicinity of the town of Nieubourg, the head-quarters of the Hanoverians, a deputation arrived from the civil and military authorities of Hanover, intreating him to suspend his march. With this request he consented to comply, on condition that the invaders should be put in possession of all the fortresses in the electorate, together with the arms, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy. It was further stipulated by this convention, which was signed at Sublingen, that the Hanoverian army should retire behind the Elbe, and engage not to serve against France, or her allies, during the war, or until regularly exchanged. On the 5th of June, the French advanced without further molestation, and took possession of the city of Hanover, where they found a prodigious quantity of artillery and ammunition. Besides the absolute value of the electorate as a conquest, which enabled the enemy to remount their cavalry, and recruit their drooping finances, they were now masters of the navigation of the Elbe and the Weser, and as had been foreseen, they hastened to improve this circumstance to their own advantage, and to the annoyance of their adversary. Being now in the immediate neighbourhood of the commercial Hanse towns of Ham-burgh and Bremen, the French generals were enabled to levy considerable sums of money on those opulent cities, under the shape of loans ; and while the continental powers patiently submitted to this outrageous violation of the German empire, no prospect presented itself of limiting their future exactions. Bonaparte, anxious to push the advantages he possessed to the utmost possible extent, issued a decree, prohibiting the navigation of the rivers Elbe and Weser by the vessels of British merchants, asserting, that as the fortune of war had given him the possession of the King of England's dominions in Hanover, it was not to be expected than an enemy's ships would be allowed to pass within reach of a French battery.

The British government, in answer to this reasoning, replied, that the conduct of France, in the invasion of the electorate, was an unauthorized and outrageous violation of the independence of the German empire ; that it would be an act of hostility in Germany, to permit British vessels to be fired at, or captured, when navigating in the ports and rivers of Germany ; and therefore (retaliating, in some degree, on the empire, for not having defended Hanover) measures were taken to enforce a rigorous blockade upon the mouths of the Elbe and the Weser, and to prevent the navigation of those rivers so long as British vessels were excluded from them. The Hanse towns were thus placed in a most deplorable situation. By the blockade of their harbours, all foreign trade was cut off, while the neighbourhood of the French armies placed them in perpetual danger of military violence and exaction. In this situation they addressed themselves to the King of Prussia, as guarantee and protector of the neutrality of the north of Germany ; but Frederick William, either entering into the views of France, or influenced by the consideration of its vast and resistless power, refused his interference, and thus abandoned all the smaller states of Germany to the mercy and discretion of the republic.

On the arrival of intelligence at the head-quarters of the French army, that his Britannic Majesty, as elector of Hanover, had refused to ratify the convention of Sublingen, General Mortier addressed a letter to Marshal Count Walmoden, the Hanoverian general, apprising him of this refusal, and of his consequent determination to re-commence the campaign, unless the marshal would consent to surrender his army, and allow them to be marched into France as prisoners of war. To which Count Walmoden replied, that his army preferred perishing with arms in their hands, rather than to submit to this humiliating proposal ; that they had already made sufficient sacrifices for their country ; and that they must now defend their own honour : the officer by whom this spirited answer was conveyed, was, however, empowered to state, that if any acceptable terms were offered, they would probably not be rejected. This intimation led to a negociation, which terminated in a convention, signed on the 5th of July, and by which it was stipulated, that the Hanoverian army should be totally disbanded, and return to their homes, upon their parole not to serve against France or her allies, until regularly exchanged ; and its artillery and military stores were all to be given up to the enemy. General Mortier, in his letter to the first consul, announcing the successful termination of the campaign, says, " It was only from generosity to an enemy im-

ploring clemency, that we granted these terms ; General Walmoden signed the capitulation with an afflicted heart ; and it is difficult to paint the situation of the fine regiment of the King of England's guards at dismounting."

The moment had now arrived, when the avowed system of France in her war with England must be developed and put in execution : her first care was to increase her strength, and replenish her treasury at the expense of weaker states, and finally to apply her whole collected strength and resources to the invasion and conquest of Great Britain. From the very commencement of the war, every preparation was made to carry into effect the menaced invasion of England. Independent of the grand fleet at Brest, which, it was presumed, was destined for the invasion of Ireland, an immense number of transports was ordered to be built and collected, with the greatest expedition, in the French ports. The idea that some thousands of gun-boats might force their way across the channel, in spite of the British navy, was universally received in France ; and in the course of the year, so astonishing were the exertions of the republicans in this department of their naval preparations, that a sufficient flotilla was assembled at Boulogne, to carry over any army that France might see proper to employ in this desperate enterprise. This menacing disposition, and the mighty preparations for carrying it into effect, were perhaps ultimately advantageous to Great Britain. The evident necessity of defending the country against invasion, obtained a ready consent to every plan which could be proposed for its defence ; and the vast reinforcements to its military strength, collected under this patriotic impulse, placed the nation on so proud a footing of security, that people no longer feared the visit of their invaders, but felt so conscious of their strength, as to wish the enemy to try an experiment, which would probably at one blow destroy the reputation, and annihilate the dominion and power of Bonaparte.

In this contest Great Britain fairly accepted the challenge thrown out by France, when her government vain-gloriously asserted, " with conscious pride, that England alone could not maintain a struggle against France."* The challenger soon found it necessary to call in the aid of auxiliary states, and to force the weaker powers by which she was surrounded to engage in her quarrel. Holland, contrary to her wishes, and in evident violation of her interests, as well as the Italian republic, were compelled to become parties with France, and

* View of the State of the French Republic, laid before the Legislative Body, Feb. 22, 1803.

while the commercial interests of the latter were severely injured, the former, as we have seen, had in the course of the year to deplore the loss of all her West Indian colonies. Spain and Portugal were likewise compelled to furnish pecuniary assistance to France in so open and extensive a manner, that it rested entirely with the policy or magnanimity of Great Britain, whether those kingdoms should not be considered as involved in direct acts of hostility. Independently of these measures, which the French government pursued as part of its war system ; a step was taken at the commencement of the contest, which had never before been resorted to among civilized nations, and which has always been protested against as an act of barbarity and injustice. It appeared from an article published in the *Moniteur*, the official organ of the French government, " that two English frigates had captured two merchant vessels in the bay of Audierne, without any previous declaration of war, and in manifest violation of the law of nations." In consequence of which, a decree, signed by the first consul, was issued, directing that " all the English, from the age of eighteen to sixty, or persons holding any commissions from his Britannic Majesty, who are at present in France, shall immediately be considered prisoners of war, to answer for those citizens of the republic who may have been arrested, and made prisoners, by the vessels or subjects of his Britannic Majesty, previous to any declaration of war." In virtue of this decree, all the nobility, commercial travellers, and others, subjects of his majesty the King of England, who had incautiously put themselves within the reach of Bonaparte in France, and who were engaged in travelling through any of those countries occupied by the French armies, were either shut up in prisons, or confined to particular places, as prisoners of war upon their parole, and not allowed to exceed the limits prescribed to them. And this flagitious violation of the laws of nations, and of natural hospitality, was further aggravated by a perfidious promise previously made to the English subjects, that they should enjoy the protection of the government after the departure of the British ambassador, as extensively as during his residence at Paris.

In Europe, the naval campaign of the present year was not distinguished by any very brilliant exploits. On the 14th of September, however, the port and town of Graville were successively attacked by Sir James Saumarez ; on which occasion the pier was demolished, and a number of vessels intended for the invasion of England, destroyed. On the same day, the town and fort of Dieppe were bombarded by Captain Owen, in the *Immortalite* frigate, with the *Theseus* and *Sul-*

phur bombs, under his command. The Dutch ports, from the Zandvoort, in the vicinity of Haarlem, to Scheveningen, were also severely bombarded on the 28th of September, and many vessels destroyed. These attacks, though not productive of any important consequences, were very properly made at this period ; and while England was threatened with invasion by a pigmy flotilla, it was politic to keep up the dread which her navy had inspired, and prove to the invaders that we were active and vigilant at every point.

In closing the history of one of the most memorable years in the annals of Europe, it may be proper shortly to advert to a singular negociation which took place at Warsaw, arising out of an overture made by the first consul to Louis XVIII. for the resignation of that monarch's right to the throne of France, and the particulars of which are thus related by Monsieur, brother to the king :—

“On the 26th of February, of the current year, (1803) a personage of prominent distinction, employed by high authority, waited on the King of France at Warsaw, and verbally made to his majesty, in terms the most respectful, but at the same time the most urgent, and, in the opinion of him who urged them, the most persuasive, the astonishing proposal to renounce the throne of France, and to require the same renunciation on the part of all the members of the house of Bourbon: the envoy moreover observed, that, as a price of this sacrifice, Bonaparte would secure indemnities to his majesty, and even a splendid establishment. His majesty, strongly animated by that sentiment which the hand of adversity is never able to obliterate from elevated souls, and which makes him cling as tenaciously to his rights as he does to the happiness of France, immediately wrote the following answer, which he delivered, on the 28th of February, to the person who was deputed to him :—

ANSWER OF THE KING.

“I am far from being inclined to confound M. Bonaparte with those who have preceded him. I think highly of his valour, and of his military talents. Neither do I feel ungrateful for many acts of his administration ; for whatever is done for the benefit of my people, shall always be dear to my heart. He is deceived, however, if he imagines that he can induce me to forego my claims, for otherwise he himself would confirm and establish them, could they be called in question, by the very step he has now taken.

“I cannot pretend to know what may be the intention of the Almighty respecting my race and myself, but I am well aware of the obligations imposed upon me by the rank to which he was pleased I should be born. As a christian, I shall continue to fulfil these obligations to my last breath. As a descendant of St. Louis, I shall endeavour to imitate his example by respecting myself—even in captivity and chains. As successor of Francis I. I shall at least aspire to say with him—*‘We have lost every thing but our honour.’*”

(Signed)

“LOUIS.”

“On the 2d of March, the king wrote to Monsieur, acquainting him with what had passed, and instructing him to make known the same to the princes of the blood who were in England, taking charge himself to inform such of them respecting it who do not reside in that country. On

the 22d of April, Monsieur called a meeting of the princes, who with equal alacrity and unanimity signed an adhesion to the answer of the king of the 28th of February."

The emissary employed on this singular mission was said to be the commandant De Meyer, an officer in the Prussian service, and engaged in this negociation by his Prussian Majesty, at the instance of the first consul. The overture left no doubt on the mind of persons of discernment, that Bonaparte, having determined to extinguish even the name of republic in France, aspired to the imperial purple, and the events of the following year gave to those conjectures the stamp of historical confirmation.

In reviewing the principal occurrences of the war, as developed within the present year, it will be admitted, that while Great Britain was prosecuting the contest, in the true spirit of open and legitimate hostility, the first belligerent proceedings of the enemy violated the acknowledged rights, and the long established law of nations. Contrary to the liberal principles upon which former wars had been conducted, and which were respected even by the revolutionary governments of France, the electorate of Hanover was immediately over-run by the devastating armies of the enemy. The neutrality of Germany was thus infringed, in direct opposition to existing engagements, and in defiance of those powers by which the execution of the treaty of Luneville was guaranteed. The faith of nations and the laws of hospitality were also most flagrantly violated in the detention of our unsuspecting countrymen in France; and the measures taken by that government to involve other countries in their quarrel, and to subject neutral states to the ruinous effects of war, form an aggregate of violence and injustice ill according with those lofty professions of "moderation," and scrupulous regard to "the maintenance of the faith of treaties," by which the French government, in their declaration of the 20th of May, professed to be actuated.

CHAPTER II.

BRITISH HISTORY: *State of Parties—Meeting of Parliament—Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Re-enactment of Military Law in Ireland—National Force—Indisposition of his Majesty—Sir John Wrottesley's Motion—Message from his Majesty, announcing the voluntary Offer of the Irish Militia to serve in Great Britain—Volunteer Consolidation Bill—Motion of Mr. Pitt on the Naval Defence of the Country—Mr. Fox's Motion for an Inquiry into the National Defence—The Budget—Change of Ministers—Motion for the Abolition of the Slave Trade, carried in the House of Commons—Rejected in the Lords—Permanent Military Force Bill—Corn Laws—Augmentation of the Civil List, and Discharge of the Incumbrances—Prorogation of Parliament.*

GREAT BRITAIN, menaced with invasion from without, and agitated by the intrigues of powerful and adverse parties within, presented, at this period, a singular and interesting object of contemplation. The organization of the various descriptions of military force, collected for the general defence and security of the empire, did not by any means occupy the exclusive attention of government. A system of blockade was promptly carried into execution, and the enemy, who had vain-gloriously held the language of menace, saw forces, collected for the purpose of intimidation or chastisement, confined to their own coasts, and the vessels by which the invaders were to be conveyed to England, compelled to navigate the shores of France, under the protection of land batteries and flying artillery. But notwithstanding these exertions, which enabled the country, at an early period of the war, to hurl defiance in the face of her enemy, and even to assail the assailants, the proceedings of ministers were exposed to much severity of censure, and a design was formed to remove them from their stations, and to place in their stead a new administration, composed of statesmen, more distinguished for the brilliancy of their talents, than for the harmony of their views, or the uniformity of their political principles.

The party in the senate most decidedly hostile to the existing administration, was the new opposition, led by Lord Grenville in the upper house of parliament, and by Mr. Windham in the house of commons. The whigs, or old opposition, though they had supported the treaty of Amiens, felt no cordiality towards a ministry, who had, as they conceived, again involved the country in an unnecessary war.—And the adherents of Mr. Pitt, relaxing that “constant, active, and zealous support,” which had been promised to Mr. Addington, were no longer to be classed among the supporters of the measures of his government. Against so formidable

a phalanx, no minister, however pure his intentions, or commanding his talents, could hope to oppose a successful resistance; and therefore, about the beginning of April, in the year 1803, and upon the eve of the war, Mr. Addington made a proposal to Mr. Pitt, the object of which was the return of the ex-minister to the official situation he formerly held in the administration. This negotiation had proceeded pretty nearly towards its close, when Mr. Pitt intimated, that in the general arrangement for a new administration, which he should feel it his duty to submit to his majesty, he should include the Lords Grenville and Spencer, with other noblemen and honourable personages, who had disapproved of every measure of Mr. Addington's government, and who were in effect adverse to the whole spirit and principle of his administration. With this proposal it was impossible that ministers should comply—the negotiation was at an end, and with it every prospect of future support to the cause of government, constituted as it at present was, from Mr. Pitt and his adherents.

In this state of parties, parliament assembled on the 22d of November, 1803. In the speech from the throne, his majesty, addressing himself to the two houses of parliament, said :

“Since I last met you in parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect those measures, which your wisdom had adopted for the defence of the united kingdom, and for the vigorous prosecution of the war. In these preparations I have been seconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if possible, strengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have shewn that the menaces of the enemy have only served to rouse their native hereditary spirit; and that all other considerations are lost in a general disposition to make those efforts and sacrifices which the honour and safety of the kingdom demand, at this important and critical juncture.” After congratulating parliament on the accession made to the colonial possessions of this country in the West Indies; and on the happy suppression of the rebellion in Ireland; and informing them that a convention had been concluded with the King of Sweden, for the purpose of adjusting the differences which had arisen with that power, his majesty proceeded thus:—“In the prosecution of the contest in which we are engaged, it shall be, as it has ever been, my first object, to execute as becomes me the great trust committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cause, it is my fixed determination, if the occasion should arise, to share their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our constitution, our religion, our laws, and our independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable spirit of my faithful subjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all those valuable interests which are involved in this momentous contest. Actuated by these sentiments, and humbly imploring the blessing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all just expectation, the enemy should elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruisers, and attempt to execute their presumptuous threat of invading our coasts, the consequence will be to their discomfiture, confusion, and disgrace; and that ours will not only be the glory of surmounting the present difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the solid and permanent

advantage, of fixing the safety and independence of the kingdom on the basis of acknowledged strength, the result of its own tried energy and resources."

The Marquis of Sligo moved the address in the upper house of parliament, and was seconded by the Earl of Limerick. They insisted strongly on the importance of unanimity, at a moment when we were obliged to contend with an overbearing and vindictive enemy, avowing, as his object, our destruction. On the present occasion no question was involved on the fitness or unfitness of ministers for the councils of their sovereign; the topics before the house were not matters of party consideration; they were, on the contrary, matters of a comprehensive, general, and important kind. One passage in the king's speech was noticed as deserving peculiar consideration, namely, his avowal to stand forward in defence of the honour of his crown, and the liberties and independence of his faithful people. To a communication of this nature, there was no heart so cold, so deadened to every generous feeling, as not to beat responsive. Well might his majesty rely on the zeal and services of his people. Should such a contingency ever arise, the whole population of the island would rush forward and interpose its myriads between his sacred person and danger: though an attack should be made by hosts gorged with the spoils and blood of Europe, the result would be, not only security, but triumph to our beloved sovereign, and those who had the happiness to live under his auspicious government. In these feelings the house so entirely acquiesced, that the address was carried without opposition.

In the house of commons, the address was proposed by the Honourable Cropley Ashley, seconded by Mr. Burland, and carried without any amendment being proposed. Mr. Fox adverted to the mediation of Russia, which, in the last session of parliament, Lord Hawkesbury did, as strongly as language could express, pledge ministers, as not only ready to accept if offered, but, if not offered, directly to solicit. Believing the noble secretary to have been sincere, it was naturally expected, in a speech from the throne, at the opening of a new session, and after such an interval had taken place, that his majesty would have referred to the subject and put the house in possession of the means of determining how far the negotiations were likely to lead to the result which was in view. In answer to these observations, the chancellor of the exchequer replied, that the offices of mediation had been offered by the court of Russia, and accepted with readiness and gratitude on the part of his majesty's servants; but although discussions of the greatest moment were in consequence commenced, yet

in their progress they did not assume such a shape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France.

The first subject of high importance which engaged the attention of parliament, arose out of a proposition of Mr. Secretary Yorke, to bring in a bill to continue two acts, the one for suspending the Habeas Corpus act in Ireland, and the other for the re-enactment of martial law in that country. He declared his reluctance to introduce the measures now proposed, although he was of opinion that no man, acquainted with the state of Ireland, could entertain a doubt of their necessity. He was sorry to be obliged to propose any measure that might trench upon the liberties of the subject, or on any of those blessings which this country so justly valued at so high a rate; "But," said Mr. Yorke, "it is the misfortune of the times in which we are destined to live, that we are not permitted to enjoy our lives, our liberties, or our possessions, without being daily called upon to sacrifice some part of our privileges in order to preserve the remainder—to sacrifice the best blood of the country in support of the contest in which we are engaged, and to abridge our liberties, in order to preserve the existence of liberty itself." The honourable secretary then proceeded to state a variety of grounds in order to demonstrate the necessity of adopting these measures. The insurrection in Dublin, in the month of July; the manner in which it was conducted; the atrocities which accompanied it; the intelligence of which government was in possession, and which afforded every reason to believe, notwithstanding the declaration of many of the rebels, and particularly of Emmett, their principal leader, that there did exist a connection between the conspirators in Ireland and the French government, through the medium of Irish traitors resident in France; all which circumstances supplied abundant materials to prove the necessity of adopting the measures now proposed for the sanction of parliament. He conceived it of the highest national importance, that government should not be left destitute of the powers necessary to meet any emergency; especially as it was well known, from what had already occurred, that the Irish government would not abuse the extensive powers that it was now proposed should be delegated to them.

Colonel Hutchinson succeeded Mr. Yorke, and dwelt with much feeling and eloquence on the state of Ireland. It was, he said, his intention to support the motion; but he acknowledged that he should have voted for the adoption of these measures with more satisfaction, if ministers had shewn a disposition to adopt a system of government in Ireland, more congenial to the wishes, and more conducive to the interests of

the people of that country. He disapproved of the postponement of the consideration of the Irish claims, on the pretext that the time was unfit. "I should be glad to know," said Colonel Hutchinson, "when, in the estimation of ministers, the proper time will arrive; for, from their conduct hitherto, it seems impossible to calculate; they have been ministers during peace, and during war; during rebellion, and after rebellion has been put down. They have in fact been nearly three years in power, and have gone through every variety of change and circumstance, and yet, to them, the time for considering the means of improving the condition of Ireland has never yet arrived."

On the second reading of the martial law bill, Mr. Elliot said, that on a subject of such magnitude and importance, he could never consent to act on the principle of implicit confidence in any government. As a conscientious representative of the people, he must be guided by facts, in acceding to, or opposing any legislative measure. At present the house had no facts to guide their judgment. He regarded an application to parliament for extraordinary powers, without stating any grounds whatever for the measure, as unwarrantable and unconstitutional. For the sake of justice, for the sake of policy, from regard to the dignity of the house, he conjured ministers not to precipitate the passing of this bill. The great benefit resulting from the union, he observed, had been described to be the freedom of the imperial parliament from the prejudices of a local legislature; but if the Irish were to experience only measures of coercion, if their interests were not to be gravely and impartially brought under the consideration of the legislature, they could never be expected to feel for this country that cordial attachment which was so infinitely desirable.

Lord Castlereagh admitted, that when martial law was enacted in 1799, two reports of a secret committee had been adduced to prove the necessity of the measure. But the expediency of such reports depended in a great degree upon circumstances. This mode of presenting information to the legislature and to the public might often be advantageous; occasions however might occur, when it would be highly impolitic, and even dangerous, to promulgate such reports. In such circumstances he thought his majesty's ministers were now placed. Government, he said, was now actively and successfully engaged in tracing out the remotest ramifications of the insurrection. He admitted that there was at present less visible danger, because the cause of loyalty had received a vast augmentation; but there were still many traitorous and malig-

nant spirits in Ireland, bent on projects of the most atrocious nature. To counteract their views, and to defeat their designs, the present bill, as a wise measure of precautionary power, appeared to him both politic and expedient.

In the house of lords, nearly the same course of argument was pursued, in discussing the bills for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus act, and for vesting government with the power of proclaiming martial law in Ireland, as in the lower house of parliament; and in both houses the bills passed into laws without producing a division in any stage of their progress.

In the proceedings of parliament during the early part of the present session, the opposition to ministers was not called into active exercise; nor had all the parties, of which that opposition was composed, yet appeared in array against the objects of their censure; but the time was now approaching when their attacks were to be conducted on a system of decided co-operation, and when the treasury bench itself would be carried by the weight of the hostile column.

The debate which arose on the 9th of December, on the motion of the secretary at war, to refer the army estimates to a committee of supply, embraced an extensive view of the general defence of the country. The force proposed to be voted for the public service, amounted, for guards and garrisons in the united kingdom, to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand men. The embodied militia for Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to one hundred and ten thousand. And the volunteer corps, to upwards of four hundred thousand rank and file in the united kingdom. For the volunteer force of the country, it was proposed to vote the sum of seven hundred and thirty thousand pounds for one year; of this description of force, the honourable gentleman stated, that about forty-five thousand served without pay, including forty-two thousand five hundred infantry, and two thousand five hundred cavalry.

The question being put upon the first resolution, Mr. Windham rose, and in a long and well-combined speech, attacked the whole plan of government. He could not consider the present topic without noticing the general conduct of administration; his opinion of which he could not better describe than in some lines which gentlemen might have seen written on the windows of inns, where the writer, speaking of the faults of men and women, concluded, most ungenerously and ungalantly, that

“ ——— Men have many faults; poor women have but two:
There’s nothing good they say, nor nothing right they do.”

These lines, however bad the poetry, and however false the

sentiment in its original application, were, he was sorry to say, perfectly descriptive of his opinion of his majesty's present ministers. The army of reserve, he asserted, had cost, in bounty money alone, one million pounds sterling, not granted by parliament, but levied in a manner most unequal in its operation, and most incommodious to the public. The expense of the volunteers was estimated at about one million to government, and an equal sum to themselves. Hence these two descriptions of force had been attended with an expense to the nation of about three millions. Taking the population of the united kingdom at about fifteen millions, he should expect our military establishment to amount to about four hundred thousand ; but it far exceeded this number ; it amounted to half a million at least. This was a splendid armament, and, in point of numbers, more than adequate to repel any force which the enemy could bring against us. But it was proper to inquire, of what this fabric consisted ? How much of it was real masonry, and what portion of it was mere lath and plaster ?—not distinguishable perhaps by the common eye, from the solid structure, and seeming to be a continuation of the same front, but no more the same in reality, than one of the new temporary barracks, of which they might expect to hear so much soon, was to be considered as a building of the same sort as St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey. Mr. Windham contended, that though men were never more eager to come forward, the zeal and spirit of the country had not been properly directed. It was absurd, he said, to train volunteers to act with troops of the line. An officer, unless secure of his troops, would not attempt any difficult enterprise. He was of opinion, that the volunteers, instead of being disciplined to act in the line, should be employed to hover about the foe, in order, in this manner, the more effectually to harass and annoy him ; and he illustrated the success with which this mode of attack might be conducted, by the capture of General Burgoyne. With respect to the military strength of the kingdom, he maintained, that if the volunteers, the militia, and the army of reserve, except the few that had entered for general service, were deducted from the sum total, the effective force of the country would appear to be by no means considerable. The regular army, in proportion to its numbers, he considered as efficient a military body as any troops in the world. In the militia too there were many good troops, possessed of every requisite but experience. With respect to the army of reserve, it could not at present be considered as an efficient military force, whatever claim time might give it to that designation. And as to the four hundred thousand volunteers, he must say, that these

corps would be for ever unsuited to the sort of service on which it was intended to employ them. From this general view of the army that had been created, it appeared to him, that the means which the population, spirit, and disposition of the country afforded, had been grossly abused ; for, in fact, the five thousand men who had entered from the army of reserve for general service, were to be regarded as the only real accession to the effective force of the country. Having thus detailed his objections to what a great philosopher termed the living instruments of our defence, the inanimate instruments of security must not be overlooked. Under this head Mr. Windham ranged the erection of military works, and strongly recommended Martello towers in preference to redoubts. He complained that for the defence of the whole county of Norfolk, only sixteen pieces of cannon and one regiment of militia had been provided ; though it was well known that the town of Yarmouth was the defence of the road of Yarmouth, and consequently of the coast to the north of England. This he regarded as no very favourable specimen of a judicious system of defence ; since it thus appeared, notwithstanding their four or five hundred thousand men, that ministers had left the kingdom in many places in a state of great insecurity. He next proceeded to remark upon the impropriety of supplying the army of reserve by substitutes, and concluded by declaring, that the present ministers ought no longer to be intrusted with the administration of our public affairs.

Mr. Secretary Yorke replied to Mr. Windham, and was followed by Mr. Pitt, who, in a very spirited and argumentative manner, defended the efficiency of the volunteer system. One great object of Mr. Pitt's speech was to demonstrate the capability of improvement of which the volunteer corps were susceptible ; and he took occasion to suggest those means which appeared to him best calculated to advance that object. He looked upon the regular army as the great rallying point to which the volunteers must have recourse, by whose example they must be regulated, and by whose experience they must be guided. Of the amount of the volunteer force he saw no reason to complain ; but in their distribution he could have wished that their numbers had been greater in the more exposed parts of the maritime coast. The object he had more immediately in view, was to render this force, the existence of which was absolutely necessary, not merely a nominal force, but an efficient and permanent army. For this purpose, he was desirous that all the volunteer companies should be brought to act in battalions, and whenever it could be accomplished, in brigades. He also proposed, to give to every

battalion the assistance of a field-officer, and an adjutant ; such officers still retaining their rank and pay in the army. With respect to the number of days for which the corps should be exercised, he was of opinion that about fifty days would be sufficient for the next year, and forty for each succeeding year. The expense arising from the field-officers and adjutants, he estimated at about one hundred and sixty thousand pounds ; and that of the allowance to such volunteers as might, from their circumstances, be obliged to accept of pay, at between three and four hundred thousand more, making an aggregate of about five hundred thousand pounds. And if, for that sum, a force of nearly four hundred thousand men could be maintained in gradual and efficient improvement, he affirmed, that this would be the cheapest item in the whole of the public expenditure. Looking, as we ought to look, to a protracted contest, we ought to provide the means for maintaining it for a length of time. It should be the great object of the government to prevent the spirit of the volunteers from languishing, lest the country should be suddenly called upon to meet the long meditated attack, without being duly prepared for resistance. Perhaps something like the compulsory act of last session might be adopted during the war, in order to keep up the number, and the punctual attendance of the volunteers, and to preserve that subordination, which is essential to progressive improvement. As to the sea fencibles, he looked upon them as one of the most valuable parts of our force ; and this description of service brought into activity a body of men, who being chiefly pilots and fishermen, could neither be employed in the navy, nor permanently taken from their families. Declining to enter into any wider field of discussion, Mr. Pitt concluded by stating, that at the proper time he should propose the resolutions to which he had alluded.

Lord Castlereagh, in an animated reply to the objections urged by Mr. Windham against the army of reserve and the volunteer system, said, that out of the thirty-five thousand men already raised for the army of reserve, seven thousand five hundred had entered for general service. This measure, therefore, which had been described as so fatal to the recruiting service, had, in the short space of two months, produced nearly as many men for the general service as had been obtained in the preceding year by the ordinary mode of recruiting. As to the objection against the volunteer service, there was nothing to prevent the members of any volunteer corps from entering into the militia, or the regular army ; and it was an ascertained fact, that any description of military duty ripened and prepared the feelings of men for general service.

The military force of the united kingdom, his lordship observed, was naturally divided into troops on permanent pay, and those liable to service in the event of invasion. Of the first description, there were in Great Britain, and in the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, one hundred and thirty thousand men; and in Ireland, fifty thousand men; making in the whole, one hundred and eighty thousand rank and file. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland, amounted to eighty-four thousand men; the regular force, to ninety-six thousand; of which twenty-seven thousand were for limited service; and sixty-nine thousand, at this moment, disposable for general service. The next grand feature of our military strength consisted in the volunteer force,* of which three hundred and forty thousand men, accepted and arrayed, were at present in Great Britain; and in Ireland, it amounted to seventy thousand; making a total of four hundred and ten thousand in rank and file, in the united kingdom; to which were to be added, twenty-five thousand sea fencibles. The total amount of the whole military force, at this crisis, stood therefore as follows:—

Militia, in Great Britain and Ireland,	- - -	84,000
Regular force, for general service,	- - -	69,000
Regular force, for limited service,	- - -	27,000
Volunteer force, in Great Britain,	- - -	340,000
Volunteer force, in Ireland,	- - -	70,000
Sea fencibles,	- - -	25,000
Total, rank and file,	- - -	615,000

* LIST of Yeomanry and Volunteer Corps.

<i>In Great Britain.</i>			<i>In Ireland.</i>		
Effective rank and file,	341,687		Captains,	- - -	1,126
Field-officers,	1,246		Subalterns,	- - -	2,206
Captains,	4,472		Sergeants,	- - -	3,573
Subalterns,	9,918		Drummers, &c.	- - -	1,003
Staff-officers,	1,100		Rank and file, cavalry,		10,277
Sergeants, Drummers, &c.	21,520		Rank and file, infantry,		64,756
	379,943				82,941

Whitehall, Dec. 9, 1803.

REGINALD POLE CAREW.

RETURN of the Royal Army of Reserve.

	<i>No of men.</i>	<i>Rejected.</i>	<i>Dead.</i>	<i>Deserted.</i>	<i>Effective, and pres. incl. cath.</i>	<i>No. due.</i>
Eng. & Wales,	26,739	952	178	1,129	24,480	9,004
Scotland,	4,435	58	3	271	4,103	1,897
Ireland,	6,189			610	5,579	4,522
	37,363	1,010	181	2,010	34,162	15,423

Inspector-General's Office, Dec. 1803.

(Signed)

G. HEWITT, Lieut.-General.

If to this number officers of every description were added, the whole amount of our military force, exclusive of various auxiliary means of defence, would not be less than seven hundred thousand men ! The more regular part of this army might be considered as unconditionally disposable for active service ; since the other description of force could be employed to relieve it from those detached services, which, in general, occasion so serious a deduction from the fighting men of an army. Without entering into a minute detail of the several classes of ships, of which the navy was at present composed, his lordship supposed it would be deemed sufficient to state to the committee, that the number of ships of war amounted to four hundred and sixty nine ; and that, in aid of the regular navy, and for the purpose of defending the coast, an armed flotilla, consisting of eight hundred craft of all descriptions, was nearly completed. In noticing the exertions of the ordnance department, in the fitting out of the present armament, his lordship stated, that since the commencement of hostilities, there had been issued three hundred and twelve thousand muskets, sixteen thousand pistols, and seventy-seven thousand pikes. The field-train also, in Great Britain alone, was increased from three hundred and fifty-six to four hundred and sixty pieces of ordnance, completely appointed, and brigaded under experienced officers ; and the stores, in all the various branches of the public service, had been nearly doubled. His lordship, in conclusion, expressed his full concurrence with Mr. Pitt in the opinion, that the apparent abandonment of invasion, or even the failure of any attempt on our coast, should never induce us to relax in our vigilance, or in our exertions. True wisdom left us no alternative, but to place the security of these realms on such a basis of internal strength, as should for ever put to rest the question of invasion.

Mr. Fox very much applauded the zeal and patriotism of the volunteers, but he could never bring himself to believe, that they were susceptible of any thing like the efficiency of a regular force. If the rumour of invasion (which he conceived was not so likely to be attempted, and if attempted, not so practicable as was generally imagined) should subside, the whole of the regular army ought by no means to be employed on foreign expeditions, and the safety of the empire intrusted to the volunteers. For, if invasion, under such circumstances, were attempted, there would indeed be serious grounds of apprehension and alarm.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose after Mr. Fox, and, in reply to the want of confidence in the volunteers, expressed by that honourable gentleman, stated the opinion of Lord

Moira, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, and of Lord Cathcart, the present commander-in-chief in Ireland. These great military authorities were so highly satisfied with the steadiness and discipline of the volunteers of Edinburgh and of Dublin, that they had given them an unconditional assurance, that they would conduct them with confidence against the enemy.

On the 12th of December, Mr. Hobhouse appeared at the bar of the house, with the report of the committee on the army estimates, when, after an animated discussion, in which Colonel Crawford took a leading part, the resolutions of the committee were severally put and agreed to. No other business, coming within the range of general history, occupied the attention of either house of parliament up to the 20th of December, on which day an adjournment took place to the 1st of February.

During the parliamentary recess, the opponents of administration were engaged in unceasing endeavours to form a systematic co-operation, for the purpose of displacing the existing servants of the crown; and before the meeting of parliament, it was publicly, and with the appearance of authority, announced, that Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham, had agreed on a plan of concert, for effectuating that intention; and it was more than intimated, that their operations would be seconded and promoted by Mr. Pitt. While the certainty of a coalition, and the probable course of political discussion to be pursued, deeply engaged the public attention, a new and unexpected event arose, which, by its predominant interest, seemed for a while to damp, and almost to extinguish the ardour which the intended attack on ministers had created.

On the 14th of February, it was publicly announced, by an official bulletin, issued from the palace of St. James's, that, on that day, his majesty was much indisposed; and a succession of similar notices left little doubt of the serious nature of the complaint. The alarm and consternation thus excited throughout the metropolis, and the whole empire, cannot be expressed. The dreadful visitation of 1789 was present to every mind. The disquietudes of that period, and the height to which the differences of opinion, both in parliament, and in the public mind, had proceeded, on the mode to be adopted for supplying the temporary suspension of the executive branch of the constitution, were recollected with increased dismay and apprehension. No provision had been made by the wisdom of parliament on that occasion, or on the more recent alarm in 1801, to meet the inconveniences necessarily attendant on a similar calamity, and the present portentous situation of the

country seemed to demand the constant and unremitting exercise of the functions of majesty. On the 27th of February, twelve days after the notification of his majesty's illness, the first bulletin appeared, which could be said to hold out any prospect of its favourable or speedy termination. This consolatory information was followed, on the 29th, by the declarations in parliament of the chancellor of the exchequer, "that there was no necessary suspension of the royal functions;" but this assertion was deemed unsatisfactory. And it was not till the 9th of March, that the apprehensions of a loyal and affectionate people were dissipated, by the assurance of the lord chancellor, given in his place, in the upper house of parliament, "that he had conceived it proper and necessary to have a personal interview with the sovereign, at which due discussion had taken place with respect to the bills submitted for the royal assent; and he had no hesitation to aver, that the result of all that took place on that occasion, fully justified him in announcing his majesty's assent to the bills specified in the royal commission." This communication was received with general joy throughout the country, and the recovery of his majesty was hailed as a national blessing, in the midst of the numerous and weighty difficulties in which the empire was, at the present moment, involved.

During this period, the conflicts of parties had not subsided, and motions were made, and others announced as in preparation, which were likely to try to the utmost the strength of government. Some of the earliest of these efforts related to Ireland. Admiral Berkeley had, before the recess, given notice of his intention to move for certain papers relative to the late insurrection in Ireland, for the purpose of exculpating his relation, General Fox, the commander of the forces, from all blame on that occasion; but ministers having given him the most explicit assurances, that they never intended to criminate that officer, or to impute to him any negligence on that unhappy occasion, he waved his intended motion.

On the seventh of March, Sir John Wrottesley made a motion for the house to resolve itself into a committee, to inquire into the conduct of the Irish government relative to the insurrection of the 23d of July, and the previous conduct of the Irish government, so far as related to the insurrection. This motion was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Earl Temple, Mr. Windham, General Tarleton, Dr. Lawrence, Lord de Belaquiere, and Mr. Grey; and opposed by Lord Castle-reagh, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Dawson, Mr. Secretary Yorke, Mr. Dallas, the Attorney General, Mr. Tierney, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Colonel Hutchinson, on the ground

that the intent of the motion was to attack Lord Hardwicke, at a time when his whole attention was occupied in the administration of the affairs of Ireland. The debate, which was conducted with great animation, and some degree of asperity, was protracted till near five o'clock on the following morning, when, on a division of the house, the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and seventy-eight to eighty-two voices.

An act of justice, not only unresisted, but even called for by the general opponents of administration, took place in the course of the present session of parliament, by an act, settling the sum of twelve hundred pounds per ann. on the family of Lord Kilwarden, the illustrious victim of the 23d of July. By this act, eight hundred a year was settled upon his widow for life, and after her death upon her son, bearing the title of Lord Kilwarden; and four hundred a year on the two daughters of the deceased chief justice; the annuity to commence from the memorable night of their unfortunate parent's massacre.

Although the restriction of the issues of cash by the bank of Ireland had generally been regarded as a measure necessarily resulting from the restriction on the bank of England, yet, when this subject was submitted to the house of commons, on the 13th of February, it occasioned an animated debate, and called forth a maiden speech from Lord Henry Petty, eldest son of the Marquis of Lansdowne, in which his lordship displayed considerable talents, both as a parliamentary speaker, and a public financier.

On the 26th of March, the chancellor of the exchequer presented a message from his majesty, announcing a voluntary offer of the Irish militia to extend their services to Great Britain, expressed in the following terms:—

G. R.

“His majesty thinks proper to acquaint the house of commons, that the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, of the several regiments of the militia of Ireland, have made a voluntary tender of their services, to be employed in Great Britain during the war. His majesty has received with great satisfaction this striking proof of their affection and attachment towards his person and government, and of their patriotic zeal for the general interests of his united kingdom; and conceiving that his being enabled to avail himself of this distinguished instance of public spirit may be attended with the most important advantages at the present conjuncture, he recommends it to his faithful commons, to adopt such regulations as may enable him to accept the services of such parts of the militia forces of Ireland as may voluntarily offer their services to be employed in Great Britain, for such time, and to such extent, as to the wisdom of parliament may seem expedient.”

Two days after the delivery of this message, an address, grounded on its recommendation, was moved by Mr. Yorke; and bills ultimately passed both houses of parliament, to ena-

ble his majesty to accept the services of the Irish militia, and to raise ten thousand additional militia in Ireland.

While these measures were proceeding in their respective stages, a systematic attack on the ministry was pursued by all the parties in opposition, through the medium of investigations on the military and naval affairs of the empire. This opposition was most particularly displayed in the progress of a bill to explain, amend, and consolidate the provisions contained in the general acts relative to the yeomanry and volunteer corps of the united kingdom,* and Mr. Secretary Yorke, on moving for leave to bring in this bill, explained its scope and object. In introducing this measure, he deprecated all party animosity in the discussion of the question, and explained, that the concern of his majesty's ministers was, in the first place, to set at rest the question that had been entertained, relative to the powers of volunteers to resign at their pleasure; and secondly, to vest the appointment of volunteer officers in the crown, and not in the corps themselves. After pointing out a variety of alterations which he proposed in the manner of granting the exemptions, he submitted to the assembly, whether it was not better, under existing circumstances, to continue the volunteer system, even with all its necessary defects, than to abandon it, in order to find out some other kind of defence, that might indeed sound better in theory, but which would turn out much worse in practice. The progress of this bill through the house of commons occasioned several animated debates, and several divisions, in which the majorities were in general flattering to ministers. In the lords, the bill encountered a warm opposition, particularly from Lords Grenville and Spencer, who proposed several amendments, which were rejected by considerable majorities. In the course of the discussions, the Earl of Suffolk moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the defence of the country, but the proposition was negatived without a division, and the volunteer consolidation bill was finally enacted.

The course of debate on the volunteer bill was interrupted by a motion of which Mr. Pitt had before given notice, on a subject of much higher interest—the naval defence of the country; a question which was expected more than any other to try the strength of ministry, and even to shake their power to its foundation. This motion was introduced on the 15th

* A short time before the introduction of this bill, the Court of King's Bench, contrary to the opinion of his majesty's attorney-general, had decided that a volunteer was at liberty to resign whenever he might think proper.

of March, and Mr. Pitt began by expressing his expectation, that part of the documents which it was his intention to call for, would be granted by ministers without resistance. His first motion, he said, would be for an address, requesting that his majesty would order to be laid before parliament, an account of the number of ships of the line, and smaller vessels, in commission on the 31st of December, 1793, on the 30th of September, 1801, and on the 31st of December, 1803, specifying the service in which they were respectively employed. He made his motion from a conviction, that if the papers were granted, it would appear that the number of that description of our naval force, fit to repel the actual attempts of the enemy, was, at the present moment, much inferior, and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any period in former times. If these documents were granted, his next motion would be for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given by the lords of the admiralty, in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with respect to the number of gun vessels to be built, distinguishing the time at which each contract was made, the period in which it was to be brought to a conclusion, and the amount of the sum to be paid for its performance. This account would show the opinion of the lords of the admiralty on the subject, and would also afford the means of comparing our naval strength in this respect, as it actually existed, with what it was in former instances, and tend most essentially to promote that end for which we could not be too zealous in our wishes—the security of the country. Mr. Pitt said, that since the present lords of the admiralty came into office, only two ships of the line had been contracted for in the merchant's yards, and his next motion should therefore be, that there be laid before the house a list of such ships as had been built in the king's yards in 1793, and in 1801. On the subject of manning the navy, he observed, that in the former war we set out with sixteen thousand men, but in the course of the year they were increased to the number of seventy-five thousand, including marines. In the present war we started with fifty thousand men, and had all the great advantages arising from an unprecedented prosperity of trade and commerce, and yet at the end of the year our naval force did not exceed eighty-six thousand men. Thus in the first year of the former war, we had an increase of sixty thousand seamen, and in the first year of the present war, an augmentation of only thirty-six thousand.

Mr. Tierney, treasurer of the navy, expressed his surprise, that a motion of inquiry, tending to a censure of the admiralty, should be proposed just at a time when all the enemy's

ports were sealed up, our commerce protected in every direction, and our trade prosperous in an unexampled degree ; and that a motion with such an object should proceed from a right honourable gentleman, who, at no remote period, had been unbounded in his eulogiums on the capacity and talents of the Earl St. Vincent, whom he had described as the only person fitted for the situation of the first lord of the admiralty. Mr. Tierney objected strongly to the production of the papers required, and was at a loss to conceive how the measure could, for a single instant, be entertained by the house, when no cause, no single fact, was brought forward to support it ; when every possible energy pervaded that branch of the public service over which the noble lord presided ; when naval skill, vigilance, and activity, were displayed in every quarter, and when the best officers were employed in every direction, with the highest honour to themselves, and the most decided advantage to their country. Mr. Tierney then proceeded to an elaborate statement of the naval means of the country, both for defence and for attack, and concluded by declaring his readiness to grant two of the papers required, but to resist the production of the others.

Mr. Wilberforce felt himself impelled, by a sense of public duty, to support Mr. Pitt's motions, while Mr. Sheridan, in a very brilliant speech, advocated the cause of ministers.

Mr. Fox fully concurred in the praise bestowed upon Earl St. Vincent ; but ministers, he said, had only two courses that they could with propriety pursue, either to say that no case whatever had been made out, and on that ground to refuse the papers altogether ; or to produce all the papers that could reasonably be asked for, and upon the consideration of those documents, to call for the censure or acquittal of the house. But the line of conduct they had taken did neither the one nor the other. By granting some papers and refusing others, they admitted enough to countenance the supposition of something wrong in the naval administration, and did not go far enough to let that suspicion be wiped away.

The debate was continued for several hours, and turned in a great measure upon the question, whether it would be more demonstrative of high consideration for Earl St. Vincent, to vote for or against the motion submitted to the house by Mr. Pitt. The chancellor of the exchequer, and several other members spoke against the motion ; and Sir William Curtis, in answer to a charge that the trade of the country was neglected, declared that it was never so well protected as at the present moment. On a division, the numbers were, for Mr. Pitt's motion, one hundred and thirty ; against it, two

hundred and one ; constituting a majority for its rejection of seventy-one voices.

Another measure, connected with the defence of the country, which occasioned very animated debates, and called forth all the strength of the rival parties in parliament, was a motion made by Mr. Fox on the 23d of April, for the appointment of a committee of the whole house, to whom should be confided the revisal of the several bills for the defence of the country, with instructions to consider of such further measures as might be necessary to make that defence more complete and permanent. As the object of this motion was avowedly to displace the ministers, much of the debate turned on subjects connected with that event. The conduct of administration was defended by Mr. Secretary Yorke, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Vansittart, Sir William Pulteney, the Attorney-general, and Mr. Tierney ; and censured by Mr. Windham, Mr. Pitt, and several other members of the coalesced opposition. Mr. Pitt, in a speech of considerable length, made a violent attack on ministers, affirming, that after twelve months of war, preceded by a peace which, by their own confession, was a mere notice of that war, they had brought forward nothing in which there had not been a variety of contradictions in the plans, repugnances in the measures, and imbecility in the execution. At a late hour the house divided, when there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion two hundred and four ; against it, two hundred and fifty-six voices.

Two nights afterwards Mr. Pitt opposed the motion for the speaker leaving the chair, that the house might go into a committee on the bill for suspending the operation of the army of reserve act ; on which occasion the ministerial majority was reduced to thirty-seven, the members being two hundred and forty, to two hundred and three voices.

Ministers, finding it impossible to conduct the business of the country against such an overwhelming opposition, came to the resolution of making a tender of their resignations to the sovereign. In the mean time, the Marquis of Stafford gave notice of a motion in the house of lords, similar to that which Mr. Fox had so recently made in the other house of parliament. But, on the 30th of April, the order of the day having been read for the motion of the Marquis of Stafford, Lord Hawkesbury rose in considerable agitation, and intreated the noble marquis to postpone the discussion, pledging his character, both as a minister and a lord of parliament, that the reasons by which he was induced to make this application were sufficiently cogent, if known to the

noble marquis, to gain his ready acquiescence; they were, however, of that delicate nature, that he was restrained by a sense of duty from disclosing them. The Marquis of Stafford, under these circumstances, agreed to postpone his intended motion.

On the same day, in the house of commons, Mr. Addington opened the budget of the year. The chancellor of the exchequer expatiated on the advantages which had already been found to result from the system of preventing an augmentation of the national debt, by raising the principal part of the supplies within the year. He now entered into a very detailed statement, to shew that the war taxes, which he had calculated last year at only nine millions, would probably produce in future not less than twelve millions and a half: and that the permanent taxes would continue as productive as in former years. Among the ways and means, he proposed to add a million a year to the war taxes, by increasing the duty on wine, from twelve to twenty pounds per ton, and by laying a duty of twelve and three quarters on all imports, except tea, wine, and cotton-wool. The produce of the consolidated fund he should reckon at five millions, instead of six and a half, at which he had before calculated it, in addition to which he should propose a loan of ten millions, and a vote of credit of two millions and a half. The interest of the loan, and the one per cent. for its extinction, would amount, with the charges of management, to about seven hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds; to meet which, he should propose an alteration in the stamp duties, which would give an addition of eight hundred thousand pounds annually. After again adverting to the advantages of his system of finance, he concluded by proposing his resolutions, which were agreed to in the committee.*

* NATIONAL FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1804.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	10,419,580	16	11	7,179,620	17	1
Exercise, - - -	19,588,277	18	3 $\frac{3}{4}$	17,975,373	19	11
Stamps, - - -	3,436,067	1	3	3,177,604	12	6
Land & Assessed Taxes, -	5,776,072	15	0 $\frac{3}{4}$	5,309,699	8	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Post-Office, - - -	1,273,878	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	895,000	0	0
Miscel. Permanent Taxes, -	142,334	17	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	129,581	13	6
Hered. Revenue, - - -	120,824	5	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	88,698	19	10
Extraord. Resources, - -	2,003,759	10	4 $\frac{1}{4}$	2,001,544	12	7 $\frac{1}{4}$
Loans, - - -	11,950,000	0	0	11,950,000	0	0
Grand Total, —	154,710,795	8	0	48,707,124	3	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

The intimation given by Lord Hawkesbury in the upper house of parliament, on the 30th of April, was followed by the immediate resignation of a part of the existing administration; and on the 3d of the following month, a communication from his majesty was made to Mr. Pitt, through the medium of the lord chancellor. The elevated office of prime minister was at this time offered to Mr. Pitt; but the tender is reported to have been made with express stipulations against the revival of the catholic question, and against the admission into the cabinet of the distinguished leader of the old opposition. On the 7th of May, the appointed interview took place between his majesty and Mr. Pitt, upon which occasion the king is said to have expressed no objection to Lord Grenville, Earl Spencer, Mr. Windham, or indeed to any of their friends, with one exception; and upon this point, it was stated, his majesty's resolution was unalterably fixed. Mr. Pitt hastened to communicate the result of his interview with the king, to Lord Grenville; on which his lordship observed, that unless Mr. Fox were included in the new administration, and without a complete abandonment of the principal of exclusion, not a single member of the new opposition could accede to the ministerial arrangements. Mr. Fox, actuated by the most magnanimous and disinterested motives, and losing sight of all personal considerations, professed his desire to see his majesty surrounded, at the present crisis, by a strong administration, and urged the members of the old and the new opposition, not to be influenced by any feeling or partiality towards him, but to consult only the good of their country. Notwithstanding this liberal and disinterested advice, many of the former friends and colleagues of Mr. Pitt refused to accept of power without the support of the official co-operation of Mr. Fox; conceiving that much mischief had already resulted to the state "from placing the great offices of government in weak and incapable

SUPPLIES GRANTED BY PARLIAMENT for the Year 1804.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Navy, - - - - -	12,350,606	7	6
Army, - - - - -	12,993,625	4	1
Militia and Fencible Corps, - - - - -	6,159,114	2	11
Ordnance, - - - - -	3,737,091	4	6
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	4,217,295	14	8½
Ditto Extra, - - - - -	2,500,000	0	0
Rechequer Bills, - - - - -	11,000,000	0	0
Civil List, - - - - -	591,842	3	10½
Additional, annual, to his majesty, - - -	60,000	0	0

Total of Supply—£53,609,574 17 6½

hands ; and that no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs could exist, but by uniting in the public service as large a proportion as possible of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception.* Mr. Pitt, in expressing his views on this point in the house of commons, some days after the formation of the new administration, said, the choice of ministers rested wholly with the crown. This was one of the essential and fundamental points of our monarchical constitution. With reference to Lord Grenville, and several other persons for whom he had great affection and esteem, he expressed his regret that they had declined the assistance and co-operation which he had wished to obtain ; but he doubted whether the admission of Mr. Fox into the cabinet would, at the same time that it might communicate energy to his majesty's councils, contribute to produce that decided unity of operation which appeared to be so extremely desirable. An union of elements so discordant might, he conceived, have produced an effect very different from what was hoped and intended.

The peremptory refusal of Lords Grenville, Minto, Fitzwilliam, Carlisle, and Spencer, and of Mr. Windham, Mr. Grenville, and others, to accept any situation in the new government, proved extremely embarrassing to Mr. Pitt. In this emergency he was obliged to court the assistance of those whom he had so lately stigmatized as the imbecile executors of their own contradictory and repugnant measures ; and in forming a cabinet of eleven persons, he was under the necessity of assigning six of the seats to members of the late administration. The Duke of Portland continued lord president ; Lord Eldon, chancellor ; the Earl of Westmoreland, lord privy seal ; the Earl of Chatham, master of the ordnance ; and Lord Castlereagh, president of the board of control for India affairs. Lord Hawkesbury also continued in the cabinet, although he changed his office of secretary of state, from the foreign to the home department. In this new arrangement, Mr. Pitt was constituted first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, in the place of Mr. Addington ; Lord Melville, first lord of the admiralty, which office had been held by Earl St. Vincent ; Lord Harrowby, secretary for foreign affairs, vacant by the removal of Lord Hawkesbury ; Earl Camden, secretary at war and colonies, *vice* Lord Hobart ; and Lord Mulgrave, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, with a seat in the cabinet, vacated by the resignation

* Lord Grenville's Letter to Mr. Pitt, dated May 8, 1804.

of Lord Pelham. The alterations in the different public offices were,

The Right Hon. Wm. Dundas, secretary at war,	<i>vice</i> Mr. Bragge ;
Right Hon. Geo. Canning, treasurer of the navy,	<i>vice</i> Mr. Tierney ;
Right Hon. Geo. Rose,	} joint paymasters } Mr. Steele,
Right Hon. Lord C. Somerset,	
Duke of Montrose, joint post-master-general,	<i>vice</i> Lord Auckland ;
William Huskisson, Esq.	} secretaries to the } Mr. Vansittart,
Wm. Sturges Bourne, Esq.	
	} treasury, <i>vice</i> } Mr. Sargent.

The government of Ireland, and the law departments in both countries, continued unchanged.

Any predilections which might be entertained in favour of the new administration, were considerably damped by the evident strength of the certain opposition with which it was to be encountered, and by the probability that Mr. Addington and his party would assist to swell the ranks of the adversaries of Mr. Pitt, as he had helped to strengthen the opposition formed against them. The ex-minister however had disclosed no such intentions. His position, indeed, was most enviable ; his entry into office was a sacrifice, and his going out a triumph. With respect to the character of his administration, very opposite opinions had been entertained. A mild and constitutional exercise of power secured it the approbation of a very considerable number of independent supporters, while the advocates for public energy loudly expressed their disapprobation of a system of government which they conceived to be inadequate to the extraordinary exigencies of the times. By a kind of paradoxical fatality, the peace made by Mr. Addington was, by many of his adversaries, reprobated as a national calamity, and the renewal of the war regarded as a public benefit. But the peace of Amiens stands upon an equality with almost all the treaties by which the wars of this country have been terminated ; and in giving up a large share of our conquests, Mr. Addington only followed the example of former ministers. In retiring from office he sought no indemnity for his conduct ; and made no apology for any act of his government ; no man was so hardy as to bring against him any public accusation ; the people rejoiced not at his removal, and his sovereign attested his opinion of his virtues and his talents by presenting him with a grant from the crown, and elevating him at no distant period to the peerage.

A few days necessarily elapsed after the change of the ministry, before Mr. Pitt could be re-elected, and for a short time after he had resumed his seat none but ordinary business was transacted. Party seemed in the mean time to be suspended, and the plan and arrangement of such a system as the altered position of affairs required, occupied the attention of the mem-

bers of both houses of parliament. That the opposition would be formidable, both from numbers, character, and talent, Mr. Pitt had no room to doubt; yet he betrayed no alarm, nor was perhaps capable of drooping under that sensation. He knew the resources of his own mind, relied with confidence on his readiness to repel all attacks in parliament, and on a certain share of popularity which he enjoyed in the country; he could not, however, be blind to the difficulties with which he was beset, but he prepared to meet them with firmness, trusting that by perseverance he should disperse or surmount them.

The first subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament was brought under discussion by Mr. Wilberforce, who, on the 30th of May, pressed upon the consideration of the house the abolition of the African slave trade. It was, he said, now sixteen years since he first submitted to parliament this momentous question. In the year 1792, the plan for gradual abolition was adopted, with a view to consult the wishes and feelings of the West India merchants. The year 1796 was fixed on as the period when this nefarious traffic was in a great measure to cease; and in 1800 its ultimate abolition was to be effected. In 1796 no abolition took place; but, on the contrary, the West India colonists then began to talk of the rights and privileges which they had in those whom they denominated their practical labourers. These rights Mr. Wilberforce determined to resist, and in their place to establish the rights of nature and of humanity. And whether upon this occasion the honourable gentleman derived additional vigour from a hope that his exertions in the important cause he advocated would be attended with success; or whether stimulated by despair, he was resolved to appeal to every feeling of the heart in defence of the claims of humanity and justice—certain it is that his language never assumed a higher tone of eloquence, or displayed greater force of reasoning, than in supporting this grand and God-like cause. The motion submitted to parliament on this occasion was, that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the slave trade within a time to be limited. In the course of a very animated debate, several members opposed the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, which was supported by Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt and carried on a division by one hundred and twenty-four to forty-nine voices. In consequence of this vote, a bill was brought into parliament for the abolition of the slave trade, limiting the latest period at which ships were to be allowed to clear out from an English port for this traffic to the 1st of October, 1804. The debates on this bill were frequent and

animated ; and on the 28th of June, the third reading was carried in the house of commons by a majority of sixty-nine to thirty-three voices.

In the house of lords the opposition was more strenuous and successful, and the bill for the abolition of the slave trade was, on the 30th of July, thrown out in that assembly without a division, on the ground that the late period of the session would prevent the parties interested from attaining complete justice.

No measure submitted during the whole session of parliament to the consideration of the great council of the nation produced more elaborate and animated discussion than the plan for raising and supporting a permanent military force, and for the general reduction of the additional militia. This bill was introduced into parliament on the 5th of June, by Mr. Pitt, the chancellor of the exchequer, under the designation of the "additional force act," and aimed at the establishment of a military force, not merely to meet the present circumstances of the country, but to serve as an instrument for the intermediate improvement of the system already established, and to supply a sufficient resource to the regular force of the country, should an opportunity offer of employing our troops in foreign warfare. This measure, which embraced a great variety of details, was strenuously opposed by Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, Mr. Addington, and others, but the bill was ultimately carried through the lower house of parliament by small ministerial majorities, there appearing on the last division of the house, for the bill two hundred and sixty-five, against it two hundred and twenty-three, leaving a majority of only forty-two members.

In the upper house the additional force bill was introduced by Earl Camden, and opposed by Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Clarence, Earl Spencer, Lord Grenville, and several other peers ; but the division was far more flattering to the ministers than those in the house of commons, their measure being sanctioned by one hundred and fifty-four against sixty-nine voices.

This was the last question in which the strength of the contending parties was brought to issue. The remaining part of the session was principally employed on subjects of commerce and finance ; and on the 20th of June, the complex and difficult subject of the corn laws was brought under discussion. It has been maintained by many respectable authorities conversant in the subject of national polity, that the whole system of the corn laws is prejudicial to the public weal, and that it is desirable that these laws should be altogether repealed, leaving

the trade free, and the prices to find their own level ; but in consequence of a report of the house of commons, it was deemed expedient to have recourse to new legislative regulations. From the report of this committee, it appears that the price of corn, from 1791 to the harvest of 1803, had been irregular ; but had upon an average yielded a fair price to the grower. The high prices had produced the effect of stimulating industry, and bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land ; which, combined with the two last productive seasons, had occasioned such a depreciation in the value of grain, as would, it was said, tend to the discouragement of agriculture, unless immediate relief were afforded by the interference of parliament. For this purpose, although, within the period of the last thirteen years, no less than thirty millions sterling had been paid to foreign countries for supplies of grain, it was proposed to have recourse to a bounty upon exportation—a measure that had not been resorted to for a period of nearly thirty years. With this view a bill was brought into parliament. Exportation was to be admitted when the price of wheat was at or below forty-eight shillings per quarter of eight Winchester bushels ; and importation was to be allowed when the average price in the twelve maritime counties of England should exceed sixty-three shillings, but not when corn was below that price. It was held, that this bill was necessary in order to encourage the agriculture of the country ; it was also presumed that the measure would render corn permanently cheap, by combining the interest of the grower with that of the consumer. And upon the whole it was argued, that the true way to prevent the recurrence of scarcity, was to remove the danger of such a depreciation in the value of corn, as might discourage the farmer from producing full crops. It was on the other hand contended, that the effect of the act founded on the bill now before the house, would be to fix a minimum upon the first necessary of life, and that, if the interest of the grower of corn was to be protected by a minimum, the interest of the consumer of that article should be guarded by a maximum. That as to the idea of the act making corn cheap, it was at variance with the professed object of the bill, which was to serve the grower by keeping up the prices. And that the experience of the past had shewn, what the evidence of the future would confirm, that the effect of all measures of this nature was to advance the price of corn,* and with that article to enhance the price

* The confirmation of the truth of this remark, both retrospectively and prospectively, is to be found in the following official return of the

of every other article of general consumption. The bill, however, notwithstanding these, and a variety of other objections, passed through the house of commons without any formidable opposition.

In the house of lords some few petitions were presented against the corn bill, which Earl Stanhope designated as a bill to starve the poor. On the second reading, his lordship, in offering himself to the house, said, that the object of the bill was to encourage the growth of corn by increasing its price—but he should beg leave to submit a few resolutions calculated to produce the same effect by decreasing the price of corn. He thought, that as the farmers increased the price of their corn, the poor rates, the price of labour, and the price of our manufactures, would increase in the same proportion, and that neither agriculture, nor the farmer, nor the merchant, would derive any advantage from such a measure. Whereas, by the adoption of his plan, every body might be satisfied, and the country would enjoy plenty. The first resolution he should propose was,

“That public granaries should be established, to receive, in years of plenty, corn and grain grown in this country, in order to keep down the prices in years of scarcity, and effectually to secure to this nation, in all seasons, a sufficient supply, and likewise in order to provide for the farmers at all times a certain market for their corn and grain, and to diminish fluctuation in the price of the necessaries of life.

“Second, That all impediments, created by any law or laws, to the free warehousing of corn or grain, ought to be removed, abolished, and repealed; and

“Thirdly, That in order to encourage the growth of corn and grain in Great Britain and Ireland, and at the same time to decrease the price, for the benefit of the people at large, and for the increase of our manufactures and commerce, farmers should be for ever discharged from the payment of all direct taxes, parish and county rates, cesses, dues, and tythes, and from all parliamentary impositions whatever; save only and except those rates of the nature of a penalty, which might be raised on any hundred as such.”

These resolutions were supported by arguments applicable to each, and after expatiating at large on their beneficial tendency, his lordship concluded by moving, that the bill now before the house be rejected.

average price of wheat per quarter, from the first passing of the corn law in 1791, to the period of the last returns.

Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.	Years.	Price.
	s. d.		s. d.		s. d.		s. d.
1792	42 11	1798	50 3	1804	61 1	1810	106 2
1793	48 11	1799	67 5	1805	87 10	1811	94 6
1794	51 8	1800	113 7	1806	79 0	1812	125 5
1795	74 2	1801	118 3	1807	73 3	1813	120 0
1796	77 1	1802	67 5	1808	79 0	1814	73 9
1797	53 1	1803	56 6	1809	95 7	1815	66 3

The Duke of Montrose thought it was in the highest degree mischievous for the noble lord to state that this was a bill to starve the poor, when it was, in fact, a bill to prevent famine and scarcity. The Lord Chancellor, and Lords Mulgrave and Hawkesbury, condemned the resolutions moved by Lord Stanhope, and the bill passed ultimately into a law.

On the 2d of July, the house of commons, upon the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, resolved itself into a committee of supply, to which several accounts relative to the augmentation of the civil list were referred. It appeared that the arrears of the civil list amounted at present to the sum of five hundred and ninety thousand pounds. This excess of expenditure, it was stated, had arisen from a variety of expenses incurred by services which could not be foreseen in the year 1802, when the house voted the discharge of arrears then due, amounting to about two hundred and thirty thousand pounds. With respect to the future state of the civil list, it was proposed that several charges upon it should be annually discharged by parliament. These charges amounted to one hundred and thirty-five thousand pounds, and related to fluctuating expenses; many of them arose from the war, others from increased law expenses, and others from the multiplication of private bills, none of which ought properly to be charged on the civil list. In addition to the payment of the arrears, and the transfer of these accounts, a positive grant was also proposed to be given in addition to the civil list; and when the increased expenses upon private bills, and upon household necessities, were considered, it was conceived the annual sum of sixty thousand pounds would not be thought an extravagant augmentation. The income of the civil list was stated to be about nine hundred and twenty-one thousand pounds, and the expenditure upon it was averaged at nine hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds, leaving a deficiency of fifty-four thousand pounds; but instead of this exact sum, it was proposed to make the more liberal addition of sixty thousand pounds.* It is almost unnecessary to observe,

* CIVIL LIST —Previously to the accession of his present majesty to the throne, certain specific revenues were rendered applicable to this branch of the public expenditure; but these revenues were, at the commencement of his reign, relinquished, and in lieu thereof an annual sum of 800,000*l.* granted by parliament, subject to certain annuities payable to the royal family. In the month of April, 1777, the civil list revenue was augmented to 900,000*l.* per annum, and the debts owing upon that branch of the revenue discharged. But it is not to be supposed that the whole of this sum is expended annually by the sovereign and his family; or that the large and frequent accumulation of debt arising upon the civil list is altogether attributable to the royal expenditure.—

that the house readily assented to the propositions of the chancellor of the exchequer, and the discharge of the arrears, and the augmentation to the civil list, were voted almost without opposition.

The session was now drawing to a close, and just on the eve of its termination, Mr. Windham took an opportunity of asking for information from ministers, respecting the case of Captain Wright, who had been made a prisoner of war, when commanding his majesty's sloop *Vincego*, and had since been committed to close confinement in the Temple at Paris, for refusing to answer interrogatories put to him by the enemy, after his capture; but no satisfactory answer could at this time be given to Mr. Windham's inquiries.

On the 31st of July the session closed with a speech from the throne, in which, after the usual acknowledgments to both houses of parliament, his majesty recommended to the members to carry into their respective counties the same zeal for the public interest which had guided all their proceedings:

"It will," said the king, "be your particular duty, to inculcate on the minds of all classes of my subjects, that the preservation of all that is most dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitting exertions for the national defence. The preparations which the enemy has been long forming, for the declared purpose of invading this kingdom, are daily augmenting, and the attempt appears to have been delayed only with a view to procuring additional means for carrying it into execution. Relying on the skill, valour, and discipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and active courage of my people, I look with confidence to the issue of this great conflict, and I doubt not but it will terminate, under the blessing of providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in establishing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the security of this country, on a basis never to be shaken. In addition to this first, and great object, I entertain the

The following statement, being the result of a report made by a committee of the house of commons, will remove any error of this nature, and serve to give a tolerably correct view of this branch of the public expenditure:—

CHARGES of the Civil List for Sixteen Years prior to the 5th of January, 1802.

Class.	Annual average Expense.			Total for 16 Years.		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
1. Royal Family in all its branches,	209,988	15	0	3,359,828	7	10½
2. Great Officers of State, (Judges, &c.)	33,279	10	0	532,472	0	1
3. Foreign Ministers,	80,526	0	2½	1,288,416	3	4½
4. Tradesmen's Bills (His Majesty's)	174,697	13	11	2,795,163	2	3½
5. Menial Servants of the Household,	92,424	6	7½	1,478,789	5	8
6. Pensions, for suppressed Offices,	114,817	6	11	1,837,077	10	6
7. Salaries, paid out of the civil list,	76,013	18	2½	1,216,222	17	0¾
8. Commissioners of the Treasury,	14,455	14	7½	231,191	13	10¾
9. Occasional Payments,	203,964	6	0½	3,263,428	16	3
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	£1,000,167 11 6½			16,002,589 17 0		
	2 R					

animating hope, that the benefit to be derived from our successful exertions will not be confined within ourselves; but that, by their example and their consequences, they may lead to the re-establishment of such a system in Europe, as may rescue it from the precarious state to which it is reduced, and may finally raise an effectual barrier against the unbounded schemes of aggrandizement and ambition, which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent."

Upon a review of the various measures brought under the consideration of parliament, it will appear that the defence of the country was an object in which all parties, however much divided in public opinion, felt and expressed the most anxious solicitude. The danger to which the country was exposed during a considerable period after the recommencement of the war, was sufficient to arouse the energy, and stimulate the vigilance of its governors; and even the spirit of party itself was made instrumental to the general safety. Upon the whole, it may be affirmed, in justice to the general conduct of parliament, that during a long period of public difficulty and alarm, they reposed a just and becoming confidence in the patriotism and spirit of the nation; and while they differed as to the best and most efficient application of the public resources, they exhibited a firmness and resolution worthy of the representatives of a great and powerful people.

CHAPTER III.

Goree taken by the French—Re-captured by the English—Capture of Surinam—Shipwreck of the Apollo Frigate, and a Number of her Convoy—Alarm of Invasion—Preparations to meet it—Catamaran Project—Memorable Repulse of the French Admiral Linois by the East India Fleet, under Captain Dance—Hostilities commenced against Spain—CAMPAIGN OF THE EAST: Commencement of Hostilities—Battle of Assye—Assershur, the Key of the Deccan, surrendered to the British—Surrender of Jagarnaut, Cuttack, Balasore, and Soorong—Storming of Ally Ghur—Progress of the Campaign—Splendid Victory of Delhi—General Lake's Interview with the Emperor Shah Aulum—Fall of Agra—Decisive battle of Laswaree—Concise Recapitulation of the Campaign.

NOTWITHSTANDING the recent change in the cabinet, from which the public naturally anticipated a more vigorous administration of affairs, the prosecution of the war was still principally confined to defensive measures, and to projects for the future annoyance of the enemy; and the honour of the only captures of importance made during the present year, must be awarded to the late ministers. The first military operation claiming the notice of history, in the year 1804, occurred in the English settlement of the island of Goree,

on the coast of Africa. In the month of January this settlement was taken by a French force, under the command of the Chevalier Mahe, and re-captured by a small expedition under the command of Captain Edward Sterling Dickson, in the month of March following. The enemy's force directed against this settlement, consisted of four schooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and which was reinforced by another schooner, pilots, and soldiers, at Senegal. The squadron altogether carried upwards of sixty guns, and six hundred men, of whom about two hundred and forty were landed to storm the settlement. On the 17th of January, the enemy appeared off the coast; and about three o'clock in the morning of the 18th, a smart fire commenced from the French boats, and at the same time, a schooner stood in directly for the beach. A strong and well directed fire of great guns and musketry being immediately opened upon her, by the small British garrison under Colonel Frazer, aided by a portion of the inhabitants, the people on board were all either killed or driven below, and the enemy's vessel drifted on shore. In the mean time, the invaders approaching in eight of their boats, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks, to the east side of the town; and having overcome the force which was opposed to them, penetrated through the town, as far as the main guard, of which, after having been once repulsed, they gained possession. The firing continued until nearly six o'clock; when Colonel Frazer, having formed a junction with the soldiers in the north point battery, directed that the enemy should be attacked, which service was executed with great alacrity, and the post carried with considerable loss on the part of the enemy. At day-break, the enemy appeared in such numbers as to leave no hope of successful resistance; and under these circumstances, Colonel Frazer, in compliance with the request of the inhabitants, sent an officer to propose terms of capitulation for the garrison.* On this occasion the loss of the English amounted to only nineteen killed and wounded, while the enemy's loss exceeded seventy; and in the articles of capitulation, the interests of the inhabitants were consulted, and the honour of the garrison preserved.

In the month of March, in the same year, this island was re-captured by Captain Dickson, commanding his majesty's ship the *Inconstant*, accompanied by the *Eagle* store-ship, and the three sloops *Hamilton*, *Venus*, and *Jenny*. Having arrived off the island on the 7th of March, and suspecting that

* Despatch from Colonel Frazer, dated Goree, Feb. 5, 1804.

the settlement might be in the hands of the enemy, the captain despatched his first lieutenant to ascertain the fact, with orders to make an appointed signal if he found the island in possession of the English. But at sun-set, the lieutenant having neither returned nor made the signal agreed upon, Captain Dickson came to anchor with his convoy a little out of gun-shot, and at ten o'clock at night commenced hostilities, by cutting out a ship in the harbour, and stationing his small force in such a position as to prevent the enemy receiving any succours from Senegal. At day-light in the morning of the 9th, every preparation having been previously made to commence an attack upon the town, the captain was agreeably surprised to see the English colours hoisted over the French flag; and shortly after information was conveyed to him that the garrison had capitulated to the officer sent on shore.* For this cheaply purchased conquest, by which a number of troops, amounting to upwards of three hundred, were made prisoners without striking a blow, the captain was indebted to a *russe de guerre* practised by his skilful negociator, who represented to the enemy that the force brought against them was of such magnitude as to render all resistance unavailing.

In the beginning of May, the rich and important colony of Surinam surrendered to the force under the command of Major-general Sir Charles Green; and although the capture was an enterprise of considerable difficulty, this valuable acquisition was fortunately made with little loss on the part of his majesty's troops. On the 25th of April, the fleet under the command of Commodore Hood, conveying the British forces, came to anchor about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam. Having succeeded in securing the entrance of the river, Major-general Sir Charles Green sent a summons to the governor of Surinam with proposals for the surrender of the colony. On the 28th, the governor's answer was received, conveying a refusal to capitulate. The general then determined to lose no time in making an impression on the enemy's posts; but to effect this, many obstacles were to be surmounted. The coast of Surinam is of very difficult approach, shallow and full of banks; and a landing is practicable only at full tide. The coast is uncleared; and from the wood and the marshy nature of the soil, it is impossible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and the creeks. In consequence of these circumstances, the points of attack were confined; and the enemy, by means of their forts, ships of war, and other

* Captain Edward Sterling Dickson's Despatch, dated Goree, March 15th, 1804.

armed vessels, were completely masters of the navigation of the river Surinam, above Fort Amsterdam. On the 29th, Lieutenant-colonel Shipley, commander of engineers, went on shore below the enemy's batteries, to endeavour to procure intelligence ; and on his return he reported, that he had every reason to believe that there was a practicable way through the woods, by which a body of men might be conducted to the rear of the forts Leyden and Frederici. A detachment of about two hundred men, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Cranston, was accordingly landed, between the hours of ten and eleven o'clock at night, at Resolution plantation, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found that the path, at all times difficult, had become almost impassable ; but no obstacles could damp the enterprising spirit of the seamen and soldiers who composed the detachment ; and who, with persevering courage, arrived, after a laborious march of five hours, in the rear of Frederici battery. The alarm having been given, a considerable fire of grape-shot was made upon the troops before they quitted the wood, while forming for the attack. As they approached the battery they were exposed to a brisk discharge of musketry ; but their assault, which was made with fixed bayonets, was so animated and vigorous, that it completely overcame any further resistance. The enemy, finding their situation untenable, fled to Fort Leyden, but not till they had treacherously set fire to a powder magazine, by the explosion of which several of the British officers and men were severely wounded. Brigadier-general Hughes used no delay in moving on to the attack of Fort Leyden, overcoming every obstacle in his way ; and the enemy, after some firing, called for quarter, which was generously granted by the conquerors, although at the moment they were highly exasperated at the conduct of the Batavian troops, in blowing up the powder magazine at Fort Frederici, after it had been in possession of the English. This brilliant affair placed the assailants in possession of a country abounding with resources of every kind, and enabled them to silence the fire at Fort Amsterdam. Major-general Maitland, having conveyed his troops in a number of plantation boats, landed on the south side of the river, and came within a mile of Fort New Amsterdam, when a flag of truce was sent by the Batavian commander to the British head-quarters, on the Commewye, with proposals for capitulation. Orders were in consequence issued to suspend hostilities, and on the 5th of May, the articles of capitulation being signed, the advanced corps, under the command of Brigadier-general Maitland, marched

into and took possession of Fort New Amsterdam. In addition to the conquest of this valuable colony, upwards of two thousand prisoners of war fell into the hands of the English, besides two hundred and eighty-two pieces of ordnance, one Batavian frigate, a sloop of war, and three merchant vessels; with a loss on the part of the victors of only twenty-eight officers and men killed and wounded.* The inhabitants had opposed no resistance to the English in their attack upon the island, but seemed on the contrary to rejoice at an event which once more restored them to the powerful protection of the British government.

Early in the spring, the country sustained a heavy loss in the wreck of the *Apollo* frigate, of thirty-eight guns, Captain Dixon, and a large portion of her convoy. The *Apollo* had sailed from the Cove of Cork, on the 26th of March, in company with his majesty's ship *Carysford*, charged with the convoy of sixty-nine merchant vessels, bound for the West Indies. About half past three o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 2d of April, from some cause, never very satisfactorily explained, the *Apollo*, with part of her convoy, went on shore, off Cape Mondego, on the coast of Portugal. The frigate soon became a complete wreck, and the most piteous cries were heard every where between the decks, the men having given themselves up to inevitable death. The captain, who, with the principal part of his crew, had been driven from their hammocks by the sudden rushing in of the water, stood naked upon the deck, soothing and affording every encouragement to the men in their perilous situation. About thirty of the crew, after encountering the most imminent dangers, had the good fortune to gain the shore on planks and spars from the wreck; while others, in making similar attempts, perished, and of that number was the captain. At length, after encountering, for three days and nights, the complicated horrors of fatigue, famine, and despair, without the intermission of a single moment of repose, the survivors of the crew had the inexpressible happiness to see a boat launched through the surf to their relief, and to find themselves, by four o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, in safety on the shore of Mondego. About forty sail of merchantmen shared the fate of the *Apollo*, and the number of lives lost upon this melancholy occasion, exceeded five hundred. Of the sixty-nine merchant ships, twenty-nine escaped the horrors of ship-

* Sir Charles Green and Commodore Hood's Despatches from Surinam.

wreck, and proceeded, under convoy of the Carysford, to their original destination.

The hostile operations undertaken against the enemy this year, with the exception of those already mentioned, and a few single actions at sea, which reflected their usual lustre upon the British navy, consisted almost entirely of exertions rigorously to enforce the system of blockade, and in attacks upon the enemy's boats, which either ventured out of the harbour of Boulogne, for the purposes of exercise or menace, or were proceeding from other ports to that depot. It was, however, impossible to obviate the effects of occasional rumours of invasion. Every particular movement in the enemy's ports revived the opinion, not to say the apprehension, that the enemy were determined to execute the adventurous project. In the month of August a general movement on the opposite coast exhibited every appearance of an approaching attack upon some part of the British empire, and at Boulogne in particular, a very extraordinary degree of activity prevailed. Of the various description of craft and armed vessels collected in that immense depot, a much greater number was brought out into the bay of Boulogne than on any former occasion. Disposed in hostile array, under the protection of their numerous batteries on shore, they were attacked in the most spirited and vigorous manner by the British squadron upon that station. The firing was tremendous, and its duration was such as to favour the belief, that the long threatened invasion was at this time to be certainly attempted.

Under the influence of this impression the most vigorous and general exertions were made for the public safety. Military cars, horses, and carriages, were directed to be held in a state of readiness, for the use of government. Officers were named to be employed on the staff, under the general officers of the district. Each general officer, or other officer to whom a command of volunteers was intrusted, was directed to reside in a situation centrical and convenient to the corps under his orders. All officers of this description were required to make themselves acquainted with the nature and extent of the service for which they were respectively engaged; with the efficient strength of their corps; the character and military information of their officers; the internal economy of the force under their command; their horses, arms, ammunition, and every species of military equipment. They were also ordered to ascertain their degree of forwardness in discipline and field movements, and whether they were competent to act with troops of the line. The routes were formed by which the corps were to arrive at the general place of rendezvous to the brigade,

and every precaution taken to prevent the interposition of any obstacle which might interfere with the regularity and certainty of their movements, at the critical moment of actual service. One very material point in the directions given to staff officers, commanding volunteer corps, related to the conduct which it would be proper for them to observe. They were reminded, that the corps under their command were composed of men unused to a military life, over whom they had no direct control, until placed upon permanent duty ; that they had voluntarily enrolled themselves for the patriotic purpose of sharing with the regular troops in the dangers, difficulties, and honours, presented to those engaged in the defence of their country, in a crisis of unexampled exigency ; it was therefore presumed, that the commanding officers would feel the force of these considerations, and conduct their command, on every occasion, with all the urbanity, mildness, and indulgence, consistent with military discipline, but without compromising or impeding the important primary object of rendering the corps effective and fit for actual service.

In addition to these arrangements, preparatory to the contest in which there was reason to suppose the volunteers would be speedily engaged, regulations for the preservation of good order were transmitted to the lord-lieutenants, to be adopted in every county of Great Britain in case of actual invasion. The magistrates of each division were to remain at home, and to sit daily at a place to be appointed for that purpose. Trustworthy house-keepers were encouraged to enrol themselves as special constables, under the orders of the magistrates, for the purpose of preserving the general peace, and facilitating by every means in their power the public service. And the magistrates of each division were to report to the lord-lieutenant or deputy-lieutenant of the county, upon whom it was incumbent to submit all matters of importance immediately to the secretary of state for the home department.

In the early part of September the general alarm began to subside. Either the brave and repeated attacks which the enemy had sustained from the British blockading squadron, deterred them from appearing in considerable numbers in the bay of Boulogne, or the season and other circumstances had become less favourable to the execution of menacing movements, and had compelled the hostile flotilla to keep closer within their ports. About the beginning of October, however, about one hundred and fifty of the enemy's vessels ventured on the outside of the pier, and served to revive the alarm of invasion. It was at this period that a project for the destruction of the French flotilla was broached ; from which

a result was anticipated that would at once confound the designs of the enemy, and establish the superiority of the present administration over their predecessors in office.

This plan, which some American projector (51.) had influence enough to induce Lord Melville to countenance, was one which to every experienced naval officer appeared open to the severest animadversion. It was principally to be carried into effect through the medium of copper vessels, of an oblong form, containing a large quantity of combustibles, and so constructed as to explode in a given time, by means of clock work. These vessels were to be fastened to the bottom of the enemy's gun-boats by the aid of a small raft, rowed by one man, and who being seated up to the chin in water, might possibly in a dark night escape detection. Fire-ships of different constructions were also to be employed in the projected attack. The most active and enterprising officers were distributed in different explosion vessels, and the whole placed under the orders and direction of Admiral Lord Keith, commanding in the Downs, with instructions to cover the smaller force by his powerful squadron. It is not easy to describe the mingled sensation of anxiety and confidence, which the length of time, and the extent of the preparations for this enterprise, had created in the public mind. The latter feeling however had a decided predominance, and was cherished and upheld by the rumours industriously spread, that the first lord of the admiralty would himself superintend the execution of the plan, and that Mr. Pitt, and others of the ministers, were to be witnesses of its success from the elevation of Walmer castle. On the 2d of October, Admiral Lord Keith, with his formidable fleet of sixty-two sail, six of which were ships of the line, anchored at about a league and a half from the north to the west of the port of Boulogne. In the course of the day, a sufficient force was thence detached to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, and for affording protection to the wounded, or to such boats as might be crippled; or, should the wind freshen and blow in shore, to tow off the boats engaged in the attack. While these preparations were advancing, the enemy was not inactive; the batteries, both stationary and floating, were prepared, and the army was drawn up in readiness to resist the approaching assault. At a quarter past nine at night, the first detachment of fire-ships was launched, under a heavy fire from the advanced force, and which was returned by a tremendous

(51.) This American projector was probably Mr. Fulton, who is spoken of in a preceding part of this volume. See note 49 page 178.

thunder of artillery from the shore. As the fire-ships approached the French line, the vessels of the flotilla opened to suffer them to pass, and so effectually were they avoided, that they sailed to the rear of the enemy's line without falling on board of any one of their vessels. At half-past ten the first explosion ship blew up, and produced an immense column of fire; its wreck spread in every direction, but not the slightest mischief was done either to the ships or the batteries. A second, a third, and a fourth succeeded, but with no better effect: at length, after twelve of these ships had exploded, the engagement ceased about four o'clock the next morning, when the English smaller vessels withdrew in perfect order, and without the loss of a man. On the flotilla no mischief whatever was ascertained to have been inflicted, but, from the disappearance of two brigs, and some smaller vessels, the next day, Lord Keith conjectured that they might have been destroyed.* The enemy's loss of men, according to their own account, was twenty-five killed and wounded. Thus terminated, to the confusion of the projectors, and the severe disappointment of the public, "THE CATAMARAN PROJECT," in the preparation of which, much time, expense, and ingenuity were wasted, and which tended to commit the reputation of the government of the country to derision and contempt, both at home and abroad.

No sooner had the intelligence of the renewal of the war between Great Britain and France arrived in the East Indies, than the French Admiral Linois withdrew with all convenient despatch from the roads of Pondicherry, and for some time carried on a predatory warfare, to a considerable extent, against the English commerce and possessions in that part of the globe. Not only had he captured several of the East India company's ships, and others of the private trade, but he had also made a successful descent on Fort Marlborough (Bencoolen,) and plundered that settlement. Encouraged by uninterrupted success, and animated by the hopes of obtaining a prize of immense amount, he formed the determination to capture or destroy, at a single blow, the whole of the homeward bound China fleet. With this intention he collected his force, consisting of the *Marengo*, line-of-battle-ship, of eighty-four guns, the *Semillante* and *Belle Poule*, of forty-four guns, a Batavian brig, of eighteen guns, and a corvette, of twenty-eight guns, and stationed his squadron in the Indian Seas, near the entrance of the Straits of Molacca, with the deter-

* Lord Keith's Despatches, dated off Boulogne, the 3d of October, 1804.

mination to cruise in that latitude till the arrival of the English East India fleet from Canton. On the 5th of February, the fleet, under the command of Captain Dance, as senior commander, consisting of sixteen of the East India company's ships from China, eleven private ships, a Portuguese East Indiaman, and a fast sailing brig, passed Macao Roads, when the Portuguese vessel, and one of the company's ships, parted company, and never again joined the fleet. At day-break on the 14th, Pulo A'or was seen to the W.S.W. and at eight o'clock, the Royal George made a signal, indicating that four strange sail were in view, which, on being reconnoitred, proved to be the squadron under Admiral Linois. The intrepid commodore, without a moment's delay, hoisted the signal for his fleet to form a line of battle in close order. At sun-set, the enemy was close upon the rear of the company's ships, and an expectation prevailed that the attack would be immediately commenced, but at the close of the day the French hauled to windward, and desisted from any hostile operation during the night.

At day-break on the 15th, the enemy was seen about three miles to windward, when the vessels under the command of Captain Dance hoisted their colours, and offered him battle. At one o'clock in the afternoon, the commodore, resolving not to wait the attack, and apprehensive that his rear might be cut off, executed a bold and gallant manœuvre, which decided the fate of the day. Placing the Royal George in front of his line, seconded by the Ganges, and followed by the Earl Camden, he bore down upon the enemy, and made the signal to attack each of the hostile ships in succession. This order being correctly performed, the company's ships stood forward under a press of sail. Admiral Linois then formed in close line, and opened his fire upon the headmost of the merchant-ships, which was not returned by any of them till a near approach. The Royal George, from her advanced situation, sustained the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit. This example was followed by the Ganges and Earl Camden, who both opened their fire as soon as their guns could take effect; but, before any other ship could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and stood away to the eastward under all the sail they could set. At two o'clock, P. M. Captain Dance made a signal for a general chase, and pursued the retreating squadron till past four o'clock; when, fearing a longer pursuit might carry him too far from the straits, and endanger the immense property confided to his care, he made the signal to tack, and at eight o'clock in the evening, anchored in a situation to proceed for the entrance

of the straits on the following day.* Thus did the gallantry of a fleet of British merchantmen, and the skill and intrepidity of their commander, bring to action, and put to flight, a French admiral, commanding ships of war superior in force and in men, to the immortal honour of the British name. Nor should it be forgotten that the property rescued from the gripe of the enemy was estimated at the immense amount of not less than six millions sterling. On the arrival of Commodore Dance with his fleet in England, rewards were distributed with a liberal hand by the East India Company to the various commanders and their brave crews; and the wounded, as well as the representatives of the few who fell in the engagement, were munificently rewarded; while the sovereign, to evince the sense he entertained of the gallant conduct of Captain, now Sir Nathaniel Dance, conferred upon him the honour of knighthood.

Spain, placed between two hostile powers, and bound by treaties alike to both, found it difficult to preserve that neutrality of conduct so evidently pointed out by her interests, and to avoid being involved in a war where she had much to lose and nothing to acquire. After a protracted and unsatisfactory negociation between the courts of Madrid and London, begun in the autumn of the year 1802, and continued till towards the close of the year 1804, the British plenipotentiary found it necessary to quit Madrid, and repair to London. But while the negociations were pending in the Spanish capital, and previously to the departure of Mr. Benjamin Frere from that city, Admiral Cochrane acquainted the first lord of the admiralty, that preparations on a large scale were at that moment making in the port of Ferrol, so that in a few days a formidable squadron would be ready for sea; and that he had no doubt but the Spanish government only waited for the arrival of a fleet of frigates, containing treasures from South America, to commence upon hostilities. On the receipt of this extra-official information, orders were instantly given by the admiralty to detain the ships bound from South America to Spain, and Captain Moore, with four frigates† under his command, was ordered to cruise off Cadiz, for the purpose of carrying these instructions into effect.

On the 5th of October, the *Medusa* made the signal for four sail, and a general chase was ordered immediately. At eight in the morning, the vessels first seen by the *Medusa*, were dis-

* Captain Dance's Despatch to the Court of East India Directors, dated August 6, 1804.

† The *Indefatigable*, *Amphion*, *Lively* and *Medusa*.

covered to be four large Spanish frigates, which, on finding themselves pursued, formed in line of battle, and continued to steer in for Cadiz, the van-ship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next in the line, a rear-admiral's flag. Captain Gore, of the *Medusa*, placed that ship on the weather-beam of the Spanish commodore; the *Indefatigable* took a similar position along-side of the rear-admiral; and the *Amphion* and *Lively* each took an opponent as they advanced. After firing a shot a-head of the rear-admiral's ship, he shortened sail, upon which Lieutenant Ascott, of the *Indefatigable*, was sent to inform the Spanish commander that Captain Moore had orders to detain his squadron; that it was his earnest wish to execute that duty without bloodshed; but that the determination to surrender must be made instantly. The answer returned by Lieutenant Ascott was unsatisfactory; whereupon Captain Moore fired another shot a-head of the admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow. At this moment one of the Spanish frigates fired into the *Amphion*, and the admiral at the same time, fired into the *Indefatigable*. A signal was then made for close battle, which instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of British sailors. In less than ten minutes, *La Mercedes*, the admiral's second ship a-stern, blew up, along-side of the *Amphion*, with a tremendous explosion.* In less than half an hour the Spanish admiral's ship struck to Captain Sutton, as did the opponent of the *Lively* to that ship. Perceiving, at this moment, the Spanish commodore making off, Captain Moore made the signal for the *Lively*, Captain Hammond, to join the *Medusa* in the chase; and long before sun-set it was discovered, from the mast head of the *Indefatigable*, that the only remaining ship had surrendered to the *Medusa* and *Lively*. As soon as the boats of the British squadron had taken possession of the rear-admiral, sail was made for the floating fragments of the *Mercedes*; but except the second

* In the *Mercedes* was embarked a native of Spain, who was returning from South America, with his whole family, consisting of his lady, four daughters, and five sons. The daughters were beautiful and amiable women, the sons grown up to manhood. With such a family, and a large fortune, the gradual savings of five and twenty years of industry, did this unhappy Spaniard embark for the land of his nativity. A short time before the action commenced, the father, with one of his sons, went on board one of the larger ships, and, in a few moments, became the spectator of his wife, his daughters, four of his sons, and all his treasure, surrounded with flames, and sinking in the abyss of the ocean. This victim of almost unheard of calamity, arrived at Plymouth, with the only remains of so many blessings, in Captain Moore's cabin, who was unceasing in his endeavours to administer all in his power towards the alleviation of his sufferings.

captain, and forty-five men, who were picked up by the boats of the *Amphion*, all on board had perished. The Spanish squadron, it appeared, was commanded by Don Joseph Bustamente, knight of the order of St. James, and a rear-admiral in the Spanish navy. This fleet was from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata, and contained upwards of four millions of dollars, of which about eight hundred thousand were on board the *Mercedes*; and the merchandize on board the frigates was also of great value. The loss sustained by the British on this occasion was very trifling, and the Spaniards, with the exception of the *Mercedes*, suffered chiefly in their rigging.*

This rigorous and impolitic attack upon the vessels of a neutral state, at a moment when negotiations for the prevention of hostilities were pending between the two countries, produced an immediate declaration of war by the court of Madrid, and justified the conduct of the Spanish government in the eyes of all Europe. And in England, as well as in other countries, the conduct of ministers, in having anticipated all expectations, by a concealed order for an attack upon the Spanish ships, property, and subjects, was condemned as an act contrary to the public law of all civilized states, and as totally irreconcilable with those principles of moderation and liberality which belong to the British character. (52.)

Thus far had hostilities been prosecuted, during the present year, without give rise to a single event by which any material

* Captain Moore's Despatch to Admiral Cornwallis, dated Indefatigable, at Sea, October 6, 1804.

(52.) The English feelings of our author have led him to use language far too mild to be applied to an act, to which for baseness and atrocity, it would be difficult to find a parallel in the annals of a civilized nation. No people is more apt to refer to the laws of nations than the English, and yet by none have its most essential rules been more grossly violated. If there be any part of the international law which ought to be strictly adhered to, it is that which forbids acts of hostility without a declaration of war on the part of the sovereign power. It is founded on the plainest principles, of propriety and expediency, and has accordingly received the sanction of the civilized world in all ages. There have no doubt occurred instances of a violation of this rule, but mankind have, by common consent, fixed upon them the mark of reprobation. When Bonaparte invaded Hanover, although a dependency of England, we have seen in a preceding chapter, that it gave rise to loud complaints and invective in that country, as an infringement of the laws of nations and a violation of the neutral rights of Germany. What comparison however can this proceeding bear with the attack on the Spanish frigates. Even the subsequent invasion of Spain, by the French troops, was little if at all more unjustifiable than this. If any thing could add to the horror occasioned by the general aspect of the transaction, it would be the picture of individual misery it occasioned, the wanton sacrifice of lives which was produced, by an attack with a nearly equal force.

impression was made either upon France or Great Britain. The expenditure occasioned by the extensive scale of hostile preparations was in both countries immense; but no capture of importance, no brilliant victory, no signal defeat, marked the successes or failure of either of the belligerents. A menacing attitude was assumed and maintained by both. The navy of Great Britain was constantly hovering upon the coast of the enemy; and the armies of France incessantly threatening this country with invasion. The declaration of war issued by Spain against Great Britain was considered by France as propitious to her interest. The Spanish navy, and large supplies in specie, were regarded by France as very important acquisitions; and the extensive line of coast which the enemy would thus command, was represented to be of infinite importance to a successful prosecution of the war, in as much as it enabled them to threaten invasion from a greater number of points, and compelled this country to incur a great additional expenditure by augmenting the number of our blockading squadrons.

The advantages were, on the other hand, counterbalanced by the prospect of new enemies, which the capricious, arbitrary, and insolent conduct of the French government was calculated to create. Sweden and Russia had already expressed their dissatisfaction at the conduct of Bonaparte, and fresh circumstances were continually arising which tended to convert this dissatisfaction into actual hostility. To avail themselves of this opportunity of forming alliances upon the continent, was a distinguishing feature of the policy of the British government, as at present constituted. And the appointment of Lord Leveson Gower as ambassador to the court of St. Petersburg, increased the public expectation of a speedy continental alliance, and encouraged the hope of the advantages resulting from a closer political connection with that extensive empire.

While arrangements were forming in the cabinet of Great Britain to increase the number of our allies on the continent of Europe, information was received by the government of the successful termination of hostilities in the peninsula of Hindostan. This happy event served to dissipate the apprehensions so generally felt at that period for the stability of the British empire in the East, and relieved the country from the necessity of weakening our army at home, by detaching troops to the assistance of our brave countrymen in India. Whatever difference of opinion might exist with respect to the justice or expediency of the war, waged during the year 1803, against the confederated Mahratta chieftains, it is universally

allowed that the contest was conducted with extraordinary judgment and vigour, and that the events to which it gave rise exhibited a series of brilliant achievements, and splendid victories, which cannot be contemplated without emotions of national pride, nor recorded without adding another splendid page to the military annals of our country.

In exhibiting the causes of the war, the Marquis of Wellesley states, that a number of the confederated Mahratta chieftains had assembled their military force on the frontiers of our ally, the Scubahdar of the Deccan, after having declared that the intention of that junction was to decide, whether there should be peace or war with the British government and its allies. The determination of the chieftains to maintain this position, was regarded by the governor-general as a manifest indication of a design to frustrate, by hostilities, or by the terror of arms, the operations of the alliance concluded between the British government and the Peishwah, to disturb the tranquillity of the Nizam, and ultimately of the East India Company. The union of the confederated forces, and their commanding and menacing position, afforded every advantage to the chieftains in prosecuting the hostile designs which they had already exhibited, and enabled them to hold in their hands the issues of peace or war, and to arbitrate the fate of the Deccan according to their interests and caprice. While the position and state of Scindiah's forces, under the command of French officers, in Hindostan, and the machinations of Monsieur Perron, the nominal representative of the deposed Moghul emperor, with the adjoining states, and with the subjects of the Company, and of the Vizier, exhibited additional proofs of the hostile designs of the confederates, and furnished those chieftains with additional means of prosecuting their designs. Such are stated by the Marquis of Wellesley to be the grounds, which, as he insists, constituted a just, distinct, and lawful cause of war ; and if implicit confidence be placed on the accuracy and fairness of this representation, it would be difficult to dispute the existence of a legitimate object of hostility. It must, however, always be recollected, that in the investigation of the origin of the wars of India, we are unfortunately obliged, in a great measure, to form an opinion upon documents supplied by only one of the belligerent parties.

The plan of the campaign was arranged for a general and combined attack to be made nearly at the same time on the united army of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, under their personal command, in the Deccan, and on their most vulnerable and valuable possessions in every quarter of India. The scale of operations extended from Delhi, and the presidencies

of Fort William, Fort St. George, and Bombay, to Poohnah, Hyderabad, Guzerat, and Orissa. The objects, to the accomplishment of which our operations were directed in the war with Dowlut Rao Scindiah, were the occupation of the sea port of Baroach, and of the territory annexed to it, and the general reduction of his military power and resources. In the prosecution of hostilities with the Rajah of Berar, the views of the governor-general were chiefly directed to the occupation of the province of Cuttack, and the cession of all the Rajah's possessions intermixed with those of the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and the general reduction of his influence within the bounds requisite for the safety of the British possessions and those of their allies. In attacking Monsieur Perron, the entire reduction of his regular corps was contemplated, and, as a necessary consequence, the annexation to the British dominions of the whole of the territory in his possession within the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, with a view to render the river Jumna the north-western frontier of the company's dominion in that quarter.

The army may be comprehended under two general divisions: that under Major-general Wellesley was directed to act against the combined forces of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar; and the operations on the north-western frontier of Oude, were under the immediate direction of General Lake, commander-in-chief. Of the number and distribution of this force, the following abstract will present a pretty correct view:—

In Hindostan, under the personal command of General Lake,	10,500
At Allahabad and Mirzapour,	5,500
In the Deccan, under the immediate personal command of General Wellesley,	8,903
Subsidiary force under Colonel Stevenson,	7,920
At Hyderabad,	1,997
At Poohnah,	1,598
At Moodgul,	4,032
On the march from Moodgul,	1,900
Field force in Guzerat,	4,281
Garrisons at Guzerat and at Surat,	3,071
For the invasion of Cuttack,	5,216
<hr/>	
Total, exclusive of gun-lascars, pioneers, artificers, and store-lascars,	54,918
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This force was opposed to upwards of one hundred thousand native troops, including at least fifty thousand cavalry, and commanded principally by French officers. On the 8th of August, hostilities commenced in the Deccan; and on that day Major-general Wellesley commenced his march towards the fortress of Ahmednuggur, the fortified town of which was

carried by escalade, with great spirit and gallantry. On the 10th batteries were opened against the fortress of Ahmednugur, which held out only two days, and the surrender of which placed the dependent districts under British authority.

On the 24th of August, the confederate chiefs entered the Nizam's territory, by the Gaunt of Adjuntee, with a large body of horse, where they formed a junction with a detachment of irregular infantry, under the command of Monsieur Pohlman and Monsieur Dupont, consisting of sixteen battalions, with a formidable and well equipped train of artillery. The whole of this army was assembled in the neighbourhood of Bokerdun, and between that place and Jafferabad. The two corps under the command of General Wellesley and Colonel Stevenson, formed a junction on the 21st of September, at Budnapoor, and immediately determined to attack the enemy on the morning of the 24th. With this view, the two divisions marched on the 22d; Colonel Stevenson by the western route, and Major-general Wellesley by the eastern, round the hill between Budnapoor and Julna. Arrived at Nulnair on the 23d, Major-general Wellesley received intelligence that the combined armies of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, were encamped at the distance of about six miles from the position which he intended to occupy. Instead of waiting till the morning of the 24th for the arrival of Colonel Stevenson, General Wellesley adopted the spirited resolution of attacking the enemy immediately. Having come within sight of the enemy, whom the general found encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Assye, General Wellesley formed the infantry in two lines, with the British cavalry as a reserve in a third, in an open space between the Kaitna and the Juah rivers, which run nearly in a parallel direction; the Peishwah and the Mysore cavalry occupying a position to the southward of the Kaitna, in order to keep in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry. The number of the British troops engaged, amounted to about four thousand five hundred men, of whom twelve hundred were cavalry, European and native, thirteen hundred European infantry and artillery, and two thousand Sepoys. The force of the enemy, which was composed of sixteen regular battalions of infantry, amounted to ten thousand five hundred men, commanded by European officers, and furnished with a train of artillery, exceeding one hundred guns. In addition to this decided superiority of numbers, the enemy had some considerable bodies of horse in reserve, amounting, as it is stated, to thirty thousand men.

After some evolutions on the banks of the Kaitna, General Wellesley commanded the enemy to be immediately attacked,

and the troops advanced under a severe and destructive fire from the enemy's cannon. The British artillery producing little effect, and many difficulties opposing its advance, the general ordered it to be left behind, and the whole line to move on, directing Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, with the British cavalry, to protect the right of the infantry as the line advanced. The enemy, notwithstanding the tremendous cannonade which they kept up, were obliged to fall back upon their second line in front of Juah. The picquets of the infantry, and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the first and second lines, suffered considerably from the fire of the artillery on the left of the enemy's position, near Assye. The cannonade had proved so destructive to the 74th regiment, that a body of the cavalry of the confederate chieftains was encouraged to charge this gallant band, while most exposed to their fire. The British cavalry, however, charged the enemy in turn, and drove them with immense slaughter into the Juah. Over-awed by the steady advance of the British troops, the enemy at length gave way in every direction, and the cavalry, having crossed the Juah, charged the fugitives along the bank of the river and completed the rout.

The force under General Wellesley was not equal to the task of securing all the advantages arising from this success. Many of the enemy's guns, as the British troops advanced, were in the rear, which were afterwards turned upon the lines by individuals, who, having thrown themselves upon the ground, had been left on the field, under the supposition that they were dead, a stratagem often practised by the troops of the native powers. Some time elapsed before the fire thus kept up from these guns could be stopped. To effect this object, General Wellesley took the 78th regiment, and the 7th native cavalry, and compelled the assailants to abandon their guns, but in performing this service the general's horse was shot under him. The British cavalry re-crossed the Juah, in order to charge a body of infantry, which had retired, but was again formed, and in this charge the gallant Colonel Maxwell was killed. The victory was then decided, and the enemy retreated, leaving twelve hundred men dead on the field of battle, and an immense number of wounded. Ninety-eight pieces of cannon, seven standards, the camp equipage of the enemy, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a large quantity of military stores and ammunition, were the fruits of this splendid victory, which, however, cost the conquerors one third of their army, including eleven hundred and thirty-eight wounded, and four hundred and twenty-eight slain.

Upon this memorable occasion, Major-general Wellesley

appears to have displayed consummate skill, promptitude, and judgment, and to have given a pledge of that splendid career, by which, at no distant period, he was destined to increase the military renown of his country, and to elevate himself to the highest rank in the state short of sovereignty itself. Nor have the British troops ever manifested more exemplary order, courage, discipline, and alacrity, than on the plains of Assye. The whole line, led by General Wellesley in person, advanced to the charge with the greatest steadiness and bravery, although unsupported by artillery, and in the face of a most destructive fire of round and grape shot. Notwithstanding the decided superiority of the enemy's numbers, they were obliged, after a contest of three hours, to retire from the field of battle, but not till a French officer of distinction, and one of the principal ministers of Scindiah, had received mortal wounds, and lay stretched upon the plain. The complete defeat of the combined army of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, an irreparable blow to the strength and efficiency of their military resources, and the expulsion of a hostile and predatory army from the territory of the Soubahdar of the Deccan, formed the advantages resulting from the triumph of the British arms in the battle of Assye. Colonel Stevenson, who had been unavoidably prevented from joining the division under General Wellesley before the evening of the 24th, was ordered on his arrival to continue his route to Boorhanpoor, and about the middle of October, this city and the hill fort of Asseerghur, which is denominated the Key of the Deccan, surrendered to the British arms.

While General Wellesley continued to observe and obstruct the movements of the chieftains, their possessions in the province of Guzerat on the western, and of Cuttack on the eastern side of India, were conquered by the British arms. In conformity to the comprehensive plan of operations formed by the governor-general, which was calculated to attack at the same time the most distant possessions of Scindiah and of the Rajah of Berar, Lieutenant-colonel Woodington attacked and carried the fort of Baroach by storm, by which achievement, the company obtained possession of the district of that name, which yields an annual revenue estimated at eleven lacks of rupees.* The remaining territory belonging to Scindiah, in the province of Guzerat, was the district of Champaneer, and on the 17th of September, the fort and town of that district were in the possession of the British troops.

* A rupee is equal to 2s. 6d. A lack of rupees consists of 100,000, and is equal to 12,500*l.* sterling.

The invasion of the province of Cuttack was undertaken by Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt, of his majesty's 12th regiment of foot, who, on the 11th of September, arrived at Ganjam, and took the command of the troops at that station. On the 14th they made a movement in advance, and took possession of Manickpatam without resistance. Influenced by a letter from Colonel Harcourt, the bramins of the Pagoda of Jagarnaut sent a deputation to the British camp at Manickpatam, to claim the promised protection of the British government. Colonel Harcourt accordingly proceeded to Jagarnaut, the Mecca of the Hindoos, and on the 18th encamped in the neighbourhood of this metropolis of idolatry, the Pagoda having been previously evacuated by the Mahratta forces. And the governor-general, in an enumeration of the advantages derived from the conquests of this campaign, says, that it is by no means an immaterial circumstance, that the possession of the great temple of Jagarnaut will increase the reputation of the East India Company, if the affairs of that temple, which is resorted to by innumerable pilgrims, from every part of the Indian peninsula, be administered with justice and benevolence. After the surrender of Jagarnaut, the towns of Cuttack, Balasore, and Soorong, fell successively into the hands of the British troops, without resistance. At Barabutty, the only remaining fort in the province of Cuttack, a vigorous stand was made by the enemy, but all resistance was overcome by the courage and constancy of our troops, and on the 13th of October that fortress was stormed and carried by the troops under Colonel Harcourt.

Victory continued faithful to the British arms, and crowned the gallant and vigorous exertions of General Lake, on the north-west frontier of Oude, with the most splendid success. On the 29th of August General Lake moved into the Mahratta territory, with the intention of attacking the force under Monsieur Perron, which occupied an advantageous position at a short distance from the fortress of Ally Ghur. The force under the command of this French representative of the Emperor of Moghul, consisted of about fifteen thousand horse, of which between four and five thousand were regular cavalry. But the regular and determined advance of the British troops so completely overawed Monsieur Perron's forces, that they immediately retired, and quitted the field without venturing to risk an engagement. The army having taken possession of Coel without resistance, General Lake encamped before Ally Ghur on the 4th of September, and determined, after an unsuccessful negotiation with Monsieur Pedron, the commander of the garrison, to carry the fort by assault. The

command of the storming party was confided to Lieutenant-colonel Monson, who, after encountering a vigorous resistance, which lasted upwards of an hour from the commencement of the attack to its successful termination, accomplished the object of his enterprise. About two thousand of the enemy were killed on this occasion; numbers were drowned in attempts to escape, and those who surrendered were afterwards permitted to quit the fort. The French commandant, the only European in the place, was taken prisoner. The loss of the British, though bearing no proportion to that of the enemy, was extremely severe, and consisted of forty-three killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, amongst the latter of whom were Lieutenants-colonel Monson and Browne, Major Macleod, and several other gallant officers. In the fort some tumbrils of money were found, which the storming party divided on the spot. Ally Ghur was the residence of Monsieur Perron, and the grand depot of his military stores, the greater part of which was, by the acquisition of this fortress, placed in the hands of the British commander. The day after the successful assault of this fortress, Monsieur Perron addressed a letter to General Lake, informing him that he had resigned the service of Scindiah, and requesting permission to pass, escorted either by British troops or his own body-guard, with his family, property, and the officers of his suite, to Lucknow, through the territory of the Company, and of the Nawaub Vizier. General Lake complied without hesitation with this request, and allowed him to pass with his body-guard, with every mark of honour and respect.

The only check which the British troops appear hitherto to have experienced was at Shekoabad. Repeatedly attacked by a superior force under the command of a French officer, of the name of Fleury, Colonel Coningham was at length, after having resisted the enemy with great resolution and spirit, compelled to surrender; on the advantageous condition, however, that the garrison, which consisted of five companies of Sepoys, should be permitted to march to Cawnpore. In the heroic defence of this place, numbers of the company's troops were killed, and amongst the rest the brave and distinguished commandant, Colonel Coningham.

The British army under the personal command of General Lake, reached Secundra on the 9th of September, and on the 11th arrived at Jehnah Nullah, about six miles from Delhi, at eleven o'clock in the morning. The commander-in-chief having received intelligence that Monsieur Louis Bourquien had crossed the Jumna in the night, with sixteen battalions of regular infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a considerable train

of ordnance, for the purpose of attacking the British forces, immediately upon his arrival at Jehnah Fullah, proceeded in person to reconnoitre them with the whole of his cavalry, consisting only of three regiments, and found them drawn up on a rising ground in order of battle, and in full force. Their position was strengthened by a swamp covering each flank, beyond which the cavalry was posted; their front being covered by a numerous artillery, and protected by a line of intrenchments. Unintimidated either by the superiority of the enemy's numbers, or the advantages of his position, General Lake ordered the line to fall in without delay, and to move to the front in columns of grand divisions. The troops engaged in this glorious action, were his majesty's 76th regiment, seven battalions of Sepoys, the artillery, the 27th dragoons, and two regiments of native cavalry. The enemy's forces consisted of thirteen thousand infantry, and six thousand cavalry; the British force, both cavalry and infantry, of only four thousand five hundred men.

The position of the enemy was such as to render it difficult to attack them with effect. General Lake determined therefore to make a feint retreat, that they might be induced to leave their intrenchments, and to advance upon the plain.—By this retrograde movement, the cavalry, which had before considerably advanced, soon formed a junction with the infantry in the rear, which still continued to advance. The cavalry then opened from the centre, and allowed the infantry to pass in front. The false retreat of the cavalry completely deceived the enemy. They immediately quitted their strong position, and advanced with the whole of their numerous artillery, shouting and exhibiting the strongest demonstrations of confidence in victory. The British infantry instantly formed into one line, with the cavalry about forty yards in the rear. The whole then proceeded against the enemy, led by General Lake in person, at the head of the 76th regiment.—The enemy kept up a tremendous fire of round, chain, and grape shot. But notwithstanding the destruction it produced, the troops advanced with the greatest bravery and steadiness, without taking their muskets from their shoulders. When they approached within a hundred paces of the enemy, they were exposed to a heavy fire of grape from all their artillery. Orders were then given to charge the enemy with the bayonet; the whole line, with their brave general at their head, after firing a volley, rushed on with irresistible impetuosity, and the enemy giving way, fled in every direction. When the line halted, it was ordered to break into columns of companies.—This manœuvre enabled the British cavalry to pass through

the intervals, and to charge the enemy with their galloper guns, and pursuing them to the banks of the Jumna, they drove vast numbers into the river, and completed the victory. By this splendid victory, sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, and thirty-seven tumbrils, laden with ammunition, fell into the possession of the British army. Twenty-four other tumbrils exploded during the battle, and many others, with a number of ammunition carriages, were left by the enemy in the Jumna and the Jehnah Nullah. Two tumbrils containing treasure were taken on the field of battle. The loss of the enemy was estimated at three thousand men. That of the British force was also very considerable, amounting, in killed, wounded, and missing, to four hundred and eighty-five men—about one ninth of the army brought into the field on this ever memorable occasion. Major Middleton, Cornet Sanguine, and several other European soldiers, fell under the scorching influence of the sun. The evacuation of the city and forts of Delhi, the dispersion of the enemy in all directions, and the increased reputation of the British arms, were amongst the important consequences of this memorable victory.

Immediately after the action of Delhi, the unfortunate Emperor Shah Aulum sent to General Lake, expressing his desire to place his royal person and authority under the protection of his victorious arms. On the 16th of September, General Lake waited on his majesty, and congratulated him on his emancipation from the oppressive and degrading control of a French faction. The eldest son of his majesty, Mirza Akbar Shah, conducted the commander-in-chief to his royal presence. The crowd in the street was so great that it was with some difficulty the cavalcade could proceed to the palace, but General Lake was at length ushered into the presence of the unfortunate and venerable emperor. Oppressed by the accumulated calamities of old age, degraded authority, poverty, and the loss of sight, this unhappy prince was seated under a tattered canopy, with every external appearance of misery and destitution. The impression which General Lake's conduct at this affecting and interesting interview, produced on the minds of the inhabitants of Delhi, is not to be described. In the metaphorical language of Asia, the extraordinary joy excited by the deliverance from bondage of the aged and infirm Shah Aulum, is represented to have restored his majesty's sight! In addition to many distinguished marks of royal favour, the emperor conferred on the general the second title in the empire; signifying "The sword of the state, the hero of the land, the lord of age, and the victorious in war."

On the 24th of September General Lake moved from the

city of Delhi, and on the 4th of October arrived before the fortress of Agra. The commander-in-chief immediately summoned the garrison to surrender, but having received no answer, he determined to attack the fort. In conformity with this determination, Colonel Clarke was directed, on the 10th of October, to take possession of the town with his brigade of Sepoys, while Lieutenant Macculloch, with three battalions of native troops, advanced to the attack of the ravines. After a long and severe contest, the enemy evacuated the town. The attack on the ravines was equally successful ; but the high spirit and bravery of the officers and men of the native battalions exposed them in some degree unnecessarily to considerable loss. On this occasion, twenty-six guns, with several tumbrils, were taken ; and about two thousand five hundred men surrendered to General Lake, and marched into the British camp on the 13th of October.

On the same evening the garrison of the fort sent proposals to capitulate ; and for the purpose of finally adjusting the terms of the capitulation, a British officer was sent into the fort ; but while he was actually engaged in the negotiation, the enemy treacherously re-commenced their fire, and the officer returned. In consequence of this act of perfidy, the breaching batteries were opened on the 17th, and the same evening the garrison, consisting of about five thousand men, capitulated. In the fortress of Agra, which was now placed under the command of Colonel Macdonald, were found a large quantity of stores, many guns, and several tumbrils, containing about twenty-four lack of rupees.

In the early part of the campaign, Scindiah had detached from the Deccan a considerable force, under the command of Monsieur Duderne, for the purpose of reinforcing the army of Monsieur Perron. This force, which was furnished with a numerous artillery, was destined to attempt the recovery of the important post of Delhi. To frustrate this design, Major-general Lake marched from Agra on the 27th of October in pursuit of the enemy, and on the 31st encamped a short distance from the ground which they had quitted the same day. At 12 o'clock the same night General Lake marched with the cavalry, and came up with the enemy about seven o'clock in the morning of the 1st of November. The enemy's force, which was posted with the right in front of the village of Laswaree, and the left upon the village of Mohauloor, consisted of nine thousand infantry, upwards of four thousand cavalry, and seventy-two pieces of artillery. Although the British infantry had not arrived, the original plan of attack, which had for its object to prevent the retreat of the

enemy, and to secure their guns, was immediately carried into execution. Major Griffiths, Colonel Vandeleur, and Colonel Macan, with their respective brigades, charged the enemy with great gallantry and spirit, forced their line, and took several of their guns. The enemy's fire was however found so galling and destructive, that the British cavalry, after maintaining their ground with distinguished heroism for some time, were at length obliged to retire, leaving Colonel Vandeleur, and several of their gallant comrades, dead upon the field. At twelve o'clock at noon, the infantry, who had that morning performed a march of five and twenty miles, arrived on the banks of the rivulet, where the cavalry were assembled. After about an hour's delay, spent principally in preparation, the British infantry advanced to the attack, and as soon as they became exposed to the enemy's artillery, opened their batteries and commenced their fire. The enemy, whose artillery was decidedly superior to that of the British, both in number and weight of metal, discharged grape-shot from large mortars, as well as from guns of a very heavy calibre. The 76th regiment, which headed the attack, suffered so much from the fire of the enemy, that General Lake judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and a small body of native infantry which had closed to the front, rather than wait for the remainder of the column. As soon as this small band of heroes had arrived within reach of the enemy's guns, a most tremendous fire of cannister-shot was opened upon them. The loss sustained by the British troops was so severe, that the enemy were encouraged to attempt a charge; but they were repulsed with loss, and obliged in their turn to retreat. Their cavalry, however, immediately rallied, and their posture became so menacing, that General Lake deemed it necessary to order the cavalry to advance and to charge them. At this instant Major Griffiths fell, by a cannon-shot; but Captain Wade, by whom his station was immediately supplied, achieved this service with the most distinguished gallantry and success. The remainder of the first column of British infantry having arrived in time to join in the attack on the enemy's reserve, Major-general Ware was proceeding to execute this service, but was killed by a cannon-shot. The loss of this distinguished officer was deeply lamented. To the last moment of the battle the enemy opposed a vigorous resistance, nor did they abandon their ground until all their artillery was lost. Their left even then attempted to retreat in good order, but this movement was entirely frustrated by Lieutenant-colonel John Vandeleur, who broke in upon their column and completed the victory.

General Lake very truly states, in his despatch to the governor-general, that the zeal which the British army displayed on this memorable day was too plainly proved by the returns of the killed and wounded. The numbers amounted to eight hundred and twenty-two, including many meritorious and sincerely lamented officers. Of the enemy, two thousand were taken prisoners, and the greater part of the remainder slain. In addition to this irreparable loss, the whole of the bazars, camp equipage, and baggage, fell into the hands of the British troops; with a considerable number of elephants, camels, and upwards of seven hundred bullocks; seventy-two pieces of cannon of different calibres; forty-four stands of colours, and sixty-four tumbrils completely laden with ammunition. Three tumbrils with money were also captured, together with fifty-seven carts laden with match-locks, muskets, and stores. During the action several tumbrils with ammunition exploded; and five thousand stand of arms thrown down by the enemy were found on the field.

On this memorable day, his majesty's 76th regiment maintained the high reputation it had so justly acquired for bravery, steadiness, and discipline. The victory, however, was in a considerable degree attributed to the skill, judgment, and valour of General Lake, whose illustrious name, and heroic example, inspired the army with universal confidence. In the midst of the slaughter, the general had two horses killed under him; but while the shot poured round him in every direction, he displayed the most resolute fortitude, and the most ardent valour. Of every advantage presented by the enemy he availed himself with admirable promptitude, and manifested the highest degree of professional ability. His unrivalled personal activity carried into immediate execution his various and masterly plans of attack; and in the front of every principal charge he appeared with all the ardour and enthusiasm of matchless courage.

The staff of the army maintained their distinguished reputation. The conduct of Major G. A. F. Lake, of his majesty's 94th regiment, son to the commander-in-chief, was conspicuously meritorious. He attended his father, throughout the whole campaign, in the capacity of military secretary and aide-de-camp. In executing his father's orders, he displayed the utmost gallantry and valour in every service of difficulty and danger. He constantly attended his father's person, and, independently of the ties of natural affection, he possessed the highest place in the commander-in-chief's confidence and esteem. In the heat of the action his father's horse was killed under him by a shot; Major Lake immediately dismounted,

and after much earnest solicitation prevailed on his father to mount his horse—mounting himself a horse of one of the troopers. At that instant he was struck by a shot, which wounded him severely, in the presence of his affectionate father. At the same moment General Lake found it necessary to lead the troops against the enemy, and leave his wounded son upon the field of battle. Exerting the last efforts of human fortitude, the commander-in-chief, in this dreadful and distracting moment, prosecuted victory with undiminished ardour. At the close of the battle, he had the satisfaction to learn that the wound, though severe, was not dangerous.

Thus terminated the short but brilliant campaign of the east. In the brief interval between the 8th of August, the day on which hostilities commenced, and the 1st of September, the British army conquered all the possessions of Scindiah in Guzerat, the city of Boorhanpore in Candeish, the province of Cuttack in Orissa, the Mahratta dominions between the Jumna and the Ganges, the city of Delhi with the right bank of the Jumna, and the city of Agra and the adjoining territory. The fortified town of Ahmednuggur, the fort of Allyghur, Baroach, and Cuttack, were taken by storm. The forts Ahmednuggur, Powanghur, and Champoneer, the fort of Asseerghur, denominated the key of the Deccan, and the fort of Agra, which the natives term the key of Hindostan, surrendered, after batteries had been opened against them, by capitulation. The British army completely defeated the enemy in three general engagements: at Delhi, on the 11th of September; at Assye, on the 23d of September; and at Laswaree, on the 1st of November. According to the official returns, the British troops took, in those engagements, and under the walls of Agra, two hundred and sixty-eight pieces of ordnance, five thousand stand of arms, two hundred and fifteen tumbrils, and fifty-one stand of colours, with a large quantity of stores, baggage, camp equipage, and ammunition. It does not appear that any official returns of the artillery, stores, &c. taken from the enemy in the greater part of the fortresses mentioned above, had been transmitted to the supreme government in India, at the time this statement was prepared. But according to the returns which had been received, the total number of ordnance, exclusive of tumbrils, stores, &c. captured from the 8th of August to the 1st of November, amounted to seven hundred and thirteen.

After this splendid termination of hostilities, treaties of peace and alliance were, in conformity to instructions from the governor-general, concluded with the following chieftains of Hindostan. The Rajahs of Berar, Bhurratpore, Macherry,



Edwin Sc.

J O S E P H I N E.

Late Empress Queen of France & Italy.

Jeynagur, and the Rajah Umbajee Rao Englah. Two separate treaties were concluded with Dowlut Rao Scindiah; a partition treaty with the Peishaw, and with the Soubahdar of the Deccan; and a treaty was also concluded with the Ranah of Gohud.

In the terms of peace the governor-general was as moderate as the British forces were irresistible in the prosecution of the war. The combined exertion of the talents and wisdom of the Marquis of Wellesley, and the military genius and courage of Generals Lake and Wellesley, accomplished every object for which the war was undertaken. In every part of the company's possessions in Hindostan the glorious events of the campaign diffused the most enthusiastic joy. The inhabitants of Calcutta voted that a marble statue of the governor-general should be erected, as a lasting memorial of his eminent public services; and it was at the same time agreed to present swords of considerable value to Generals Lake and Wellesley. At home the public gratitude was not less alive to the extraordinary ability and exertions of the governor-general of India. The thanks of parliament were voted to his excellency, and to the commanders, officers, and soldiers of the several armies which had shared in the dangers and in the glories of the contest; while his majesty, in order to express the royal approbation of the signal services conferred upon the country by the generals of the east, was pleased to create General Lake a peer of the realm, and to confer upon General Wellesley the honour of the noble order of the Bath.

CHAPTER IV.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *State of France—Conspiracy against the French Government—Arrest of Georges, Pichegru, Moreau, and others of the Conspirators—Death of General Pichegru—of Captain Wright—Execution of Georges, and Eleven of his Confederates—Moreau permitted to Exile himself—Arrest and Execution of the Duke d'Enghien—Charge exhibited by the French Government against Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith—Arrest of Sir George Rumbold—Plot against the Life of Louis XVIII—Proposal to elevate Bonaparte to the Imperial Dignity—Ineffectual Opposition by Carnot—Organic Senatus Consultum conferring the Title of Emperor—voted by the Senate—accepted by Napoleon—Protest of Louis XVIII—The Pope invited to perform the Ceremony of Consecration—Allocution of his Holiness issued on his Departure from Rome—Coronation—The Title of Emperor of Austria assumed by Francis II—Situation of Europe at the close of the Year 1804—Indications of the Renewal of War on the Continent.*

THE French legislative body was this year assembled on the 7th of January, and on the 16th of the same month the

annual *expose* of the state of the republic was submitted to that assembly. This publication, which was the last in which the ruler of France was to be contemplated as a citizen giving an account to his fellow-citizens of the origin and success of his measures, pourtrayed the state of the republic in the most captivating colours.* Although France had been forced to change her attitude, her situation, according to the government organ, was in no respect deteriorated ; the internal tranquillity of the country had not been disturbed since the torch of war had been rekindled by a jealous enemy ; against that enemy the public indignation had been as much increased as the devotion to the first consul had been augmented, and all danger of internal divisions was at an end, in despite of every effort made by the English government to promote them. In short, the war had not even interrupted the plans marked out for a time of peace ; the construction of roads, canals, bridges, and harbours, as well as the promotion of all objects of a similar nature, proceeded with undiminished zeal ; and the government had pursued with constancy every measure that tended to attach all interests and all hopes to its duration. The finances were described as in the most prosperous situation, the revenues were collected with unprecedented facility, and public credit had maintained itself in the midst of the shocks of war. Out of two hundred millions (of livres) which might have been captured by the enemy, more than two-thirds of that amount had been saved. In Hanover, success had invariably attended the French troops ; the Hanoverian army, to the number of twenty-five thousand men, had laid down their arms, and the cavalry of the republic had been remounted at the expense of a possession dear to the King of England, and which presented a security of the justice which that monarch would be obliged hereafter to return to France. It was in conclusion declared, that France would never acknowledge less advantageous conditions than those of the treaty of Amiens ; that the most perfect harmony subsisted between the French republic and the United States, Helvetia, Italy, and the Ottoman Empire ; and that the tranquillity given to the continent by the treaty of Luneville was secured and ratified by the proceedings of the diet of Ratisbon.

The public mind being thus prepared to repose implicit confidence in the government of Bonaparte, an event occurred which materially contributed to accelerate the completion of his projects, and to elevate this modern Charlemagne to the

* *Expose* of the State of France laid before the Legislative Body, on the 25th of Nivose, 12th year.

summit of his ambition. Early in the month of February a plot was detected, the object of which seems to have been the overthrow of the existing government. The principal persons implicated in this conspiracy were General Pichegru, Georges Cadoudal, formerly a leader of the insurgents in Brittany, and Lajollais, a confidant of General Pichegru. It likewise appeared that General Moreau had, to a certain extent, been made acquainted with the views of Pichegru, and that he had held secret interviews with that general since his return from England to Paris. The first intimation of this intrigue was given by a confidential agent of the conspirators, who had been arrested near Calais, and on his information, Lajollais, Moreau, and several others, were placed under arrest. This treason against the consular government was announced to the public in a report to the first consul, prepared by Regnier, the minister of justice, and which ascribed the whole plot to England and her emissaries. On the promulgation of this report, the genius of the French nation displayed itself in a profusion of legislative provisions, and in copious and abject addresses. The tribunate, the senate, and the legislative body, all vied with each other in terms of courtly adulation. The army and the navy, following the example of their rulers, swelled the number of addresses, and the right wing of the armament collected at Ostend declared, that they waited with impatience the arrival of the moment when the first consul should "proclaim the hour of vengeance against England."

To the addresses of felicitation on the discovery of the conspiracy, delivered by the deputations from the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate, the first consul replied :—

"Since I have attained the supreme magistracy many plots have been formed against my life. Educated in camps, I have never regarded dangers which give me no fear. But I cannot avoid experiencing a deep and painful feeling when I consider the situation in which this great nation would have been placed, if this plot had been successful, for it is principally against the glory, the liberty, and the destiny of the French people that the conspiracy was formed. I have long since renounced the hope of enjoying the pleasures of private life. All my days are employed in fulfilling the duties which my fate and the will of the French people have imposed upon me. Heaven will watch over France and defeat the plots of the wicked. The citizens may be without alarm. My life will last as long as it shall be useful to the nation ; but I wish the French people to understand, that existence, without their confidence and affection, would be for me without consolation, and would for them have no object."

These congratulatory addresses did not so much engross the attention of government as to induce them to relax their vigilance for the detection of the persons implicated in the conspiracy. Pichegru had hired of one Le Blanc, a broker,

a small apartment at an enormous price, relying on the fidelity and attachment of his host for his security. But his confidence was misplaced ; for this unprincipled wretch, having obtained from Murat, the governor of Paris, and the brother-in-law of Bonaparte, a promise of one hundred thousand livres, introduced six gens d'armes into the generals apartment, on the night of the 27th of February, while he was asleep, and secured his pistols and dagger, which were laid upon a table near his bed. Awaked by the noise, the general sprang on to the floor naked and unarmed, and it was not till he was exhausted by fatigue and loss of blood that he surrendered, and was conveyed to prison. The following day, the legislature passed a law, that any person concealing Georges, or any of the individuals who were named as associates in his plot, should be considered as principals in guilt, and should expiate their offence with their life. For some days Georges had the good fortune to escape the vigilance of the police, but on the 10th of March, he was discovered in a chaise with his friend Leridan the younger, and after a desperate resistance, in which he shot the police officer by whom he was stopped dead upon the spot, and wounded another of the officers of justice, he was secured and conveyed to prison.

Immediately on the arrest of General Pichegru, he underwent an examination before the prefect of the police, the object of which was to obtain from him a confession, that he returned to France under the direction of the French princes, and that his intention was to replace the Bourbons on the throne of their ancestors. After a second examination he was committed to the tower of the Temple, where he remained for about a month, when on a sudden the government announced that he had terminated his existence by suicide. The account given of this event by the government, was, that the general went to bed about midnight on the 6th of April, and that when the boy who waited upon him had retired, he drew from beneath his bolster, where he had secreted it, a black silk cravat, which he wound round his throat, and introducing into the two ends of the cravat a piece of stick, which he had also secreted, he twisted it about until strangulation was produced ; and to prevent the stick from returning, he placed one end of it behind his left ear, and then placing the left side of his head upon his pillow, expired in that situation. At seven o'clock in the morning, the turnkey entered his room to light his fire, but seeing the prisoner a corpse, with his face discoloured, his jaw locked, and his tongue pressed between his teeth, he immediately gave the alarm. No sooner had the fact of the death of General Pichegru come to the knowledge of the crimi-

nal tribunal, than they despatched eight physicians and surgeons to inspect the body, and their report, agreeing in substance with the above representation, was publicly read in the tribunal of the section, by the officer of health. But with whatever art and care these proceedings were drawn up, the account they contained was by no means satisfactory. The formation of an artificial tourniquet, by means of a piece of faggot stick, and the persevering use of it, as described in the report, were considered as improbable and unnatural. The description of the deceased general taking his handkerchief from under his bolster, at a time when no eye could see him, was deemed an absurd invention; and the moral and religious character of the man was considered a strong presumptive proof that he had not committed the crime imputed to him. It was on the contrary said, but it must be confessed that the assertion rested on no positive evidence, that while General Pichegru was in prison, attempts were made to extort from him confessions, by the application of the torture, but that his unconquerable firmness rendered these barbarities unavailing, and that, in order to conceal the marks of the torture, and to avoid the exposure which must have taken place on his trial, recourse was had to the last expedient of a despotic government, and the victim of private assassination was calumniated as a suicide.*

* Soon after the death of General Pichegru, died, in the same prison of the Temple, a British naval officer, whose fate was deeply deplored, and the circumstances of which gave rise to the suspicion that his death proceeded from the hands of violence rather than from the ordination of Providence. On the 15th of May, accident threw into the hands of the enemy, Captain Wright, who, while cruising on board a corvette, in the Bay of Quiberon, was becalmed and made prisoner by the French gun-boats. He was a person in whose capture Bonaparte would for every reason rejoice. He had been the fellow-prisoner of Sir Sidney Smith, and after escaping with that officer from the Temple, had served with him in Egypt and Syria, and had already been named in the reports as the person who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions, on the coast of France. Captain Wright, on his arrival in Paris, was immured in the Temple, where he resisted every temptation that was held out to allure him to make disclosures to the injury of his country, and where he fell the victim, as is supposed, of his virtue, honour, and constancy. (53.)

(53.) On this subject we can have no higher authority than Napoleon himself. In conversation with Mr. Warden, he asked the latter "if he remembered the history of Captain Wright?" "Perfectly well," was the reply, "and it is a prevailing opinion in England that you ordered him to be murdered in the Temple." With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied, "For what object? Of all men, he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved, on the trial of the conspirators, in and about Paris? The heads of it, he himself had

The trial of the other parties concerned in this plot, took place in Paris in the month of July, before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine, when Georges, and nine-

landed on the French coast " "My curiosity," says Mr. Warden, "was at this moment such as to be betrayed by my looks. "Listen," continued Napoleon, "and you shall hear. The English brig of war, commanded by Captain Wright, was employed by your government in landing traitors and spies on the west coast of France. Seventy of the number had actually reached Paris; and so mysterious were their proceedings, so veiled in impenetrable concealment, that although General Ryal, of the police, gave me this information, the name or place of their resort could not be discovered. I received daily assurances that my life would be attempted, and though I did not give entire credit to them, I took every precaution for my preservation. The brig was afterwards taken, near L'Orient, with Captain Wright, its commander, who was carried before the prefect of the department of Morbeau, at Vannes. General Julien, then prefect, had accompanied me in the expedition to Egypt, and recognized Captain Wright on the first view of him. Intelligence of this circumstance was immediately transmitted to Paris; and instructions were expeditiously returned, to interrogate the crew separately, and transfer their testimonies to the minister of police. The purport of their examination was at first very unsatisfactory, but at length, on the examination of one of the crew, some light was thrown upon the subject. He stated, that the brig had landed several Frenchmen, and among them, he particularly remembered one, a very merry fellow, who was called Pichegru. Thus a clue was found, that led to the discovery of a plot, which, had it succeeded, would have thrown the French nation a second time into a state of revolution. Captain Wright was accordingly conveyed to Paris, and confined in the Temple, there to remain till it was found convenient to bring the formidable accessaries of this treasonable design to trial. The laws of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death: but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was, to secure the principals, and I considered the English captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object." He again and again most solemnly asserted, that Captain Wright died in the Temple, by his own hand, as described in the *Moniteur*, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed. At the same time he stated, that his assertion was founded on documents which he had since examined. The cause of this enquiry arose from the visit, I think he said, of Lord Eslington to Elba; and he added, "that nobleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the account which was given him of this mysterious business."

On the subject of the death of Pichegru, he observed, "Your country also accuses me of his death." I replied, "It is most certainly and universally believed throughout the whole British empire, that he was strangled in prison by your orders." He rapidly answered, "What idle, disingenuous folly! a fine proof how prejudice can destroy the boasted reasoning faculties of Englishmen! Why, I ask you, should that life be taken away in secret, which the laws consigned to the hands of a public executioner? The matter would have been different with respect to Moreau. Had he died in a dungeon, there might have been grounds to justify the suspicion that he had not been guilty of suicide. He was a very popular character, as well as much beloved by the army; and I should never have lost the odium, however guiltless I might have been, if the justice of his death, supposing his life to have been forfeited by the laws, had not been made apparent by the most public execution."—*Warden's Letters.*

teen others, were convicted, and condemned to suffer death, with confiscation of property. General Moreau was sentenced to two years imprisonment. To Armand Polignac, M. de Riviere Lajollais, and M. de Lozier, who were in the number of the convicted, a pardon was extended. On the 25th of July, Georges and eleven others were guillotined at the *Place de Greve*. They died with the most heroic firmness, and were accompanied to their graves by the regrets of thousands. How far General Moreau was implicated in the plot it is impossible accurately to determine ; from his own interrogatory no evidence could be deduced against him, but General Rousillon, Bouvet de Lozier, one Rolland, and some other persons accused, were allowed to state, that he first engaged in a conspiracy to overturn the existing government, and to restore Louis XVIII. but afterwards preferred assuming the office of dictator himself, and was making exertions for that purpose. In an exculpatory letter written by Moreau to the first consul, he acknowledged that distant overtures had been made to him, to enter into correspondence with the French princes ; but to those proposals, which appeared to him to be ridiculous, he returned, as he affirms, no answer. The part of giving information to government was repugnant to his character ; such an office, he adds, is always judged of severely ; but it becomes odious, and is marked with the seal of reprobation against the individual who exercises it to the injury of those persons to whom his gratitude is due, and with whom he has long cultivated habits of friendship. Duty, he observed, may sometimes yield to public opinion.

Such was the substance of General Moreau's letter. It is a weak defence of innocence ; and if he were conscious of the integrity of his conduct, he should have assumed a manly and heroic tone of self-defence. He should have demanded to be brought before a public tribunal. His great and well-merited popularity would have confirmed a just assertion of his innocence. Even the uplifted sword of tyranny would not have dared to strike. The truth appears to be, that he was aware of the conspiracy against the government and person of Bonaparte, but there was not the least evidence that he had ever taken any active share in perpetrating the designs of the conspirators. After some delay, Moreau was permitted to embark for the United States of America, in which country he remained without any fixed pursuit, till the sovereigns of Europe, duly appreciating his talents, called the expatriated general from exile, and gave him a distinguished rank in their military councils.

While the government of France was engaged in prosecu-

ting the conspirators in its own capital, the territory of the Elector of Baden was violated, and a prince of the house of Bourbon sacrificed to the jealousy of the first consul. Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, Duc d'Enghien, son of the Prince of Conde, following the fortunes of his family, had emigrated from France at an early stage of the revolution, and during the whole of the last war, had served with distinction in the royalist army. Nature had been liberal in the endowment of his person, and his mind was enriched by many virtues, and adorned with the acquirements of a liberal and judicious education. At the end of the war he had sought a retreat in the dominions of the Elector of Baden, where he lived in a state of cautious privacy, avoiding alike that activity which would have exposed him to suspicion, and that publicity which would have rendered him the object of mortifying curiosity or of illiberal reflection. Early in the present year, feeling the irksomeness of his situation, and the disgraceful oblivion to which he seemed to be consigned, he had written to the British minister at Vienna, soliciting to be employed in the army of his majesty, in any way that might be thought proper, and declaring, that as he could have no individual nor family interest to advance, his hopes were limited to the attainment of a commission in the army, or any other honourable employment that government might be pleased to assign.

While the duke was thus employing himself, in the supposed security which a neutral territory should afford, a party of fifteen hundred French dragoons, headed by Ordener,* one of Bonaparte's generals, crossed the Rhine in the night of the 15th of March, in three divisions; the guards of the elector, finding all resistance vain, were obliged to open to these invaders the gates of Offenburgh and of Ettenheim, at the latter of which places the duke had fixed his abode. Proceeding to his house, they seized the duke, and a few old priests and invalids who dwelt with him, and loading him with irons, re-passed the river, and conveyed him a prisoner into France. With the utmost rapidity, without sleep, and in fetters, he was obliged to travel day and night, until he reached Paris. When his guards brought him to the Temple, they found an order, in obedience to which they immediately carried him away to the castle of Vincennes. On his arrival at that place on the 21st, a military committee, composed of seven persons, selected for the purpose by Murat, repaired to the castle, to try, or rather to order him for execution. In his absence the charges against him, and the proofs in support of them, were read. The

* General Caulaincourt's Letter to the Emperor of Russia.

charges were, 1st, having borne arms against the republic ; 2d, having offered his services to England ; 3d, having received and conspired with agents of England ; 4th, having put himself at the head of a troop of emigrants in the pay of England in Fribourg and Baden ; 5th, having endeavoured, by correspondences with Strasburgh, to cause insurrections in the neighbouring departments, in order to make a diversion in favour of England ; and 6th, having aided the late conspiracy against the life of the first consul.

It was not until after the reading of these charges and papers that the prisoner was admitted into court ; and then, the report of the trial published by the French government says, he was interrogated, and allowed to make his defence ; but what was the nature of the interrogatory, or of the defence, no information was ever given. Indeed it appears that the unfortunate prince was brought to his trial rather dead than alive ; exhausted with fatigue, with the weight of his irons, and with want of sleep, to such a degree that with difficulty he could keep his eyes open. The court, without much deliberation, found him guilty of all the charges, and sentenced him to death. The same night he was taken from his dungeon, and led, at one o'clock in the morning, by torch-light, to the wood of Vincennes, where he was inhumanly shot by the Italian soldiers in the service of Bonaparte. This unfortunate prince, who was in the thirty-second year of his age, met his fate with the most undaunted and heroic firmness. On his way to the place of execution he expressed his joy that his murderers were to be foreigners and not Frenchmen, and when the bandage was to be placed over his eyes, he exclaimed, "a loyal soldier can face death with open eyes and without fear." In his last hours he was allowed to have the attendance of a priest, but, with the barbarity which characterized every part of this dark and murderous transaction, they were not permitted to be alone, nor to have any intercourse but in a tone of voice sufficiently loud to be heard by the guards. (54.)

(54.) No act of Napoleon's extraordinary life, has thrown a greater shade upon his character, than the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien. The violation of neutral rights, always unjustifiable, which accompanied his arrest, the mock trial which ensued, and the secret and hurried manner in which the death of this young Prince was effected, added to the original enormity of the transaction. The relation of this occurrence, given by the Emperor in his conversations with Mr. Warden, throws so much light upon the subject, that it is proper for the sake of historical accuracy to subjoin it. "At this eventful period of my life, I had succeeded in restoring order and tranquillity to a kingdom torn asunder by faction, and deluged in blood. That nation had placed me at their head. I came not as your Cromwell did, or your

The effect of this event formed a striking contrast to that of the discovery of the conspiracy of Georges. Gloom over-

third Richard. No such thing. I found a crown in the kennel ; I cleansed it from its filth, and placed it on my head. My safety now became necessary to preserve that tranquillity so recently restored ; and hitherto, so satisfactorily preserved, as the leading characters of the nation well know. At the same time, reports were every night brought me," (I think he said by General Ryal.) " that conspiracies were in agitation ; that meetings were held in particular houses in Paris, and names even were mentioned ; at the same time no satisfactory proofs could be obtained, and the utmost vigilance and ceaseless pursuit of the police was evaded. General Moreau, indeed, became suspected, and I was seriously importuned to issue an order for his arrest, but his character was such, his name stood so high, and the estimation of him so great in the public mind, that as it appeared to me, he had nothing to gain, and every thing to lose, by becoming a conspirator against me : I therefore, could not but exonerate him from such a suspicion. I accordingly refused an offer for the proposed arrest, by the following intimation to the minister of Police. You have named Pichegru, Georges and Moreau : Convince me that the former is in Paris, and I will immediately cause the latter to be arrested. Another and a very singular circumstance, led to the developement of the plot. One night as I lay agitated and wakeful, I rose from my bed and examined the list of suspected traitors ; and chance, which rules the world, occasioned my stumbling, as it were, on the name of a surgeon, who lately returned from an English prison. This man's age, education, and experience in life, induced me to believe that his conduct must be attributed to any other motive than that of youthful fanaticism, in favour of a Bourbon : as far as circumstances qualified me to judge, money appeared to be his object. I accordingly gave orders for this man to be arrested ; when a summary mock trial was instituted, by which he was found guilty, sentenced to die, and informed he had but six hours to live. This stratagem had the desired effect : he was terrified into confession. It was now known that Pichegru had a brother, a monastic priest, then residing in Paris. I ordered a party of gens d'armes to visit this man, and if he had quitted his house, I conceived there would be good grounds for suspicion. The old monk was secured, and in the act of his arrest, his fears betrayed what I most wanted to know—is it, he exclaimed, because I afforded shelter to a brother, that I am thus treated ?—The object of the plot was to destroy me ; and the success of it would of course have been my destruction. It emanated from the capital of your country, with the Count d'Artois, at the head of it. To the west he sent the Duc de Berri, and to the east, the Duc d'Enghien. To France your vessels conveyed underlings of the plot, and Moreau became a convert to the cause. The moment was big with evil : I felt myself on a tottering eminence, and resolved to hurl the thunder back upon the Bourbons, even in the metropolis of the British Empire. My minister vehemently urged the seizure of the Duke, though in a neutral territory. But I still hesitated, and Prince Benevento brought the order twice, and urged the measure with all his powers of persuasion : it was not however until I was fully convinced of its necessity, that I sanctioned it by my signature. The matter could be easily arranged between me and the Duke of Baden. Why indeed should I suffer a man residing on the very confines of my kingdom, to commit a crime which, within the distance of a mile, by the ordinary course of law, justice herself would condemn to the scaffold ? And now answer me ; did I do more than adopt the principle of your government, when it ordered the capture of the Danish fleet,

spread every countenance, and silence stifled every emotion. No one ventured to congratulate the first consul on his escape, or on the destruction of his mortal enemy; no one dared to blame, and no one was allowed to vindicate the act. The intelligence of the trial and the execution was first imparted in papers printed out of France, for it was not until several days after the event, that the Paris newspapers contained any narrative on the subject. In private, where men could venture to intimate an opinion, every one declared his abhorrence of the act, and every Frenchman sought to alleviate his portion

which was thought to threaten mischief to your country? It had been urged to me again and again, as a sound political opinion, that the new dynasty could not be secure while the Bourbons remained. Talleyrand never deviated from this principle: It was a fixed unchangeable article in his political creed. But I did not become a ready or a willing convert. I examined the opinion with care and with caution: and the result was a perfect conviction of its necessity. The Duc d'Enghien was accessory to the confederacy; and although the resident of a neutral territory, the urgency of the case, in which my safety and the public tranquillity, to use no stronger expressions, were involved, justified the proceeding. I accordingly ordered him to be seized and tried; he was found guilty and sentenced to be shot. The sentence was immediately executed; and the same fate would have followed, had it been Louis the Eighteenth. For I again declare, that I found it necessary to roll the thunder back on the metropolis of England, as from thence, with the Count d'Artois at their head, did the assassins assail me." In a subsequent part of the same conversation he is reported to have said, "I was justified in my own mind, and I repeat the declaration I have already made, that I would have ordered the execution of Louis XVIII. At the same time I solemnly affirm that no message or letter from the Duke reached me after sentence of death had been passed upon him." "Talleyrand, however," observes Mr. Warden, "was said to be in possession of a letter from the royal prisoner, addressed to Napoleon, which they who are well qualified to know, declared he took upon himself not to deliver, till it was too late to be of any service to the writer. I saw a copy of this letter in possession of the Count de Las Cases, which he calmly represented to me as one of the mass of documents, formed or collected to authenticate and justify certain mysterious parts of the history which he was occasionally employed in writing under the dictation of the hero of it. The letter was to beg his life; and to this effect: it stated his opinion that the Bourbon dynasty was terminated. That was the settled opinion, and he was about to prove the sincerity of it. He now considered France no otherwise than as his country, which he loved with the most patriotic ardour, but merely as a private citizen. The crown was no longer in his view. It was now beyond the probability of recovery; it would not, it could not be restored. He therefore requested to be allowed to live, and devote his life and services to France, merely as a native of it. He was ready to take any command, in any rank, in the French army, to become a brave and loyal soldier, subject to the will and orders of the government, in whose hands soever it might be, to which he was ready to swear fealty, and that if his life was spared he would devote it with the utmost courage and fidelity, to support France against all its enemies. Such was the letter which, as it was represented to me, Talleyrand took care not to deliver, till the hand that wrote it was unnerved by death."—*Warden's Letters.*

of the burthen of national infamy, by congratulating himself that he was not one of the Italians who had performed this task of midnight butchery. In foreign countries, where any free opinion could be expressed, the murder was stigmatized in becoming terms, and in some, solemn funeral obsequies were performed in honour of the victim. Several notes on the illegal seizure of the Duke d'Enghien, and the violation of the neutrality of the German empire, were delivered both to the diet of Ratisbon, and addressed to the French minister for foreign affairs. Among these by far the most spirited were the notes presented by the Russian, Swedish, and Hanoverian ministers.

The tragic scene in the wood of Vincennes had scarcely closed, when another conspiracy was announced by the grand judge of the French courts. In his report to the first consul it is stated, that the British minister resident at the court of Munich, had engaged in a clandestine correspondence with certain individuals in the heart of France, with a view to overturn the government of that country. That these agents had been supplied with large sums of money by the British government, which were to be employed by establishing an intelligence in the different public offices of France; in gaining over those employed in the powder mills of that country, in procuring a correct knowledge of the different parties in France; and in taking every means to disorganize the armies. Such is the substance of the instructions cited by the grand judge, as given by Mr. Drake to his principal correspondent, Mehee de La-touche, who was supposed to be at the head of a committee of malcontents assembled at Paris, and these facts were supported by a variety of documents and intercepted letters annexed to the report. This M. Mehee was, it appears, a man of notoriously infamous character—an intriguer by profession, who had insinuated himself into the confidence of some of the members of the British government, and through their introduction had gained access to Mr. Drake, to whom he had made a tender of his services. But the proposal from Mehee was merely a snare, in order to discover the views and the private means of procuring information adopted by the English cabinet; for the supposed conspirator was, from the beginning of his intrigue, actually in the confidence of the French government. The principal object of the report promulgated by Regnier, the grand judge, was to implicate Mr. Drake in a participation in the plans of Georges and his adherents, and the conduct pursued on this occasion by the Elector of Bavaria, shews that he was not altogether unsuccessful in establishing his position. Copies of the report, and the do-

cuments, were addressed to the several ministers from the foreign courts resident at Paris, and these papers were accompanied by a circular from M. Talleyrand, denouncing Mr. Drake as an associate in the infamous plot at that time before the French tribunals. The answers to this communication were for the most part conveyed in general terms of compliment to the first consul, but some of the representatives of foreign states condemned the conduct of the British envoy, in terms of the severest reprehension, and of this number the Danish minister, Mr. Dreyer, and the American minister, Mr. Livingston, were the most conspicuous. The original documents upon which the charge against the British minister was founded, were transmitted to Munich, and on the 31st of March, a note was addressed to Mr. Drake, by the Baron de Montgelas, prime minister to the Elector of Bavaria, expressive of the regret of his serene highness, that his capital should have been the central point of a correspondence so inconsistent with the mission with which Mr. Drake was invested ; and intimating, that it was due to his own dignity, and to the welfare of his subjects, to declare, that from the present moment it became impossible for him to hold any communication with Mr. Drake, or again to receive him at his court. After the receipt of this note, it was no longer in the power of Mr. Drake to prolong his residence in the Bavarian territories ; and Mr. Spencer Smith, the British envoy to the Elector of Wurtemberg, who was stated to have been implicated in these transactions, was also under the necessity of quitting Stutgard.

The impression made by these transactions in every court of Europe, rendered it necessary that some notice should be taken of them by the British government. Accordingly, a circular letter was addressed by Lord Hawkesbury to each of the foreign ministers resident at the court of London, in which the secretary for foreign affairs repels the charge preferred against his majesty's government, of participating in any project of assassination ; but his lordship at the same time maintains, that if any minister, accredited to a foreign court, had held correspondence with persons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpose, he had done no more than ministers, under similar circumstances, had been uniformly considered as having a right to do, with respect to the countries with which their sovereign was at war. This position of Lord Hawkesbury was commented upon some time after in a circular note from M. Talleyrand ; in which the French minister asserts, that diplomatic agents had at all times

been considered as ministers of peace—organs of conciliation—but the British government wished to make them the instigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors of machinations ; vile spies ; cowardly seducers ; the fomentors of seditions ; the paymasters of assassins. And the French ministers to whom these notes were directed, were ordered to declare to the governments where they resided, that Bonaparte would not recognize the English diplomatic body in Europe, so long as the British government did not abstain from charging its ministers with any warlike agency, and did not restrain them within the limits of their function.

Shortly after the appearance of the circular note of M. Talleyrand, in which the French government attempted to place the British diplomatic corps out of the protection of the law of nations, upon the ground of their violating this general international code, that government committed a most daring infraction of the very law which they had just expressed so much solicitude to uphold. On the night of the 24th of October, a body of two hundred and fifty French troops, under the command of a general officer, embarked at Harburgh, and landed between Hamburgh, and Altona, at a place called the Hamburgh-hill. They proceeded to Grindelhof, where Sir George Rumbold, the British minister to the Hanseatic towns, and the circle of Lower Saxony, had his country residence. Those who first approached the house affected to be couriers with despatches from Tonningen ; but entertaining suspicion, Sir George refused them admittance. Upon this the whole body rushed forward, broke open the doors, seized Sir George and his papers, and conveyed him to a carriage, which was waiting for the purpose of conducting him to Hanover, whence he was sent off to Paris. The following morning, as soon as the senate of Hamburgh heard of this violation of their territorial rights, they assembled at seven o'clock, and continued sitting till five o'clock in the afternoon. As the result of their deliberations, they presented a remonstrance to the French minister, M. Reinhard, who denied having any knowledge whatever of the transaction. The order for the arrest, it seems, was transmitted from Paris directly to Marshal Bernadotte. Being thus foiled in their attempt to procure reparation, or even any explanation of the affair, from the French minister, the senate conceived it proper to apprise the courts of Berlin, Vienna, and Petersburg, of this violation of their territory.

An explanation of this act of violence was afterwards given to the senate of Hamburgh, by the French minister, Reinhard, who pretended to justify the seizure of Sir George Rum-

bold, upon the ground of his being concerned in the conspiracy imputed to Mr. Drake ; but the falacy of the pretext is sufficiently obvious, from the circumstance of Sir George Rumbold being no where alluded to in the correspondence with Mehee de Latouche.

It appears that upon his arrival at Paris, Sir George Rumbold was conveyed to the Temple, where he was treated with civility during a confinement of two days and two nights. On the third day he was removed from the Temple, and conducted towards the coast of the Channel, having first entered into a stipulation not to return to Hamburgh ; nor, after his departure from France to go within fifty miles of any part of the French territory. Before he left the Temple, he made an application for his papers, which had been transmitted to the minister of the police ; but this demand was peremptorily refused. He was then put into a carriage with his servant, and conveyed to Boulogne, and afterwards to Cherbourg. The flag of truce in which he had embarked, falling in with his majesty's frigate the *Niobe*, Sir George was taken on board, and landed at Portsmouth on the 17th of November. This act of violence was the subject of an official note from Lord Hawkesbury to the cabinet of Berlin ; but that court had previously made a remonstrance on the subject to the French government, and to that remonstrance the release of Sir George Rumbold is chiefly to be attributed.

In recording the events of this period of conspiracies, it is proper shortly to advert to a plot formed against the life of Louis XVIII. It appears that two men, of what nation or condition in life is not stated, became acquainted with one Coulon, a Frenchman by birth, who kept a billiard table at Warsaw. Having discovered that Coulon was intimate with several of the domestics of the French king, and in particular with the cook, and that he was in want of money, they gradually revealed to him their design against the life of the king, and offered him for his services four hundred Louis d'ors. In executing this plan, Coulon was to visit the cook, and after betraying him into a state of intoxication, he was to throw into the pot a small parcel, consisting of carrots filled with arsenic, with which he was to be provided. Coulon, although he affected to acquiesce in these diabolical suggestions, went immediately to the Baron de Milleville, usher to the queen, and informed him of the plot. It was afterwards communicated to the Count Avaray, who thought proper to conceal it from his majesty until he obtained more positive information. He waited on the President de Hoym without delay, who authorised him, in case the information was well-founded, to cause the au-

thors of the plot to be arrested by the king's domestics. By order of M. de Milleville, Coulon repaired to the place, where he was under an engagement to meet the agents of the plot, and returned with the poisoned carrots in his pocket. Coulon then made a declaration of what had passed, and the packets were placed in the possession of Count Avaray.

This strange and almost incredible story was differently received, as prejudice or party prevailed. Some adopted the opinion, and the Archbishop of Rheims, the Duke de Pienne, and the Abbe Edgeworth, were of that number, that the report of Coulon was fully to be relied upon, while others declared their belief that he was an impostor, and had fabricated the plot to extort from the credulity of Louis and his adherents sums of money as the price of his intelligence. The whole narrative is certainly very extraordinary, not in itself easily credible, and resting entirely on the testimony of a man of desperate fortune, the associate of gamblers and sharpers, seems entitled to less credit than was bestowed upon it by the court of Louis, in their laudable anxiety for the safety of their royal master.

Neither internal conspiracies nor external wars appear to have in the least diverted the mind of the first consul from the prosecution of his schemes of inordinate ambition. The chief magistracy was conferred on him, in the first instance, for ten years. To secure the permanent exercise of sovereign power, he afterwards obtained an extension of this supreme authority for life. The executive power, although in reality concentrated in himself, was apparently divided with two individuals, who held in common with him the title of consul, qualified with a slight distinctive denomination of subordinate rank. The title of first consul was, besides, too simple to convey an adequate idea of the dignified elevation to which he had been raised by fortuitous circumstances combined with his own exertions. Equally ambitious of undivided power and titular splendour, he aspired to imperial distinction. Thus a soldier of fortune, who, at the commencement of the French revolution, was an obscure individual serving in the armies of the republic, was successively promoted to the highest military rank, and, after having usurped the supreme authority of the state, was invested with the title of Emperor of the French!

The subject of conferring on Bonaparte the rank and title of Emperor of the French, and making them hereditary in his family, according to the laws of primogeniture, was agitated for the first time on the first of May in the tribunate, when Curee submitted to that assembly a proposition to this effect.

Carnot, maintaining an unshaken adherence to republican principles, opposed the motion made by Curee, and ascending the tribune, said,

“Is it to grant the first consul a reward for his services to offer him the sacrifice of liberty? Is it not to destroy Bonaparte’s own work, to make France his private patrimony? I voted against the consulate for life, and I will not this day follow a different course. I am determined to pursue consistency of conduct; but the moment that the order of things which is proposed shall be established, I will be the first to conform to it, and to yield to the new authority proofs of my deference.”—He then proceeded to examine the form of government proposed to be established. He cited a number of examples from the history of Rome, and drew as an inference from them, that a government by one individual was not in the smallest degree a sure pledge of its stability or its tranquillity. He applied the same inference to the history of France, where intestine commotions, and civil discords, had so often existed under the government of weak or unworthy princes. After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, he asserted, had the choice of confirming the republic, or of establishing a monarchy; but he had sworn to defend the former, and to respect the wishes of France, which had made him her guardian. It was now proposed to make of that power a property, of which, at present, only the administration was possessed. The Romans were most jealous of their liberty. Camillus, Fabius, and Cincinnatus, saved the republic by relinquishing, after having rescued the state, the power with which they had been intrusted. But when Cæsar usurped absolute power, the liberty of Rome perished. Citing the example of the United States of America, it was reserved, he said, for the New World, to shew to the Old the practicability of the enjoyment of national liberty, and the rising prosperity of the people. He then asked, whether the opinion of the public functionaries would be the free wish of the whole nation, and whether no inconveniences would attend the expression of an opposite sentiment? He demanded if the liberty of the press would be so much restrained and degraded, that it would be impossible, in the public prints, to make the most respectful remonstrances against the proposed arrangement? Considering the question in another point of view, he asked if the expulsion of the Bourbons at all involved the necessity of a new dynasty; if the establishment of that dynasty would not place obstacles in the way of a general peace; if it would be recognized by foreign powers; and if, in case of a refusal to recognize it, arms would not necessarily be resorted to, and, for an empty title, the security of the French nation endangered? The existing government, he observed, had other means of consolidating itself. The means of this consolidation, in his opinion, consisted in adherence to justice.—By this remark he had no intention to make any particular application, or to cast any blame on the operations of government. “Is liberty then,” he exclaimed, “disclosed to man, only that it may never be enjoyed? No! I cannot consent to regard it as a mere chimera; for my heart tells me, that its government is easy.” He concluded by voting against the motion.

A number of tribunes supported the motion, and insisted that a monarchical government was the original wish of the French nation at the period of the existence of the constituent assembly; that the republican revolutionary governments had been productive of nothing but public calamities; and that permanent tranquillity could only be effectually secured

by intrusting the reins of government to an individual, whose merits and services entitled him to the dignity of supreme ruler of the French nation.

On the third of May, the tribunate, exercising the right given them by the 20th article of the constitution, passed a decree relative to the conferring of the imperial title on Bonaparte, and on the following day laid their proposition before the conservative senate. After taking into consideration the various grounds upon which the justice, expediency, and necessity of this decree, are represented to be established, the tribunate proceeded to vote,

“That Napoleon Bonaparte, the first consul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity invested with the government of the French republic:—That the title of emperor and the imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture:—That in introducing into the organization of the constituted authorities the modifications rendered necessary by the establishment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people, shall be preserved in all their integrity.”

This decree, having been put to the vote by the president of the tribunate, was carried by acclamation, with the single exception of the only member (Carnot) who delivered his sentiments against its adoption.

In consequence of the communication which had taken place between the tribunate and the senate, the latter, on the 4th of May, presented to the first consul a copy of the decree passed on the preceding day; on which occasion he required that the senate would make known to him the whole of their thoughts touching the institutions which required to be established, in order to secure the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people.

On the 18th of May, the senate, under the presidency of Cambaceres, the second consul, decreed an organic senatus consultum, conferring the title of emperor on the first consul, and establishing the imperial dignity hereditary in his family. After the close of the sitting, the organic members, accompanied by several bodies of troops, proceeded to St. Cloud, to present the organic senatus consultum to the emperor. Upon their arrival, they were immediately admitted to an audience of the emperor, when the Consul Cambaceres, on presenting to Bonaparte the organic senatus consultum, addressed him in a speech prepared for the occasion, and concluded by stating, that the senate intreated his imperial majesty to consent that the organic dispositions should be immediately carried into effect, and that, for the glory as well as the happiness of the republic, Napoleon might be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French.

To this address the emperor replied in the following terms :—“ Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is essentially connected with my happiness. I accept the title which you think necessary to the glory of the nation. I submit to the sanction of the people the law of hereditary succession. I hope France will never repent of having surrounded my family with honours. In all cases, my spirit will cease to be present with my posterity, the day on which it shall cease to deserve the love and confidence of the great nation.”

The senate was afterwards admitted to an audience of her majesty the empress, upon which the consul Cambaceres addressed her majesty on the part of that body, in a speech conveying the homage of its respect, in terms of flattering congratulation.

The organic *senatus consultum* was then proclaimed by the emperor. His imperial majesty nominated to the dignity of grand elector, his imperial highness Prince Joseph Bonaparte ; to that of constable, his imperial highness Prince Louis Bonaparte ; to that of arch-chancellor of the empire, the consul Cambaceres ; and to that of arch-treasurer, the consul Lebrun. The arch-chancellor, the arch-treasurer, the constable, the ministers, the secretary of state, and General Duroc, governor of the imperial palace, took the oaths before the emperor.—On the 20th of May, the emperor decreed the following generals to be marshals of the empire :—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Massena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lasnes, Mortier, Ney, Davoust, and Bessieres. He also decreed the title of marshals of the empire to be given to the following senators :—Kellerman, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serurier.

By the organic *senatus consultum* a variety of regulations were established, which materially changed the constitutional code promulgated upon the erection of the consular power.—It was divided into sixteen titles, subdivided into one hundred and fifty articles, and comprised the following provisions :—

Title 1. The government of the republic shall be intrusted to an emperor, and Napoleon Bonaparte shall be Emperor of the French.

Title 2. regulates the law of hereditary succession. The imperial dignity is to descend from male to male by order of primogeniture. Females and their descent are perpetually excluded. The present emperor may adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers in case of the failure of male heirs of his own. His adopted sons enter into the line of his direct descent. In case of an entire failure of heirs to the throne, an organic *senatus consultum*, proposed to the senate by the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, and submitted to the acceptance of the people, shall nominate the emperor, and regulate in

his family the order of hereditary succession. The affairs of the state in the interregnum shall be placed under the direction of the ministers, who shall form the government in council, and shall decide by a majority of voices.

Title 3. determines the titles of the members of the imperial family, their mode of education, their functions under the government, their marriages, the attestations of their births, marriages, and deaths, and the public provision to be made for them.

Title 4. regulates the mode of appointing a regency. The emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years, complete ; and during his minority a regent of the empire is to be appointed.

Title 5. determines the grand dignities of the empire, the titularies of the grand dignities, their privileges and functions ; and in particular those of the grand elector. It defines the duties of the arch-chancellor. He performs the functions of chancellor in promulgating treaties of peace, and in declaring war. He presents to the emperor, and signs, the credentials and correspondence with the different courts of Europe. The arch-treasurer presides at the united sections of the council of state and tribunate, and executes the financial arrangements of the empire. The duties of the constable chiefly relate to military affairs, and those of the grand admiral to navy concerns.

Title 6. The grand officers are the sixteen marshals of the empire, eight inspectors of artillery, and several grand civil officers of the crown. This title defines their prerogatives and duties.

Title 7. prescribes the form of oaths. The oath is taken upon the evangelists. The oath taken by the emperor is as follows :—" I swear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic ; to respect, and cause to be respected, the laws of the concordat and the liberty of public worship ; to respect and cause to be respected, the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the sales of national domains ; to levy no duty, to impose no tax, but by virtue of the law ; to maintain the institution of the legion of honour ; and to have no view in governing, but the interest, the happiness, and the glory of the French people." The oath of the regent is also prescribed. The public functionaries take the following oath :—" I swear obedience to the constitutions of the empire, and fidelity to the emperor."

Title 8. determines the formation of the senate. The senate is composed of the French princes who have attained their 18th year ; of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire ; of the 24 members chosen by the emperor from the lists delivered in by the departmental electoral colleges ; and of citizens whom the emperor deems proper to raise to the dignity of senator. The president of the senate is named by the emperor, and chosen from the list of senators. His functions continue for twelve months. This title prescribes the duties of the president and the functions of the senate. A commission of seven members takes cognizance of arrests whenever the person arrested is not brought before the tribunals within the space of ten days after the time of such arrest. This is called the senatorial commission for personal liberty. The complaints of authors, and the liberty of the press, come under the cognizance of a similar commission. The laws decreed by the legislative body are transmitted to the senate on the day of their adoption, and are deposited among the archives. Every decree issued by the legislative body may be denounced in the senate by any of the members, provided they are supposed to have any tendency to restore the feudal system, to affect the sale of national domains, or if they have been issued contrary to the forms prescribed by the constitutions of the empire. After various deliberations, the senate may declare their opinion as to the propriety of promulgating the said law ; and the president lays the decision of the senate before the emperor, who, after hearing the council of state, either declares by a decree his adherence to the

deliberation of the senate, or causes the law to be promulgated. The operations of the electoral colleges can only be annulled, on the ground of their being unconstitutional, by an express *senatus consultum*.

Title 9. relates to the organization of the council of state, whose chief duties are confined to deliberation on laws proposed to be enacted.

Title 10. The members of the legislative body may be elected without interval. Every projected law presented to the legislative body is returned to the three sections of the tribunate. The sittings of the legislative body are divided into ordinary sittings and general committees. At the former, the legislative body hear the orators of the council of state, and those of the three sections of the tribunate, and vote on the *projet de loi*.

Title 11. The functions of the members of the tribunate continue for ten years. The president, whose functions continue for two years, is named by the emperor. The tribunate is divided into three sections:—of legislation, of the interior, and of finance. Each section discusses separately, and in a sectional assembly, the projected laws transmitted to it by the legislative body. In no case can a *projet de loi* be discussed by a general assembly of the tribunate; but it may form itself into a general assembly for the exercise of its other privileges.

Title 12. regards the electoral colleges. One of the most important privileges of this institution consists in forming the list of candidates for the legislative body.

Title 13. relates to the organization and functions of the high imperial court. This tribunal takes cognizance of crimes committed by members of the imperial family, by titularies of the grand dignities of the empire (the senators and counsellors of state,) and by all the principal, civil and military officers of the state. Outrages and plots against the internal and external security of the state, the person of the emperor, and the presumptive heir to the empire, are also brought before this court. The seat of the high imperial court is in the senate. The arch-chancellor of the empire is president. The high imperial court is composed of the princes, the titularies of the grand dignities, and grand officers of the empire, the grand judge, sixty senators, the six sectional presidents of the council of state, fourteen counsellors of state, and twenty members of the court of cassation. An attorney-general, nominated by the emperor for life, is attached to this tribunal. No exception can be made to the decision of the high imperial court. The proceedings of this court originate only with the government, and no appeal can be made against the decision of this tribunal.

Under Title 14, the judicial order is included. The decisions of the courts of justice are entitled *arrets*. The presidents of the court of cassation, the court of appeal, and the court of criminal justice, are nominated for life by the emperor. This title also determines the officers of these courts, and their respective titular distinctions.

Title 15. describes the mode in which the organic *senatus consulta*, the *senatus consulta*, the acts of the senate and laws, are to be sealed, signed, and promulgated.

Title 16. contains the proposition relative to the law of hereditary succession. The following is the form in which it is to be presented for the acceptance of the people:—"The people wills the imperial dignity to be hereditary in the direct, natural, legitimate, or adopted descent of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, natural, and legitimate descent of Joseph and of Louis Bonaparte, as regulated by the organic *senatus consultum* of the 23d Floreal, year 12."

Although the power of the first consul was extended by this decree of the senate, yet the augmentation of his authority was rather indirect than immediate, and arose, in a great

measure, from the new institutions, of which the chief officers were nominated by the emperor. As chief consul he was invested with the whole efficient executive power, and with him the laws originated which were discussed in the legislative body. The means of securing a more submissive obedience to his will were, however, increased, by the modifications introduced into the senate, the legislative body, and the tribunate. In raising Bonaparte to the imperial dignity, a very considerable number of persons, whose talents and exertions contributed to give permanence and security to the consular power, so far consulted their own interests as to obtain for life the titles, offices, and emoluments, which they had received under the new form of government. But this circumstance, instead of diminishing the authority of the emperor, had a tendency to confirm it, by a consolidation of reciprocal advantage.

The question, whether the throne should or should not be hereditary, was submitted to the people, who, as might have been anticipated, decided in the affirmative by an immense majority.

A short time after the rank and dignity of Emperor of the French had been conferred upon Bonaparte, Louis XVIII. issued a protest against his assumption of the imperial title. The protest was dated from Warsaw, and it was through the medium of the *Moniteur* that this document was first communicated to the public. His majesty declares, that, in assuming the title of emperor, and attempting to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of revolution, where every thing from its origin has been null and void, cannot, his majesty says, weaken his rights; but being accountable for his conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less injured than his own, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the senate of Paris has dared to publish:—accountable to France, to his family, and to his own honour, he should consider himself as betraying the common cause, were he to preserve silence on this occasion. His majesty then declares, in the presence of all the sovereigns of Europe, after having renewed his protestations against all the illegal acts which, from the opening of the states-general of France, have led to the alarming crisis in which France and Europe are now involved, that, far from acknowledging the imperial title that Bonaparte has received from a body which has no legal existence, he protests as well against that title as all the subsequent acts to which it may give birth.

On the 9th of July, Bonaparte issued an imperial decree, directing that the oath should be taken, and the coronation

ceremonies performed in the *Champ de Mars*; and the 18th Brumaire (9th of November,) the day on which the directorial power was subverted, and the consular government established upon its ruins, was the time appointed for this purpose. In order to give solemnity to the coronation, the pope, notwithstanding his advanced age and his infirmities, was required, at the commencement of the winter, to pass the Alps for the purpose of performing the ceremony of consecration. In the early part of November his holiness left the Vatican, with a splendid retinue, and was escorted to Paris by a strong guard of French troops, and two hundred and fifty hussars, who were ordered to meet him on the frontiers of the French territory.

Previously to the pope's departure from Rome, he addressed an allocution to a secret consistory, the object of which was, to state to the venerable brethren of whom it was composed, that his holiness had made provision for the administration, during his absence, of the duties of the papal office. This address contained many passages which may be considered as strongly indicative of the reluctance of the pope to undertake the journey, and the presentiment which he entertained that he should never return to Rome. But the interests of religion, and sentiments of gratitude to Bonaparte for the re-establishment of the catholic church, by the concordat, are represented to be the just and momentous causes of the journey. "We have," his holiness says, "formed great hopes, that having undertaken this journey by the invitation of the Emperor of France, when we shall speak to him face to face, such things may be effected by his wisdom for the good of the catholic church, that we may be able to congratulate ourselves on having perfected the work of our most holy religion."

Circumstances had arisen which made it necessary to defer the ceremony of the coronation till the 2d of December. Early on the morning of the preceding day, the senate proceeded in a body to the Thuilleries, where they were presented to Bonaparte by Joseph Bonaparte, the grand elector. To use the language of the French account of this ceremony, the President Neufchateau addressed himself in a long complimentary speech, to which the emperor replied in the following terms:—

"I ascend the throne, to which the unanimous wishes of the senate, the people, and the army, have called me, with a heart penetrated with the great destinies of that people, whom, from the midst of camps, I first saluted with the name of great. From my youth, my thoughts have been solely fixed upon them; and I must here add, that my pleasures and my pains are derived entirely from the happiness or misery of my people. My descendants shall long preserve this throne. In the camps, they will be the first soldiers of the army, sacrificing their lives for the defence of their country. As magistrates, they will never forget that

contempt of the laws, and confusion of the social order, are the result only of the imbecility and indecision of princes. You, senators, whose counsels and support have never failed me in the most difficult circumstances, your spirit will be handed down to your successors. Be ever the support and first counsellors of that throne, so necessary to the welfare of this vast empire."

The ceremony of the coronation of Bonaparte was performed on Sunday, the 2d of December, 1804. The military deputations assembled at six o'clock in the morning, and proceeded to the church of Notre Dame by seven. The deputations from the different tribunals of justice, and the functionaries, invited by the emperor, met at the Palace of Justice at seven, and walked to the church, where they arrived before eight. They were succeeded by the senate, the council of state, the legislative body, and the tribunate. Each of these bodies was escorted by a body of cavalry. The diplomatic corps had a place assigned them in the church. The pope left the Thuilleries at nine o'clock, attended by his retinue, and at ten the departure of the emperor from the palace was announced by a discharge of artillery.

The pope and the emperor, instead of going directly to the church of Notre Dame, repaired to the archiepiscopal palace, where his holiness pronounced the usual prayers, while the emperor put on the imperial robes. They afterwards went in splendid procession to the church. The coronation ornaments of Charlemagne were borne before Bonaparte, and he was preceded by Marshal Serrurier, carrying the ring of the empress upon a cushion; Marshal Moncey, with a basket, to receive the mantle of the empress; Marshal Murat, with the empress's crown; the Empress with the imperial mantle, supported by the Princesses; Marshal Kellerman, carrying the crown of Charlemagne; Marshal Perignon, the sceptre of Charlemagne; Marshal Bernadotte, the collar of the emperor; General Beauharnois, his majesty's ring; Marshal Berthier, the imperial globe; and the Grand Chamberlain, the basket to receive the mantle of the emperor. Bonaparte then entered the church of Notre Dame, with the crown previously placed on his head by himself.

The imperial throne and the altar were equi-distant from the centre of the church of Notre Dame. On the imperial throne was seated the emperor in his ornaments; the empress, on his right hand, was seated a step lower, in an arm chair. The princesses were on his right hand. On the left hand of the emperor, but two steps lower, were seated the two princes, with the two dignitaries of the empire at their left hand. The throne on which the pope was seated, was raised near the altar. At the moment their majesties entered the porch, the

pope descended from his throne, and advancing to the altar, sang *Veni Creator*. The emperor and the empress then said prayers upon their cushions, and were immediately divested of their imperial ornaments. The grand elector took off the crown from his majesty's head; the arch-chancellor took from him the hand of justice; other grand officers stripped him of the imperial mantle, while he himself drew his sword, and delivered it to the constable of the empire. In the mean time, the empress's attendants took from her the imperial mantle and ornaments; which, with all the other insignia, were placed upon the altar, for the purpose of being consecrated by the pope.

Then followed the ceremony of inauguration. The Grand Almoner of France, with the first of the French Cardinals and Archbishops, conducted their imperial majesties from the throne to the foot of the altar, there to receive the sacred unction. His holiness bestowed a triple unction both on the emperor and on the empress;—one on the head, the other two on the hands. After having received the unctions, they were re-conducted to the throne, when the pope performed the mass. His holiness then said prayers separately over both crowns, and over the mantles, the sceptres, and the hand of justice. When their imperial ornaments were consecrated, the emperor put them on again; and afterwards placed the crown on the head of the empress. After this, the pope, preceded by the master of the ceremonies, followed the emperor from the altar to his throne; where, after pronouncing a prayer, he kissed the emperor on the cheek, and cried aloud to the audience, "*Vivat imperator in æternum!*" and the audience exclaimed "*Vive l'empereur! vive l'impératrice!*" The pope was then re-conducted to the altar by the master of the ceremonies. At the elevation of the host, the grand elector again took the crown off the head of the emperor.

At the *Agnus Dei*, the grand almoner received the kiss of peace from his holiness, and carried it to their imperial majesties. The emperor then, with the crown upon his head, and his hand upon the gospel, pronounced the coronation oath in a firm tone of voice. The chief herald at arms proclaimed: "The most glorious and most august Emperor Napoleon, Emperor of the French, is crowned and enthroned. Long live the emperor." The audience again exclaimed, "*Vive l'empereur! vive l'impératrice!*" and a discharge of cannon announced the coronation and enthroning of their majesties.

The oath was presented by the president of the senate, attended by the president of the legislative body, and of the tribunate. Their majesties left the church with the same

pomp and state, and returned to the archiepiscopal palace. When they had arrived, the pope was re-conducted by his clergy, and the procession returned in nearly the preceding order.

On the following day, the heralds at arms proceeded through all the principal streets of the city, and distributed a great quantity of medals of different sizes, destined to commemorate the coronation ; on one side of the medals, the emperor was represented, bearing the crown of the Cæsars, with this legend:—*Napoleon Empereur* ; on the reverse was the inscription, *Le Senat et le Peuple*, with an allegorical representation of a figure clothed in the attributes of magistracy, and of a warrior newly clothed with the imperial attributes.

The assumption of the imperial dignity by Bonaparte, gave a new interest to the political concerns of Europe ; and the time had now arrived when the Germanic body was no longer to be considered as united under one head. In the month of August, the Emperor Francis issued a decree,* by which his title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Emperor of Austria. The decree of the council of state stated the object of this measure to be, “ the preservation of that degree of equality which should subsist between the great powers, and the just rank of the house and state of Austria among the nations of Europe.” The emperor further urged, that in conferring upon his family an hereditary imperial title, he was following the example of Russia in the last century, and of France in the present day. This event was hailed with undissembled joy by France and Prussia ; and when it was announced to the Diet of Ratisbon, it excited no animadversion, except from the King of Sweden, who considered this change so inseparably connected with the composition of the German empire, that it was not to be laid before the diet merely as a notification, but as a subject for deliberation, in the discussion of which all the members of the diet might express their opinions as authorized by the constitution. No tribute could have been more flattering to Bonaparte than this concession, which made the sovereign, hitherto considered as the first in Europe, in point of dignity, not only more recent in the creation of title than himself, but even recorded the example of the French Emperor as one of the motives of the conduct of the Emperor of Austria.

The perturbed situation of Europe, during the year 1804, led to the expectation that the renewal of war on the continent was at no great distance. On the 5th of May, the Emperor

* Decree of the Council of State of Vienna, dated August 11th, 1804.

of Russia presented an energetic note to the Diet of Ratisbon, on the seizure of the Duke d'Enghien; in which he declared, that he learned with equal astonishment and concern the event that had taken place at Ettenheim, the circumstances by which it was attended, and its melancholy result. And the concern of the emperor on this occasion, was the more lively, as he could by no means reconcile the violation of the territory of the German empire, to those principles of justice and propriety which are held sacred amongst nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations." To this remonstrance the French minister, in a style of lofty indifference, replied, "that the Emperor of Germany, and the King of Prussia, who, undoubtedly, were the two powers most concerned in the fate of the German empire, had considered the French government sufficiently authorized to arrest, at two leagues distance from her frontiers, French rebels, who conspired against their own country, and who, by the nature of their plots, as well as by the terrible evidence which corroborated them, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations." "The German princes being thus satisfied, the first consul felt himself in no way responsible to the Emperor of Russia on a point which did not concern his interest; and if it was the intention of his majesty to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, what need was there of empty pretences, and why did he not act openly?"

Two months elapsed before a reply was made to this paper, but on the 21st of July, M. D'Oubril, the Russian charge d'affaires, complained that it was in all respects evasive, and by no means an answer to the note he had delivered. In this reply, the dispositions and conduct of the Russian and French governments were exhibited in contrast. Russia, it was asserted, had on every occasion endeavoured to maintain peace, and to mediate between France and those nations with which she had disputes. The French government, on the contrary, thought itself competent to occupy neutral countries, and to deprive them of their commerce. His majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe. After an enumeration of the aggressions practised by France towards Denmark, Portugal, Switzerland, Holland, and the Italian states, the charge d'affaires concluded by saying, that he was ordered to declare, that he could not prolong his stay at Paris, unless the French government should order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples, and engage to establish, without delay, some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of

Italy should be formally adjusted. In addition to which it was required, that France, in conformity with the 6th article of the convention entered into with Russia, on the 11th of October, 1801, should indemnify the King of Sardinia for the losses he has sustained ; and in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, should promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the north of Germany, and to enter into engagements to respect in the strictest manner the neutrality of the Germanic body.

M. Talleyrand answered this note by referring to an article in the treaty, cited by M. D'Oubril, by which the two contracting governments engaged not to suffer their respective subjects to maintain any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the enemies of the two states. The promotion of French emigrants to places of honour and trust in Russia, and the behaviour of the Russian ambassador, M. Markoff, while at Paris, were cited as breaches of this article. France also demanded the execution of the 9th article of this treaty, by which Russia engaged to guarantee the independence of the Seven Islands ; and of the 2d article, the evident application of which it was said should have been, that instead of manifesting such a partiality for England, and of becoming, perhaps, the first auxiliary of its ambition, Russia should have united with France, in order to consolidate a general peace, to establish a just balance in the four parts of the world, and to promote the liberty of the seas.

M. d'Oubril, in reply to this note, recapitulated all his complaints, animadverted on the evasive manner in which they had been answered, and on the 28th of August demanded his passports.

During this correspondence, the King of Sweden appeared to be animated with a courageous resolution to support the principles of the laws of nations, and to make common cause with the Emperor Alexander. As Duke of Pomerania, he charged his envoy to enter his vote in the protocol of the diet, under the date of the 27th of July, by which he declared, that he could not learn without the greatest anxiety and alarm, the events which had taken place in the Electorate of Baden, in the month of March last—events by which the territorial rights of the German empire were flagrantly violated, and its future security exposed to the greatest danger. This note excited the resentment of the French government, and called down upon Gustavus a severe attack in the official paper, the *Moniteur*. In this paragraph the young and gallant sovereign was charged with folly and inconsistency, and assured, that his insignificance alone secured him from the resentment of the

French government, which was too wise to confound a loyal and brave nation, justly called the ‘ France of the north,’ with the conduct of a young man led astray by false notions, and unenlightened by reflection. Fired with indignation at this attack, the King of Sweden issued a decree on the 7th of September, prohibiting the introduction of French publications into his dominions, and on the same day transmitted a note to M. Gaillard, the French charge d’affaires at Stockholm, stating his resentment at what he termed the improper, the insolent, and the ridiculous observations which *Monsieur* Napoleon Bonaparte had allowed to be inserted in his *Moniteur*. In consequence of this heated discussion, he declared that all diplomatic intercourse of every kind, both private and public, should immediately cease between the French legation at Stockholm and his government, but he nevertheless allowed the subsisting relations of commerce to remain uninterrupted.

If from the powers which retained their independence, the attention is directed to those which, under the appearance of alliance, were forced into war, or under the semblance of neutrality compelled by France to contribute to its charges, Spain, Portugal, and Naples, will be found to rank amongst that number, while Holland, which had been for so many years the victim and sport of those who called themselves her deliverers, was rapidly approaching to that state in which the very name of independence is lost in the blandishments of fraternity and the torpor of incorporation.

CHAPTER V.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Situation of the Country at the Commencement of the Year 1805—State of Parties—Opening of the Session of Parliament—Army and Navy Estimates—Renewal of the Habeas Corpus Suspension Act in Ireland—Debates on the Origin of the Spanish War—Motion by the Earl of Darnley for the Repeal of the Additional Force Bill—Mr. Whitbread’s memorable Motion on the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry—Carried by the Casting Vote of the Speaker—The Office of First Lord of the Admiralty resigned by Lord Melville—Erasure of his Lordship’s Name from the List of Privy Counsellors—His Lordship’s Defence in the House of Commons—Resolution of the House to institute a Criminal Prosecution against his Lordship—Subsequent Resolution to proceed by Impeachment—Proceedings on the Loan of 40,000*l.* made to Boyd and Benfield—Finances—Dissensions in the Cabinet—Partial Change of Ministry—Mr. Pitt’s declining Health.*

ENGLAND had now perfected her defensive force ; and, confident in the loyalty and public spirit of her population, held

in derision the preparations for invasion which still continued to prevail on the coasts of the enemy. Her finances were upon the whole in a prosperous condition, and the people endured the additional imposts, rendered necessary for her security, if not with cheerfulness, at least without repining. Her navy was formidable, and triumphantly prescribed a barrier to French aggression, by blockading all the ports subject to the controul of the enemy. The nation had, however, been disappointed in the formation of the new ministry. They had looked with confidence to an union of all the political weight, talents, and character of the country, cordially coalescing and acting for the benefit of the state; instead of which they found a ministry formed upon the principle of exclusion, and remarkable only for mediocrity in all those qualifications requisite for securing the interests of the country, and establishing the independence of Europe. That Mr. Pitt should have submitted to assume the direction of affairs without the support of those, whom he had himself conceived to be necessary to constitute a powerful administration, surprised and afflicted his best friends and adherents. Lord Grenville, himself a host, had declined to take a seat in the cabinet, and Lord Spencer, Mr. Windham, and the friends of these senators, had concurred in this determination. These personages had indeed not only repulsed the advances of the minister, but they had cemented a close alliance with Mr. Fox, and ranked with those gentlemen who looked up to his councils. The minister's capacity and pre-eminent talents were the same; but the radiance of glory arising from the persuasion of his decisive importance in the country, and from the deference that had hitherto been paid to his opinions and volition, had become obscure. Shorn of his beams, but entire in his own strength, he was compelled to humble the natural loftiness of his disposition, and to gather the scattered and secondary branches of former administrations to fill up offices that had been rejected by more competent hands. The fasces, though bound together with his extraordinary faculties, were found to be weak and inefficient, and the same minister, who, when he had scarcely attained to manhood, had numbered among the ranks of his supporters many of the most exalted characters in the kingdom, found himself, at a more advanced period of life, obliged to preside in a cabinet, where nothing presented itself but the wreck of his former greatness. In this situation the minister deemed it prudent to avail himself of an influence which seemed to be floating about with erratic uncertainty, amidst the discordant elements of the political world; and to the astonishment of both his friends and his enemies, Mr.

Pitt renewed his connection with that minister whom he had so lately joined in expelling from office on the ground of incapacity. In virtue of this arrangement, Mr. Addington became a member of an administration, which could scarcely be called new, and having been previously called up to the house of peers, by the title of Viscount Sidmouth, was, on the 14th of January, 1805, appointed to succeed the Duke of Portland, as lord president of the council.

The day after this appointment, the session of parliament was opened by his majesty in person.

The speech from the throne announced that the preparations for invasion were still carried on by France, with unremitting activity—that Spain, under the control of the French government, had issued a declaration of war against this country—and that a communication, containing a profession of a pacific disposition, had recently been received from France, to which his majesty had replied by expressing his earnest desire for the restoration of the blessings of peace, not deeming it proper to enter into a more particular explanation without previously consulting those continental powers with whom he was engaged in confidential intercourse. His majesty in conclusion regretted the necessity of imposing any additional burthens upon his people, but since their future safety and happiness depended on extraordinary exertions, he felt a perfect conviction that parliament would enable him to prosecute the war with energy, in order to bring the contest to a safe and honourable termination.

The usual address to his majesty, which was on this occasion moved in the house of peers by Lord Elliot, and in the commons by the Hon. Henry Augustus Dillon, passed unanimously in both houses, and was on the 17th of January presented to the king.

On the 23d of January, one hundred and twenty thousand men, including marines, were voted by the house of commons for the service of the navy for the year 1805, and a sum not exceeding two millions eight hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds for the payment of the men. At the same time the sum of two millions nine hundred and sixty-four thousand pounds was granted for victualling, and four millions six hundred and eighty thousand pounds for wear and tear of shipping, &c. In answer to a question from Mr. Johnstone, on the same day, it was stated that the number of men at that time actually employed in the navy amounted to one hundred and eight thousand. On the 4th of February, the secretary at war moved the army estimates of the year, which amounted

to 12,395,490*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* for three hundred and twelve thousand and forty-six men, under the different heads of service.

The next question of importance that engaged the attention of parliament was a motion made by Sir Evan Nepean, principal secretary to the lord-lieutenant of Ireland, for leave to bring in a bill to continue the act of the last session for the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in that country. The grounds assigned for the renewal of this measure were, the notoriety of disaffection still prevailing in Ireland, the preparations of the enemy for the invasion of that country, the number of Irishmen associated with the forces destined for that purpose, and the existence of a committee of united Irishmen then sitting in Paris, and corresponding with the disaffected in the sister kingdom. It was, the honourable secretary said, the more necessary to arm the government with this authority, as the present act would expire in about six weeks, at which time a number of persons now imprisoned on charges of high treason must otherwise be liberated and left uncontrolled to pursue their own machinations.

Sir John Newport thought the slight grounds now stated insufficient for suspending the most valuable part of the constitution throughout the whole kingdom of Ireland, and involving the people of that country in a general proscription. If a committee of united Irishmen sitting in Paris were a sufficient argument for the suspension, the suspension act must become perpetual during the war ; for the enemy would take care to avail himself of that handle for a measure, which he knew must exasperate and inflame the minds of the people, among whom it was his object, as it was his interest, to stir up and keep alive the spirit of disaffection. The people of Ireland should be made to feel that the imperial parliament were as tender of their privileges, as they were of those of the people of England, and even more so, as powers increased at a distance were always the most liable to abuse. The treatment received by the Irish could not easily be brooked by a loyal and strong-minded race of people, and he should therefore move as an amendment to the honourable gentleman's proposition, " That a committee of twenty-one members be chosen by ballot, to examine such documents as may be laid before them, and to report to the house their opinion whether the continuance of the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act be a measure necessary to the tranquillity of Ireland at the present time." After a very animated debate, leave was given to bring in the bill, which in the course of the session advanced through its several stages in both houses of parliament, and ultimately passed into a law.

Few subjects ever excited so much interest as the origin of the Spanish war; and probably none was ever debated with more ardour, research, and elaboration, in both houses of parliament, than this question. On the 11th of February, the lords, as well as the commons, entered into the examination of this momentous inquiry. The subject was brought forward in the lower house of parliament by the chancellor of the exchequer, in a speech remarkable for perspicuous arrangement, elaborate detail, and that measured eloquence for which he was so celebrated. "I feel great satisfaction," said Mr. Pitt on this occasion, "that the day is at length arrived when we can enter into that full and ample discussion of the papers before the house, which the magnitude of the subject requires; and in the course of what I shall have the honour to submit to this assembly, I hope that I shall be able, not only to establish that which I believe few can now be disposed to question, the ultimate justice and necessity of the war; but also, the exemplary moderation, liberality, and forbearance of the ministers of this country, in every period of our relation with Spain since the breaking out of the war with France.

"In the first place, then, it is necessary to take into consideration the relative situation in which Spain stood with this country at the breaking out of the war, in consequence of her antecedent engagements with France. I need hardly say more to characterize that situation, than barely to mention the treaty of St. Ildefonso, and the stipulations it contained. Spain was bound to France by a treaty, on the face of it both offensive and defensive; and, in fact, a treaty which was by the contracting parties so entitled. Besides guaranteeing neutrality, territories, &c. the two countries agreed to assist each other with fifteen ships of the line, and twenty-four thousand men; and this assistance too, as appears from the 8th article, is to be given upon the demand of the requiring party, precluding the party required from making any investigation or inquiry as to the justice of the war, or the policy of the object for which the succours were to be granted. Nay, by the 11th article of this treaty, the contracting parties are to assist each other with their whole forces, in case the stipulated succours should be insufficient. This treaty is most important to be kept in view as the foundation of all the proceedings which it was thought incumbent on the British government to adopt. Such a treaty, unless distinctly disclaimed, I contend, must *ipso facto* have rendered Spain a principal in the war. Indeed, who, that recollects the circumstances in which the treaty was concluded in 1796, when Spain was compelled to subscribe

and ratify that record of her vassalage to France, can doubt the spirit of the contract, or of its hostility to the British nation.

“Such was the situation in which his majesty’s ministers found themselves, when the aggressions and injustice of the ruler of France forced them into the present rupture. In whatever light the treaty should be viewed, it could only be considered on the part of Spain as a reluctant tribute to the overbearing dictates of its ambitious and tyrannic ally. On this ground, I am convinced, that the tenderness, moderation, and forbearance, shewn by his majesty’s ministers for the degraded situation to which necessity, not choice, had reduced Spain, will meet with the decided approbation of this house. I state this particularly, because it was, in the first instance, deemed expedient to gain time, and the Spanish court seemed as desirous to get rid of their engagements as we were to detach them from their ally. But forbearance had its bounds, and to act longer upon such a system, when the French ruler seemed resolved to compel Spain to take an active part with him in the war, would not have been to give way to the influence of generous sentiments, or honourable feelings, but to enable Spain, under the dictation of France, to accumulate resources, and armies, and fleets, and arsenals, to be at the disposal of our inveterate enemy. France might at once demand the contingent of fifteen sail of the line, and twenty-four thousand men; she could moreover demand that Spain should put into activity the whole force that she could command: and for what purpose? The purpose of aiding France in the war against this country; for a purpose announced at the very outset of the war, continued through every stage of its progress, and never once suspended, but in practice, for the purpose of destroying the power and independence of this country; for the purpose of overthrowing this noble barrier against the incroachments of French ambition on the liberties and independence of mankind.”

Having stated these general principles as applicable to the state of our relations with Spain, the chancellor of the exchequer proceeded to consider how they had been followed up. From the documents on the table it would appear that our policy was, if possible, to separate Spain from her degrading connection. His majesty’s government at the same time wisely gave no opinion on the question of limited succours in kind to be furnished by Spain to France; but they apprised the Spanish government, that our forces would resist any attempt of the auxiliary fleet to form a junction with the enemy.

When, on the demand of the succours alluded to, the Spanish government had agreed to commute the contingent in kind for pecuniary aid, Mr. Frere exerted himself in vain to obtain from them the precise amount of the contribution, but he learnt that the sum was not less than three millions sterling ; and surely a war subsidy to such an amount rendered Spain a principal in the war. In consequence of this commutation, the Spanish government was informed that it could only meet with a temporary connivance on our part, and that the forbearance of actual war could only be continued on the expectation that the subsidy, which amounted to nearly one half of the annual revenue of that country, was to be for a limited time. Desirous to afford every facility to an amicable arrangement, ministers recalled Mr. Frere from the court of Madrid, because some unpleasant circumstances had occurred between that gentleman and the Prince of Peace, and another ambassador was to be appointed in his stead. In the mean time however despatches were received from Admiral Cochrane, stating the most important facts, that an armament was preparing in the port of Ferrol, collateral with the equipment of the Dutch squadron and the French men of war ; that soldiers and sailors were conveyed through Spain to reinforce the crews of the French ships ; and that the packets were armed as in time of war. The Chevalier d'Andagua, indeed, had endeavoured to account for the armament in the port of Ferrol, by asserting that it was to quell an insurrection in Biscay ; but the governor of Galicia, in reply to Admiral Cochrane's demand of an explanation on this point, stated that the armament was for a secret expedition ; and made not the least mention of insurgents in Biscay, while all the answer that Mr. Frere could obtain from M. Cevallos was, that the armament was not intended to hurt Great Britain. The simple question in respect to our moderation towards Spain was, not whether we had done enough, but whether we had not done too much. If we had at once declared war, it would have been consistent with substantial justice. As it was, our reservation amounted to a conditional declaration of war, by which we were enabled and justified, if circumstances should require it, to act without delay. Circumstances did require our immediate action ; because, when the hostility of Spain became manifest, if we could prevent her treasure ships from arriving in her ports, we should prevent a junction of the forces of the three powers of France, Spain, and Holland, the succouring of an inveterate enemy, the replenishing his coffers, and the recruiting of his armies ; for assuredly those treasures

were not destined for the coffers of Spain, but for the exchequer of France.

“ I trust,” said Mr. Pitt in conclusion, “ that I have sufficiently proved, that even in the commencement of the negotiations we had a just cause of war, which was never abandoned. That during the second period, our forbearance, while Spain became bound for, and actually paid a war subsidy of three millions sterling to France, was conditional ; and that the condition being violated, we again were possessed of the right of war provisionally declared : and all our demands of satisfaction and security being rejected, we are in consequence in a state of war. Under these circumstances, I entertain a full confidence that the vote of this house will recognise the justice of our cause, and sanction the conduct of the government, and that we shall lay at the foot of the throne the professions of a dutiful and loyal people, determined to make every sacrifice in the vindication of their rights, and in the defence of their country.” The honourable gentleman concluded by proposing an address to his majesty to this effect.

Mr. Grey, in a speech of considerable length, combated most of the positions laid down by the minister. He admitted, indeed, the hostile character of the treaty of St. Ildefonso, but deprecated the abuse of the principle of war which that treaty yielded. He contended that we abandoned our claim to the right of making war, and substituted for it the recognition of a neutrality ; that Spain had in no instance directly violated the neutrality ; that it all along manifested pacific dispositions ; that there were no armaments carrying on against Great Britain in the ports of that power ; and that the seizure of the Spanish frigates was not a measure of precaution, but of violence, injustice, and bad faith. He concluded with moving the following elaborate amendment to the address, which embraces, substantially, the whole scope of argument used on the part of the opposition in the course of the debate :—

“ To return his majesty the thanks of this house for the communication made to us relative to the rupture with Spain. To express our entire conviction that the existence of a defensive treaty between France and Spain would have entitled his majesty to have considered Spain as a principal in the present war, unless the obligations of that treaty were renounced, or their execution disclaimed ; and to assure his majesty that we shall at all times be ready to support him in giving effect, so far as the interests of his dominions may require, to this just and undisputed principle. That we observe, however, that his majesty has been advised to wave the exercise of this right, in order to negotiate with Spain, for the maintenance of her neutrality, and that, without taking upon ourselves to decide in the present moment upon a question of policy, depending so much upon circumstances of which we are still uninformed, we acknowledge with gratitude this proof of his majesty’s paternal de-

sire to have prevented the farther extension of the calamities of war.— But that we beg leave humbly to represent to his majesty, that the execution of these his benevolent wishes, indispensably required from his ministers the adoption of some just, intelligible, and uniform principle of negotiation, declared in the outset with frankness, and steadily pursued to its conclusion, followed by an unremitting attention to every new circumstance arising in the progress of the discussion, and accompanied by the most scrupulous care that all engagements resulting from it should, on the part of Great Britain, be defined with precision, and performed with good faith, moderation, and integrity. That we have, on the contrary, seen, with regret, in the whole conduct of this transaction, the clashing effects of undecided, equivocal, and contradictory policy. That the wishes for peace professed in the outset by his majesty's ministers, have uniformly been counteracted by their studious endeavours to keep alive both the cause and the menace of the war ; a purpose equally inconsistent with justice and with wisdom, destructive of all confidence on the part of the power with whom they treated, and incompatible with the object for which they were negotiating.

“That, during the whole course of these discussions, while they were continually soliciting from Spain unreserved communications, on points of mutual interest, their own indecision prevented them, in return, from returning a distinct statement of the terms on which Great Britain would consent to acknowledge the neutrality of that power. That their ground of negotiation was frequently shifted, their demands varied, and their concessions undefined ; and that although some agreement appears, at least, to have been concluded, neither its date nor conditions were ascertained with precision ; yet both are repeatedly referred to, by the British, as well as the Spanish minister, and the breach of these very conditions is alleged as the motive on the part of Great Britain, for her actual commencement of hostilities. That the omissions and defects which distinguish these transactions, as well as the fatal consequences to which they have led, can only be ascribed to the erroneous principle on which they were grounded, and to the criminal and almost incredible negligence with which they have been conducted.

“That it is particularly our duty to represent to his majesty, that, in a negotiation for peace or war between Great Britain and Spain, carried on principally at Madrid, no instructions were sent to his majesty's minister at that court, from the 2d of June to the 24th of November, in the year 1803 ; from thence to the 21st of January, in the year following ; and again from that date to the 29th of September. That in the first of these intervals, being little less than six months, the negotiation for a treaty of neutrality between France and Spain was begun, continued, and concluded ; yet not the smallest intimation was given, in that long time, to Mr. Frere, of the light in which that negotiation was considered here ; of the language it was proper for him to hold ; or of the measures it might be necessary for him to take ; although frequent communications were made to him on the subject by the Spanish government, who appear to have been disposed to pay great attention, in this instance, to any representation from Great Britain. That during the last of the above mentioned periods, the same minister, though left again for many months without any instructions whatever, negotiated and concluded some agreement with the court of Spain on this important subject, of which agreement no opinion was ever expressed to him from hence, either before or after its conclusion ; nor does it even now appear, from any official document, whether the same was meant to be allowed or disallowed, ratified or rejected, by the British government.

“That we feel ourselves compelled to express to his majesty, that, in the farther progress of these transactions, the indecision and neglect of his government were succeeded by resolutions and acts of violence

equally injurious to the honour and interest of the kingdom. That we should have applauded any endeavour, by firm and temperate representation, to extricate our relations with Spain from the confusion in which they are involved, and to bring them to a distinct issue of acknowledged neutrality, or decided war, but that we find no trace of any such attempt: and that, in the middle of September, on the first intimation of supposed movements in the Spanish ports, acts of hostility were decided on by his majesty's government, previous to all complaint, and executed, without notice, during a period of amicable negotiation. That the dispositions of Spain appear, from the information of his majesty's minister at Madrid, to have continued up to that moment friendly to Great Britain, and that the conduct of his majesty's ministers, in having, under such circumstances, anticipated all explanation, by a concealed order for an attack upon Spanish ships, property, and subjects, cannot be justifiable on any ground of public law, much less reconciled to those principles of moderation and liberality which belong to the British character, and which, in the present situation of Europe, it is peculiarly the duty of this country to maintain inviolate.

"That, in reviewing the discussions which immediately preceded the present war, we cannot but represent to his majesty the essential difference between the conduct of the person left in charge of his majesty's affairs at Madrid, and the tenor of the instructions under which he appears to have acted. That the explanations given to that gentleman, by the Spanish government, though not, in all respects, adequate to the just expectations of this country, were yet such as ought manifestly (according to these instructions) to have determined him to await at Madrid the arrival of an accredited minister, authorised by his majesty to arrange with that court all points of difference. And that we have therefore seen, with equal surprise and indignation, the final decision of his majesty's ministers, not only to adopt the inconsiderate resolution taken by the king's representative, in withdrawing himself from Madrid, but also to treat with utter disregard the subsequent offer from the Spanish minister at this court, to pursue the same discussion here; an offer which, if accepted, might probably have led to a satisfactory conclusion on matters upon which the two courts were so nearly agreed.

"That, while we have thus thought it our duty to represent to his majesty the errors of his ministry, in the conduct of this important transaction, and the future consequences which have resulted from them, we beg leave to repeat our humble assurance, that we are ready to support his majesty to the utmost, in every measure necessary to assert the rights and vindicate the honour of his crown; objects which can never be successfully pursued by negligent and undecided councils, nor attained by the violation of engagements on which those with whom we treat have rested their security."

A very animated debate ensued, which was continued for two successive nights, and terminated in the adoption of the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, by a majority of three hundred and thirteen to one hundred and six voices. In the lords, an address of similar import was carried without a division.

The next subject of importance that engaged the attention of parliament, arose out of a motion made by the Earl of Darnley for the repeal of the additional force bill, a measure which, as his lordship contended, had, in the course of the last eight months, raised no more than one thousand two hundred and ninety-five men, of whom three hundred and forty-

three only had been applicable to general service. This motion, which produced a very elaborate and spirited debate, was lost by a majority of sixty-eight voices.

Among the measures for the reformation of the public expenditure, either meditated or resolved upon by the Addington administration, an inquiry into the abuses of the naval department was one of the most prominent; and to give efficacy to these investigations, a bill was passed in the year 1803, appointing commissioners for that purpose, and empowering those commissioners to take examinations with a view to the discovery of abuses. This bill, in a great degree, originated with Earl St. Vincent, at that time at the board of admiralty—a situation that, upon Mr. Pitt's re-admission to power, Lord Melville was appointed to occupy. In the mean while, however, the commissioners had with persevering attention prosecuted their investigations, the result of which was the production of several successive reports; one of which appeared to implicate, in no light manner, the present first lord of the admiralty, who had, while he filled the office of treasurer of the navy, retained in his hands large sums of the public money, contrary to the statute of the 25th of his present majesty.

On the 8th of April, Mr. Whitbread brought the tenth report of the commissioners of naval inquiry under the consideration of the house of commons. The honourable gentleman began by complimenting the commissioners on their zeal and activity; they had done their duty to the public, and it fell to his lot, to bring to justice those whom they had exposed.* The report, he observed, involved a considerable number of individuals; not only Lord Melville and Mr. Trotter, his paymaster, but Mr. Wilson: and Mr. Mark Sprott, the stock-broker, made a considerable figure in the scene. "In exhibiting a charge against Lord Melville," said Mr. Whitbread, "I do not accuse a mere unprotected individual: that nobleman has enjoyed, during the greater part of his life, an ample share of the public rewards and public honours. For a period of thirty years he has been in the uninterrupted possession of some lucrative office, and has exercised a most extensive influence. He has many individuals attached to him by the consciousness of obligation; and, though not personally present, he has, no doubt, powerful

* See "the Tenth Report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry, appointed by an act of the 43d year of his Majesty's reign." From this report it appears that during the treasurership of Lord Melville, "the money issued for naval services, was used to a great amount for purposes of private emolument;" and that the sums standing in the

friends in this house who will be found ready to undertake his defence." He then referred to the act of 1785, of which Lord Melville (then Mr. Dundas) was the supporter, for regulating the department of treasurer of the navy, and to the order of council, by which his salary was advanced from two thousand to four thousand a year, in lieu of all profits, fees or emoluments, which he might before have derived from the public money laying in his hands. "With respect to the period he was in office," said Mr. Whitbread, "I shall make three distinct charges: I charge Lord Melville with having applied the money of the public to other uses than those of the naval department, with which he was connected, in express contempt of an act of parliament. I also charge him with conniving at a system of peculation in an individual, for whose conduct he was officially responsible; and for this connivance, I denounce him as guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor. There is yet a third charge, on which I shall not insist very largely at present, but which, if the inquiry I ask be instituted, I shall feel myself most powerfully called upon to support: I mean, Sir, the strong suspicion which arises from what has appeared before the commissioners, that the noble lord himself was a participator in that system of peculation. It is certainly to the honour of public men, that charges like

name of the Treasurer of the Navy, at the Bank of England, were for the most part considerably less than his unappropriated balances, as will be seen from the following statement, copied from that report:

<i>Time.</i>	<i>Treasurer's aggregate Balances.</i>		<i>In the Hands of his Sub-Accountants.</i>		<i>In the Bank of England.</i>		<i>Deficiencies.</i>	
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
31st Dec.								
1784	180,692	9 11	109,860	16 4	64,331	13 7	6,500	0 0
1785	275,820	15 11	162,168	19 4	9,026	10 8	104,625	5 11
1786	185,939	18 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	103,997	18 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	25,942	0 1	56,000	0 0
1787	658,569	2 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	199,199	11 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	406,269	11 8	53,100	0 0
1788	238,820	14 4	181,041	5 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	9,179	8 11	48,600	0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1789	315,065	17 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	208,784	1 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	52,481	15 10	53,800	0 0 $\frac{1}{4}$
1790	385,863	12 8	282,965	16 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	102,897	16 1		
1791	376,246	15 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	282,803	7 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	73,454	17 6	19,988	9 8
1792	336,532	1 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	248,312	19 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	61,742	1 9	26,476	19 8
1793	519,273	10 7	371,261	1 7	120,986	11 3	27,025	17 9
1794	700,833	5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	510,713	19 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	161,360	17 8	28,758	7 9
1795	1,132,966	3 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	577,210	18 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	525,438	8 1	30,316	16 1
1796	638,978	8 6	383,716	16 9	179,848	6 9	75,413	5 1
1797	480,903	9 11 $\frac{3}{4}$	320,450	1 7 $\frac{3}{4}$	101,812	13 6	58,640	14 10
1798	504,786	9 1 $\frac{1}{4}$	308,484	18 7 $\frac{1}{4}$	142,160	15 6	54,140	15 0
1799	687,623	18 0 $\frac{1}{4}$	334,572	14 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	298,910	9 0	54,140	15 0
1800	896,509	18 4 $\frac{3}{4}$	510,087	8 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	386,422	9 6	—	—
1801	951,217	13 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	521,554	13 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	429,663	0 0	—	—
1802	268,232	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	141,232	3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	127,000	0 0	—	—

this have seldom been preferred ; and it is a singular circumstance, that the only instance of a similar charge, for a great number of years, was brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold, by the noble lord himself, on the ground of malversations in India.

“ With respect to the first charge, it appears from the report of the committee, that there have been, for a number of years, deficiencies in the treasurer of the navy’s department, to the amount of upwards of six hundred thousand pounds a year. When Lord Melville was asked a plain question, as to the appropriation of this money, what, if conscious of innocence, had he to do, but to return a plain and distinct answer ? But the noble lord, as well as his agent, Mr. Trotter, professed total ignorance of the deficiencies ; but by and by, the paymaster begins to recover his recollection, and he then confesses, that from the year 1786, down to the period when he was examined, he had been in the habit of drawing out public money, and placing it in the hands of his own bankers. But when the commissioners inquire a little further, he tells them that they have no right to ask him any more questions. Lord Melville, in a letter to the commissioners, is a little more communicative ; his lordship acknowledges the fact of advances having been made to him ; but he tells the commissioners, that he cannot give the other information required, because he cannot disclose state secrets, and because he is not in possession of the papers containing the accounts of advances made to other departments, having himself committed them to the flames ; and not only has the noble lord destroyed the papers, but he has actually lost all recollection of the whole affair !*

* Copy of a letter from Lord Melville to the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry :

“ *Wimbledon, June 30th, 1804.*

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ I have received your requisition, of date of the 26th inst. It is impossible for me to furnish you with the account you ask. It is more than four years since I left the office of treasurer of the navy, and at the period of doing so, having accounted for every sum impressed in my hands, I transferred the whole existing balance to the account of my successor. From that time, I never considered any one paper or voucher that remained on my hands as of the smallest use to myself or any other person, and consequently, being often in the practice, since I retired to Scotland, of employing occasionally some time in assorting my papers, and destroying those that were useless, I am satisfied there does not exist any one material by which I could make up such an account as you specify. But independently of that circumstance, I think it right to remind you, that during a great part of the time I was treasurer of the navy, I held other very confidential situations in government,

“My second charge against Lord Melville is, that he connived at the appropriation of public money to private purposes. Trotter does not deny that he had large sums in the hands of Mr. Coutts, his private banker ; but he says it was more convenient for the money to be there than in the Bank of England, and more secure : and for the truth of this opinion he appeals to Lord Melville, who framed and sanctioned the bill of 1785 ! to Lord Melville, who, not satisfied with the regulations of the act of 1785, proposes still stricter limitations in 1786 ! For what purpose, however, I would ask, was there so constant a fluctuation in Mr. Trotter’s account at the bank of Mr. Coutts ? and why such perpetual drafts for money in the name of Mr. Trotter ? At the time that he is anxious for the safety of what is passing through his hands, is it always lodged at Mr. Coutts’s, allowing that to be the place of fittest security ? No, Sir, it was employed in discounting bills, in forming speculations, in gambling on the stock exchange. I am appalled at the reflection of no less than thirty-four millions of the public property having passed through Lord Melville’s paymaster’s hands. Why, Sir, the report states explicitly, that upwards of eight millions had been in the hands of his private banker, and nearly seven millions more are allowed to have passed through the same channel. While Mr. Trotter is thus busy, what is become of Lord Melville and his responsibility ? Had Mr. Trotter’s speculations failed, it was not to him but to Lord Melville that the public had to look for redress. I cannot then but think, that this negligent criminality is deserving of the severest reprehension. While the people were struggling with the heaviest burthens ever laid upon them, Mr. Trotter, and his silent discreet broker, Mr. Mark Sprott, were placing their heads together to lay out the public money to the greatest advantage : and Lord Melville never interferes ; never once enquires into this paymaster’s proceedings. Mr. Sprott, when interrogated by the commissioners, declines to answer their questions, and says, ‘I have had the opinion of Mr. Serjeant Shepherd, and other eminent lawyers, and they advise me to preserve a religious silence.’ Lord Melville and Mr. Sprott are not quite

and was intimately connected with others. So situated, I did not decline giving occasional accommodation from the funds in the treasurer’s hands to other services, not connected with my official situation as treasurer of the navy. If I had materials to make up such an account as you require, I could not do it without disclosing delicate and confidential transactions of government, which my duty to the public must have restrained me from revealing.

(Signed)

“MELVILLE.”

uniform on this part of the business ; Mr. Sprott says nothing ; but Lord Melville acknowledges that he knew of the transactions, but not of the detail. If he knew that his pay-master was speculating in the funds, he was, at least, bound to see what was the extent of these speculations. He ought to have felt that his responsibility was at stake, that the public money was put to hazard, and that it was time to put a stop to so serious an evil."

On the third part of the subject—the suspicion of criminal participation in this system of peculation, Mr. Whitbread said, "Lord Melville had found Mr. Trotter clerk to the navy pay-office ; he made him his pay-master, and in a short time makes him his agent. In this situation of agent, Lord Melville has pecuniary concerns with him to a great amount ; and when his lordship is examined, he is unable to tell the commissioners whether the advances made to him by Mr. Trotter were from his own or the public money. The truth was, Mr. Trotter had originally no fortune ; he was a man of good family ; but when Lord Melville first began to patronize him, his lordship himself knew that he had no property but what was derived from his salary ; it was absolute equivocation, then, to pretend, that Lord Melville could be ignorant of the source whence Trotter was enabled to supply him with advances. What was the language of all the predecessors and successors of Lord Melville ? When the paymaster of Mr. Barre was asked whether Mr. Barre had ever received an emolument from the application of the public money ?—he readily answered, No. Had Lord Bayning received any advantage ? No. Had Lord Harrowby ? No. Had Mr. Bragge ? No. Had Mr. Tierney ? No. Lord Melville alone shelters himself beneath the confidential communications of government. He can afford no intelligence, for his papers are destroyed. He has no recollection of what took place only a few years ago. His memory, naturally so strong, has now lost its retentive faculty. Mr. Trotter's answers too respecting Lord Melville were of the most damning nature. 'Did you receive any emolument from the use of the public money ?' enquired the commissioners. 'I wont tell you' was the reply. 'Did Lord Melville share in any such profits ?' 'I wont tell you ;' was again reiterated."

Mr. Whitbread, in his comments upon the evidence of Lord Melville, delivered his sentiments with great energy and spirit, and strongly awakened the attention of the house, and of the country. The honourable gentleman expressed his conviction, that he must that night have a majority in favour of the resolutions he meant to move. He called upon the country gen-

tlemen, upon the officers of the army and navy, upon the great commercial men, upon all who were independent members of that house, to give him their support, and to arrest by their vote of that night, a practice of the most dangerous and pernicious tendency. He concluded by moving thirteen resolutions founded on the subject matter of his speech.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a number of preliminary observations, said that there was no allegation in the report, or even in the speech of the honourable gentleman, that any loss to the public had been sustained by the transactions now under the consideration of the house; there was no allegation that any defalcation, any mischief, any evil whatever had accrued to the nation. He complained that the honourable gentleman had attempted to give a view of the case altogether erroneous, when he called upon the house to pass sentence, as upon a person already tried and convicted. He admitted at the same time, that the subject was one of a grave and solemn nature, and that though no loss or inconvenience could be alleged to have arisen from the transactions that had taken place, yet, if in a great money department, irregularities had been committed, it might be the duty of the house to set a mark upon such proceedings. But whether in this case it might be fit so to do, must depend upon a consideration of all the circumstances, which at present were not before them in the report. Till these circumstances were investigated and ascertained, the house could not be in a situation to form a fair opinion of the matter, far less could it be justified in coming to any vote of censure.

“The first charge,” said Mr. Pitt, “dwelt upon by the honourable gentleman, though not that on which he calls for an immediate resolution, is, that certain sums of money were applied to other than naval services. On this head I must say, that the whole case is not before us. Will the house be contented to pass judgment on the naked unexplained fact? Will they refuse to enquire what were the circumstances under which this application took place? Can it be denied that such a fact may exist in a vast variety of shades; that it may have been wanton or it may have been necessary; that it may have been small or great; that it may have been done upon a responsibility, by which the public cause was benefitted in a most important matter? Will the house then refuse to inquire into those circumstances? Will they refuse to ascertain in what light the affair deserves to be viewed?”

As to the charge of Lord Melville’s connivance, I do not say that conniving at the application of the public money for

the purpose even of innocent profit to individuals, without actual loss to the state, is altogether to be justified. But our judgment would depend upon a complete knowledge of all the circumstances—upon an inquiry into the mode of its employment, and the probable danger, and amount of the sum employed. The commissioners of naval inquiry, however, do not say that the issues to the treasurer or paymaster of the navy were greater than necessary, or that the money impressed in his hands was not forthcoming whenever it was wanted. In fact, nothing could accelerate those issues so much as to increase the balance in the paymaster's hands at pleasure." Mr. Pitt then proceeded to point out several errors in the tenth report of the commissioners, and argued therefrom that before the house came to any decision, the documents should be submitted to a more minute examination.

"With regard," said he, "to the charge of Lord Melville having participated in the profits derived from the employment of the public money, it is particularly necessary that a more detailed examination should take place, as that is a point which depends so much upon matters of account. I had expected, however, that after the solemn denial of Lord Melville on this subject, no suspicion of that kind would have been any longer insisted upon. Lord Melville has most expressly disclaimed his having knowingly, or intentionally derived any profit or advantage from Mr. Trotter's application of public money—and he only declined to answer positively, because from the blending of the accounts, the advances by Mr. Trotter might have been public money. On the face of these accounts, one hundred thousand pounds, is the whole amount of the advances to Lord Melville. It is known that of all the sums of one hundred and sixty millions, which have passed through the hands of his lordship, every farthing has been applied to the purposes for which it was issued, and has been regularly accounted for; and it will be found that of the hundred thousand pounds which, on the face of the account, was paid to Lord Melville, many of the drafts, were in reality, payments for public services. If this can be made out, as I am informed it can, it will place this matter in a new light, and is of itself a conclusive argument for further inquiry. Upon the whole, as there are no materials before the house, on which they can form a fair judgment; as the parties accused have not had a fair trial, have not enjoyed the right of hearing the charges and meeting them by evidence and explanation; as the conclusions passed in the house are many of them drawn from accounts detailed, and difficult to be unravelled, which a committee can alone state with clearness and precision; as the ap-

pointment of such a committee, while it interposes little or no delay in the determination of this important subject, will enable the house to do justice at once to the country and the parties accused; I shall conclude with moving, "that a select committee be appointed, to consider the 10th report of the commissioners of naval enquiry, and the documents therewith connected, that they examine the same, and report their opinion thereon to the house." At the suggestion of Mr. Fox, Mr. Pitt consented, in the first instance, to move the previous question.

Mr. Tierney said, that during the time he was treasurer of the navy, he felt no inconvenience, from a compliance with the act of parliament, and held that the report of the commissioners should be taken as conclusive evidence against Lord Melville. That noble lord had in his opinion, already enjoyed as fair a trial as the nature of the case would admit of, and no committee of that house could throw any more light upon the subject. After a number of observations from the Attorney-general, Mr. Canning, the Master of the Rolls, and Lord Castlereagh, in favour of a select committee, and from Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Ponsonby, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Wilberforce, in support of the original motion, the house divided, when there appeared

For the previous question	-	-	-	-	-	216
Against it	-	-	-	-	-	216

The numbers being thus equal, the speaker gave his casting vote against Mr. Pitt's amendment; when the original motion was put and agreed to.

On Wednesday, the 10th of April, the Chancellor of the Exchequer announced to the house of commons, at its meeting, that Lord Melville had tendered his resignation of the office of first lord of the admiralty, which resignation his majesty had been graciously pleased to accept.

Mr. Whitbread said, that had the issue of the debate on Monday been merely of a personal or party nature, he might have been satisfied with Lord Melville's removal from the responsibility, dignity, and emolument attached to the situation which he had resigned—the humiliation of the individual was complete indeed. But there was a duty still remaining to the public. Having done so much, having exerted so much independence, having deserved and having received the thanks deserved in the general exultation of the country, ought not the house take another step to complete their triumph? Ought not Lord Melville to be prevented from ever again polluting with his presence the councils of his majesty? This he thought so necessary, that previous to any other proceeding he

should move—"That an address be submitted by the house to the throne, praying his majesty to deprive the noble lord of every civil office held during the pleasure of the crown, and to dismiss him from the councils of the kingdom for ever." "I ask," said Mr. Whitbread, "the right honourable gentleman opposite (Mr. Pitt) whether he is prepared to give a pledge to this effect? I also ask whether the vote of this house has been treated with due deference in another quarter; whether Mr. Trotter has been dismissed?" (Mr. Canning, in reply answered, "Yes.")

Mr. Canning did not think that the case of Lord Melville, which at the most amounted to no more than a bare suspicion, warranted the severity of the proceedings now proposed; and after a very animated conversation, Mr. Whitbread agreed to withdraw his motion, in lieu of which he moved—"That the resolutions of the former night be laid before his majesty; and that they be carried up by the whole house." This resolution being carried, the house waited upon his majesty with a copy of the resolutions on Thursday the 11th of April, to which his majesty was graciously pleased to return the following answer:

"GENTLEMEN,—I shall, on all occasions, receive with the greatest attention, any representations of my commons; and I am fully sensible of the importance of the matter which is the subject of your resolutions."

It was not till the 6th of May, that Mr. Whitbread renewed his motion for the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of privy counsellors, on which occasion the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and said, "In consequence of the honourable gentleman's notice that his motion would be renewed, I have had occasion to ascertain the sentiments of respectable gentlemen on both sides of the house, and I see reason to believe that the step desired by the honourable gentleman is considered generally as expedient, I have therefore, felt it my duty to advise his majesty to erase the name of Lord Melville from the list of privy counsellors; to this advice his majesty has acceded, and on the first day that a council is held for general purposes, the business will be finally executed. I am not ashamed to confess that I have not given this advice without a bitter pang. I will not erase from my bosom feelings of private friendship, but I cannot suffer these feelings to interfere with what I find to be the declared sense of a majority of this house." Mr. Whitbread then inquired whether Lord Melville held any place of profit during the pleasure of the crown, and was answered 'none but for life;' on which he withdrew his motion.

The commissioners of naval inquiry had, in the progress of these discussions, been sedulously occupied in the researches arising out of the tenth report : and Mr. Whitbread, in consequence of the facts which had transpired in the progress of that inquiry, now considered himself justified in giving notice of an intention finally to move for an impeachment. This notice was met on the part of Mr. Robert Dundas, son of Lord Melville, by a requisition that the noble lord should be admitted and heard by the house on the subject of the tenth report, previously to the motion for impeachment being put. Leave to appear having been obtained from both houses, on the 11th of June, Lord Melville, escorted by the serjeant at arms, advanced within the bar of the house of commons, where a chair was placed for his reception, on which having reposed himself, he rose and entered upon his defence.

His lordship described the difficulties he had encountered in all the endeavours which he had hitherto made, to clear his character ; and expressed his extreme satisfaction that he could now, in some measure, gratify his feelings upon this point ; although he was limited in the range of his defence by the resolution of the lords. He solemnly asserted, that he never knew that Mr. Trotter had drawn any money for the purposes of speculation ; and declared he had felt highly indignant at the charge that such transactions were conducted with his privity ; and that, in execution of them, Mr. Trotter had enjoyed the advantage of his (Lord Melville's) knowledge of the confidential secrets of government. His lordship as positively denied his participations in the profits of Mr. Trotter. He admitted, when the money was drawn for naval purposes, that he had suffered that gentleman to place it in the house of Messrs. Coutts, until it should be wanted, instead of putting it into the iron chest, or transferring it to the custody of the respective sub-accountants ; but that he had ever given Mr. Trotter power to draw money from the bank indiscriminately, he protested was untrue ; and in lodging the money at a banker's, after it was fairly drawn out of the bank for official purposes by a competent authority, until it was claimed by the parties to whom it belonged, he contended that he violated no clause in the act of parliament. He certainly did suppose the paymaster derived a profit from the sums invested in the hands of Messrs. Coutts, but he had never considered it as a clandestine, a secret, or an unlawful proceeding. His lordship said the reason that he had not directly disclaimed having any share in Mr. Trotter's profits, when he was examined before the committee was, because he had that moment been informed of the confusion in which his paymaster's account stood ;

and that, although there was a doubt in his own mind whether he might not, in consequence of that circumstance, unintentionally have received what was his own property, from unlawful profits, he could then, as well as at the present time, have denied any participation with his knowledge or volition. His lordship referred to two sums of about 10,000*l.* each, which had come to his hands, as the confidential adviser of government, for the affairs of Scotland. The circumstances relative to them he felt equally bound, by private honour and public duty, never to disclose; though he affirmed, in the most unqualified terms, that those sums were neither used nor meant to be employed, for any object of profit by him. He had certainly directed his agent to procure for him the loan of 20,000*l.* for which he had paid regular interest; but it was not, till within the last six weeks, that he knew Mr. Trotter was the lender of the money. After explaining the nature of his transactions with respect to the loyalty loan, to which he subscribed the sum of ten thousand pounds, his lordship said when he destroyed all vouchers, it was because he considered them useless; and certainly not from the most remote apprehension of danger of their existence. Lord Melville said, when he reviewed the past proceedings of parliament, he could scarcely believe that an impeachment was intended, and he was equally incredulous with respect to an indictment. He observed that he did not even yet despair of receiving justice from his deluded country, although he could not persuade himself to mention circumstances which it was his interest to explain.

When his lordship had withdrawn, Mr. Whitbread addressed the house. The honourable member said the excuse offered by Lord Melville for not directly answering questions, in consequence of the mixed state of Mr. Trotter's accounts, was strange and incredible. He argued on the suspicious circumstance of refusing to give any account of the two sums of ten thousand pounds; and declared he should be satisfied if his lordship would refer the matter to a jury of honour, consisting of the chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Windham, and any other person of equal integrity, in case they acquitted him. Mr. Whitbread concluded by moving "that Henry Lord Viscount Melville be impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors."

A long debate ensued, in the course of which Mr. Bond objected to an impeachment as cumbrous and expensive, and moved as an amendment "that his majesty's attorney-general be directed to prosecute Henry Lord Viscount Melville for

the several offences which appear from the report of the commissioners of naval enquiry, and that of the select committee of the house of commons, to have been committed by the said Henry Lord Viscount Melville." On a division of the house the motion for impeachment was rejected by a majority of seventy-seven; and Mr. Bond's amendment for a criminal prosecution adopted by a majority of two hundred and thirty-eight to two hundred and twenty-nine voices. It was however ultimately determined on the 25th of June, that the mode of prosecution by impeachment should be resorted to, and Mr. Whitbread was appointed manager of the impeachment, with directions to acquaint the lords on the following day with the determination of the commons' house of parliament. On this occasion Mr. Pitt delivered his last speech in the senate, and argued strongly in favour of a trial by impeachment in preference to proceedings by criminal prosecution.

Another subject arising out of the tenth report of the commissioners of naval enquiry, and closely connected with the delinquency of Lord Melville, was a loan of forty thousand pounds of the public money made by government, with the privity of Mr. Pitt, to the private banking house of Messrs. Boyd and Benfield. In introducing this transaction to the consideration of parliament, Mr. Whitbread disclaimed all intention of imputing corrupt or improper motives to the chancellor of the exchequer; but he considered it necessary to prevent such a practice from being drawn into a precedent by future ministers, and recommended that a bill of indemnity should be introduced in favour of the existing government to exonerate them from a transaction which was certainly illegal. The following resolution was in consequence moved by Mr. Lascelles :

"Resolved, that the measure of advancing forty thousand pounds to Messrs. Boyd and Co. upon unquestionable securities, which have been regularly discharged, was adopted for the purpose of averting consequences, that might have proved highly injurious to the commercial and financial interests of the country; and, although not conformable to law, appeared at the time, to be called for by the peculiar exigency of public affairs."

This resolution was adopted by the house without a division, and Mr. Lascelles afterwards obtained leave to bring in a bill of indemnity, which passed into a law.

No other business of prominent importance engaged the attention of parliament during the present session, with the exception of a statement of the financial affairs of the country, brought forward by the chancellor of the exchequer, on the

18th of February, and which may be compressed into the subjoined marginal summary.*

Dissentions still continued to shake the British cabinet; and the conflicting sentiments of its members threatened to produce a partial change in the ministry if no subject of paramount interest had arisen to call them more strongly into action. But the inquiry into Lord Melville's official transactions served to waft the slumbering embers of disagreement into an open flame. Soon after the Easter parliamentary recess, Lord Sidmouth, it appears, suggested the propriety of removing Lord Melville from the privy council; but Mr. Pitt, wishing to avoid that measure of just severity, conceived that both parliament and the country would be satisfied with the noble lord's resignation of his office as first lord of the admiralty. Neither party was disposed to yield, and Lord Sidmouth, the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and Mr. Vansittart, expressed their determination to throw up their several appointments. This extremity was, however, for the present averted by the erasure of Lord Melville's name from the list of the privy council, and the vote of impeachment, which afterwards passed against that nobleman. The current of public opinion was decidedly unfavourable to the noble viscount. The city of London took

* NATIONAL FINANCES.

PUBLIC INCOME of Great Britain for the Year ending the 5th of January, 1805.

<i>Branches of Revenue.</i>	<i>Gross Receipts.</i>			<i>Paid into the Excheq.</i>		
	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Customs, - - -	10,949,087	11	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	8,357,871	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
Excise, - - -	22,470,812	12	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	20,604,143	3	3
Stamps, - - -	3,631,745	18	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	3,354,322	18	0
Land & Assessed Taxes, -	5,911,329	0	6	5,309,130	3	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
Post-Office, - - -	1,296,408	11	0	924,000	0	0
Miscel. Permanent Tax, -	147,584	3	6 $\frac{3}{4}$	143,991	15	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hered. Revenue, - -	106,682	0	2 $\frac{3}{4}$	71,211	7	6 $\frac{1}{4}$
Property Tax, - - -	3,578,889	19	11 $\frac{3}{4}$	3,484,351	10	5
Extraord. Resources, -	2,072,403	11	0 $\frac{1}{2}$	2,048,779	15	3 $\frac{3}{4}$
Loans, - - -	13,209,351	13	9	13,209,351	13	9
Grand Total, —	63,374,295	2	8	57,507,153	12	9 $\frac{1}{2}$

SUPPLIES GRANTED BY PARLIAMENT for the Year 1805.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Navy, - - - - -	15,035,630	6	9
Army, - - - - -	14,576,087	3	6
Militia and Fencible Corps, - - - - -	4,040,811	16	9
Miscellaneous Services, - - - - -	8,856,681	14	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
Ditto Extra, - - - - -	1,060,453	10	8 $\frac{3}{4}$
Exchequer Bills, - - - - -	12,000,000	0	0
Civil List, - - - - -	10,458	1	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

Total of Supply—155,590,122 13 5

the lead, in presenting an address to his majesty requesting him to remove his lordship from his councils for ever; and various similar resolutions were voted in different parts of the country, couched in language of unqualified censure.

It was not to be expected that the imperfect accommodation which had been recently established in the ministry would be lasting; and it therefore created no surprise when it was learnt that Lord Sidmouth and his adherents wished to retire from a cabinet, the proceedings of which they could not approve. On the 5th of July his lordship, in conformity with this resolution, went out of office; and five days afterwards his example was followed by the Earl of Buckinghamshire. These noblemen were succeeded by Earl Camden and Lord Harrowby, while Lord Castlereagh was appointed to the foreign department; the office of first lord of the admiralty having been previously conferred on Sir Charles Middleton, who was called to the upper house of parliament under the title of Lord Barham.

The impolicy of the desperate experiment made by Mr. Pitt to carry on the affairs of the government by means of his own personal weight and importance, unaided by the efficient co-operation he had relinquished, when in an evil hour he consented to the formation of a ministry on the principle of exclusion, had now become manifest to the whole nation. The minister had seen an old political ally disgraced, and almost annihilated, without possessing the means of soothing his lacerated feelings by any circumstance of alleviation. Mortified at this obvious proof of his declining influence and authority with the nation, he was attacked by a fever, which the perpetual and deep chagrin arising from the reflection of his past grandeur and authority, and his present declining credit, contributed to aggravate. From this corporeal malady he fortunately recovered; but his disorder, joined to the rooted vexation of his mind, and the calamitous train of subsequent occurrences on the continent of Europe, laid the foundation of that extreme debility of system with which he became affected, and which finally deprived the country of one of its most distinguished statesmen.

CHAPTER VI.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *State of France—Political Relations of the principal States of Europe—Letter from the Emperor Napoleon to the King of England—Answer of Lord Mulgrave—The Italian Republic dissolved, and a Monarchy substituted—Bonaparte crowned King of Italy—Genoa annexed to the French Empire—The immediate cause of a New Coalition against France—The Army of England ordered to march from the French Coast to the Rhine—Bavaria invaded by the Austrians—Bonaparte places himself at the Head of the French Army in Germany—Plan of Operations—The French Forces advance to the Danube—Perilous Situation of the Austrian Army under General Mack—Capitulation of Ulm—Advance of the French towards Vienna—Entrance into that City—Campaign in Italy, the Tyrol, and the Voralberg—Passage of the Bridge of Verona by the French—Retreat of the Archduke Charles towards the Hereditary States—Surrender of an Austrian Column under General Hillinger—Conquest of the Tyrol and the Voralberg by the French—Indication on the part of Prussia of an intention to join the Allied Powers—Landing of the King of Sweden in Stralsund—Debarcation of an Anglo-Russian Army in the Neapolitan Dominions—Retreat of the Russian Army to Olmutz—Battle of Austerlitz—Termination of the War—Peace of Presburg.*

THE Republic of France, which had assumed so many different forms, which during a period of twelve years, had fixed the attention, excited the hopes, and awakened the fears of mankind, had at length expired, and a new empire arose from its ashes, founded principally upon the power of the sword. It was remarked by a profound statesman,* that the French republic would become the prey of the first ambitious chieftain, who had sufficient boldness and dexterity to avail himself of a fortunate train of circumstances to seize the government, and this prediction found its fulfilment in the elevation of Napoleon to the imperial purple. The immense and increasing power of France had occasioned the utmost disquietude to all the surrounding nations. Depending chiefly upon her agriculture and the natural resources of the country, she had soon, in a great degree, recovered from the convulsive shock of the revolution. The suspicious and selfish policy of the powers that had coalesced against her, had united men of almost all parties in defence of their common country. More than twelve years of active warfare, and the complete destruction of her commerce, had given a military character to her whole population. Not only were the ambitious projects of Louis XIV. which had been suspended during the subsequent weakness of the monarchy of France, now realized, but greatly exceeded; and the establishment of an empire as extensive as

* Mr. Burke.

that of Charlemagne, was a favourite object of pursuit both with the government and the people. The union of all the powers of the state in one individual had increased the vigour of the nation, both in its foreign and internal operations ; and the activity, the boldness, and the military talents of its chief insured a prompt and universal obedience to his will. To the armies he was endeared by his victories and the brilliancy of his career ; and the assumption of imperial dignity, by enabling him to confer new honours upon his adherents, and new rewards upon the soldiery, increased and confirmed upon attachment. At this period the military force of France amounted to upwards of six hundred thousand men ; and this army, by the laws for the regulation of the conscription, and the formation of the national guard, was capable of being augmented to almost any extent.

Two years had now elapsed since the renewal of hostilities between Great Britain and France ; but the war had not hitherto been signalized by any memorable event. In the prosecution of the war this country laboured under one essential deficiency : so great was the drain from her population, in consequence both of her extensive navy and the force required for the security of her colonies, which the war had tended to augment, that the amount of that part of the regular army which was destined for European service scarcely exceeded fifty thousand men ; and it was evidently impossible, without the support of other powers, to undertake offensive operations against the continental dominions of France. But on the other hand, France, in the reduced state of her navy, possessed no means of attacking Great Britain. The alarm of invasion had long ceased : and the more the project was considered, the more difficulties appeared in the way of its execution.

Such was the posture of affairs when Mr. Pitt returned to power. While in opposition he had loudly condemned the inactivity of ministers, and he felt the necessity therefore of signalizing his administration by some extraordinary effort. His attention was of course immediately directed to the continent : and he laboured to form a new league among the states of Europe against the power of France. The situation of the continent was favourable to the accomplishment of this design. Russia and Sweden were disgusted and irritated by the conduct of Bonaparte ; and Austria observed the measures of his government with jealousy and alarm. The negotiation was carried on with great activity through the medium of the court of St. Petersburg. Russia entered into the measure with eagerness and zeal ; but Austria, who was sensible that she

had much more at stake than the other powers, was wavering and indecisive. It was, however, hoped and expected that the pecuniary means of Great Britain, the entreaties and remonstrances of Russia, and the continually increasing irritation arising from the course of conduct pursued by the French government, would at no distant period induce Austria to unite in the league.

The diplomatic intercourse between Russia and France had been for a considerable time suspended ; and the resentment and hostility of Alexander were increased to the highest degree by the conduct of the French government towards the independent states of Germany, and by the seizure and execution of the Duke d'Enghien. Influenced by these dispositions, he entered towards the close of the last year into active negotiations with Great Britain, and every effort was made to induce the court of Vienna to co-operate with this power to reduce the influence of a government which a concurrence of extraordinary circumstances had rendered formidable to all the other states of Europe.

The adventurous character of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, had directed much of the public attention towards that country. Provoked at the spirit of aggression manifested by France, and irritated at the indecent and insolent language of its government towards him, he had recalled his minister, and had suspended all diplomatic intercourse with that country, before the Emperor of Russia had resorted to the same measure. The resources of Sweden, however, were too inconsiderable to render her enmity formidable to France, but Gustavus was resolved not to remain inactive, and on the 3d of December, in the last year, a preliminary and secret convention was concluded with England, in which it was agreed that a depot, for Hanoverian troops, should be assigned in Swedish Pomerania, and that the British government should advance sixty thousand pounds, in order to enable Sweden to provide more effectually for the defence of Stralsund.

The pride of the house of Austria had been humbled by the disastrous events of the two wars in which she had been engaged, with the republic of France. Her population and territory, however, had not suffered any material diminution. She had, indeed, lost the provinces of Belgium, but she had acquired the rich and extensive territory of Venice. The dominions of the emperor were of vast extent, comprehending besides the lesser provinces of Hungary, Bohemia, the two Austrias, the Tyrol, and the recent acquisition of Venice. But these immense possessions were not cemented by any general bond of union, or animated by any common principle

of patriotism. Bohemia was divided by religious dissensions ; and Hungary, attached to its ancient constitution, regarded the measures of the imperial cabinet with jealousy and distrust. The government through all its departments was destitute of energy and vigour, and the court itself was distracted with dissensions and cabals.

One of the first measures adopted by Bonaparte after his elevation to the imperial dignity, was to transmit new overtures to the British government. This communication was conveyed in the form of a letter, written by Napoleon's own hand, and addressed to his Britannic Majesty. This unusual mode of communication, which he had before adopted upon his accession to the office of first consul, was chosen from a professed desire to disengage so important a transaction from the intrigues of cabinets and the perplexities and delays of diplomacy. After adverting to his recent elevation to the throne of France, and lamenting the unnecessary effusion of blood ; he said he considered it no disgrace to take the first step towards conciliation ; for though peace was the wish of his heart, war had never been inconsistent with his glory. As it had never been customary for the English Sovereign to communicate directly with a foreign potentate, an answer was returned by Lord Mulgrave, addressed to the French minister. The secretary of state for foreign affairs, intimated his majesty's wish to procure the blessing of peace, on terms compatible with the permanent security of Europe ; but stated the impracticability of more fully meeting the overture now made, until communications had been held with the powers of the continent, with whom his majesty was engaged in confidential connexions and relations.*

* LETTER FROM THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON TO THE KING OF ENGLAND.

Dated January 2d, 1805. Communicated to the French Legislative Body, February 4th, 1805.

“ SIR AND BROTHER,

“ Called to the throne of France by Providence, and by the suffrages of the senate, the people and the army, my first sentiment is a wish for peace. France and England abuse their prosperity. They may contend for ages ; but do their governments well fulfil the most sacred of their duties, and will not so much blood, shed uselessly, and without a view to any end, condemn them in their own consciences ? I consider it as no disgrace to make the first step. I have, I hope, sufficiently proved to the world, that I fear none of the chances of war ; it besides presents nothing that I need to fear ; peace is the wish of my heart, but war has never been inconsistent with my glory. I conjure your majesty not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the world, nor to leave that sweet satisfaction to your children ; for certainly there never was a more fortunate opportunity, nor a moment more favourable, to silence

Early in the month of February the letter to the King of England was communicated to the French legislative body, by order of Napoleon, together with the answer received from the English secretary of state. M. Segur in presenting these documents, very naturally availed himself of the opportunity they afforded of ascribing the continuance of hostilities to the hatred and ambition of the British government; "if," said the orator, "blood must flow on the earth and on the sea, this letter of the emperor will for ever absolve the French nation

all the passions, and listen only to the sentiments of humanity and reason. This moment once lost, what end can be assigned to a war, which all my efforts will not be able to terminate! Your majesty has gained more within ten years, both in territory and riches, than the whole extent of Europe. Your nation is at the highest point of prosperity; what can it hope from war?—To form a coalition with some powers of the continent? The continent will remain tranquil: a coalition can only increase the preponderance and continental greatness of France. To renew intestine troubles? The times are no longer the same. To destroy our finances? Finances founded on a flourishing agriculture can never be destroyed. To take from France her colonies? The colonies are to France only a secondary object; and does not your majesty already possess more than you know how to preserve? If your majesty would but reflect, you must perceive that the war is without an object, without any presumable result to yourself. Alas! what a melancholy prospect to cause two nations to fight, merely for the sake of fighting. The world is sufficiently large for our two nations to live in it, and reason is sufficiently powerful to discover the means of reconciling every thing, when the wish for reconciliation exists on both sides. I have, however, fulfilled a sacred duty, and one which is precious to my heart. I trust your majesty will believe in the sincerity of my sentiments, and my wish to give you every proof of it, &c.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

LORD MULGRAVE'S ANSWER.

Dated 14th January, 1805. Addressed to M. Talleyrand.

"His Britannic Majesty has received the letter which has been addressed to him by the head of the French government, dated the 2d of the present month. There is no object which his majesty has more at heart, than to avail himself of the first opportunity to procure again for his subjects the advantages of a peace, founded on bases which may not be incompatible with the permanent security and essential interests of his dominions. His majesty is persuaded that this end can only be attained by arrangements which may at the same time provide for the future safety and tranquillity of Europe, and prevent the recurrence of the dangers and calamities in which it is involved. Conformably to this sentiment, his majesty feels it is impossible for him to answer more particularly to the overture that has been made him, till he has had time to communicate with the powers on the Continent, with whom he is engaged in confidential connections and relations, and particularly the Emperor of Russia, who has given the strongest proofs of the wisdom and elevation of the sentiments with which he is animated, and the lively interest which he takes in the safety and independence of the Continent;

(Signed)

"MULGRAVE."

from its guilt ; and throw all the responsibility upon that government, which would prolong its effusion."

The establishment of the new empire of the French, and the elevation of Bonaparte to the imperial dignity, was followed by a correspondent change in the government of the Italian states. The vice-president of the Italian republic, Melzi, the members of the consulta of state, and the deputies of the colleges and the constituted bodies, had repaired to Paris, for the purpose of attending at the imperial coronation. This body, whom Bonaparte chose to consider as the legal representatives, and authorized organ of the Italian republic, determined after a decent interval of deliberation, that the constitution of Lyons was merely provisional, and that a change had become necessary, in order to insure the repose and happiness of Italy. Impressed with these sentiments they besought the French Emperor, to perfect the wishes of the citizens by deigning to become their sovereign. " You wished, Sire," said Melzi, " that the Italian republic should exist, and it has existence. Wish that the Italian monarchy shall be happy, and it shall be so." After a short pause, Bonaparte replied to the address of the vice-president. He reminded the deputies, that to him their country was indebted for the original establishment of their independence, and expatiated upon the interest which he had always taken in the welfare of the republic. " When at Lyons," he added, " you deemed it for your interest that we should be at the head of your government ; and still persevering in the same opinion, you now will that we shall be the first of your kings. The separation of the crowns of France and Italy which might be advantageous to insure the independence of your posterity, would at the present moment, be fatal to your existence and tranquillity. I shall keep this crown, but only so long as your interests shall require it ; and I shall with pleasure see the moment arrive, when I can place it on the head of a younger person, animated with my spirit, and equally anxious to provide for your security and happiness."

It was stipulated that the throne of Italy should be hereditary in the male line, both natural and adopted ; but that the right of adoption should not extend to any other person than a citizen of the French empire, or of the republic of Italy ; that the crown of Italy should not be united to that of France, except upon the head of the present emperor ; that none of his successors should be allowed to reign in Italy, unless they reside upon the territory of the Italian republic ; and that Bonaparte should, during his life, have the right of giving a suc-

cessor among his legitimate male children, whether begotten or adopted.

In the mean time, Bonaparte, in compliance with the addresses which poured in upon him from the various constituted authorities of the Italian republic, repaired to Milan to assume, with the requisite solemnities, the crown of his new kingdom. The ceremony was performed on the 26th of May, in the cathedral church of Milan, by Cardinal Caprara, the archbishop of that city, who was authorized by the pope to preside upon this occasion. Bonaparte, wearing the two diadems of France and Italy, bearing the sceptre and hand of justice, and clothed with the royal mantle, proceeded in the midst of a magnificent and solemn procession, from the palace to the cathedral. At the entrance to the church he was met by the cardinal and the clergy, and the air was perfumed with the incense, which was burnt in the presence of the new sovereign. After an address of courtly adulation from the Cardinal, Bonaparte was introduced to the sanctuary, and conducted to a throne decorated with the insignia of the French empire, and of the kingdom of Italy. At the entrance to the sanctuary, in front of the altar, was placed the insignia of Charlemagne. Upon this altar the royal ornaments were then deposited, and the cardinal pronounced over them his solemn benediction. Napoleon, advancing from his throne, received from the hand of the cardinal the ring and other ensigns of royalty. He then ascended the steps of the altar, and taking in his hand the ancient iron crown of the kings of Lombardy, he placed it with a determined air upon his head, pronouncing at the same time, with a firm voice, these emphatical words—*“Dieu me la donne, gare a qui la touche.”** He then returned it to the altar; and taking the crown of Italy, placed it in like manner upon his head, amidst the acclamations of the spectators. Bonaparte having pronounced the oath, a herald immediately proclaimed in a loud voice—‘Napoleon Emperor of the French and King of Italy, is crowned and enthroned—Long live the Emperor and King!’ At the same instant all the attendants repeated—“Long live the Emperor and King!” and the lofty domes of the church resounded with the shouts and applause of the multitude. The ceremony was closed with *Te Deum*, and the procession returned to the palace.—Soon after the coronation, Prince Eugene, (Beauharnois, son-in-law of the new monarch) was appointed Viceroy of Italy, and a new order of knighthood, under the designation of “the iron crown,” was instituted.

* God has conferred it on me—let those who shall touch it beware.

While Bonaparte was employed at Milan, in settling the constitution and civil code of his newly acquired kingdom, his agents were actively engaged in another quarter, in preparing the way for a fresh act of aggrandizement. The republic of Genoa, notwithstanding the narrow limits of its territory, had occupied a distinguished place in the history of modern Europe. But the period at length arrived, when even the forms of national independence were to terminate; and the republic was destined to be absorbed in the immense and overwhelming mass of the French empire. The disastrous consequences which resulted from this revolution, the war of which it appears to have been the immediate occasion, and the fatal issue of that contest, will render it an event for ever memorable in the history of mankind.

The line of policy to be pursued upon this occasion was extremely simple. It was expedient that some decent attention should be paid to the form of the proceedings, and that at least some appearance of moderation should be assumed. It was accordingly determined that the proposal for the union should originate with the senate and people of Genoa. The requisite precautions having been adopted, and the minds of the people sufficiently prepared for the event, the senate, after due deliberation, resolved that an address should be presented to Bonaparte, praying that he would allow the republic of Genoa to be permanently united to the French empire. This address was signed not merely by the members of the senate, but by a vast number of the principal inhabitants of Genoa; and it was ordered that an embassy, consisting of the doge, and the deputies of the senate, and people, should proceed to Milan, for the purpose of laying this document at the feet of the Emperor. Upon their arrival in that city, they publicly unfolded the object of their mission. Bonaparte was not inexorable. He listened with attention and with favour; and afterwards addressed the doge and the deputies in a speech, in which he enlarged with becoming gravity upon the importance and the necessity of this union, and assured them that he would realize their expectations, and unite them to his great people.

This extraordinary transaction was immediately communicated to the different courts of Europe, and excited in every quarter the most lively feelings of indignation. The Emperor Alexander in particular, who had previously dispatched M. Novoltzoff on his way to Paris, to try the effect of negotiation, hastened to recall that ambassador, and issued a memorial explanatory of his mission, and of the circumstances which had led to its abrupt termination. In this document it

is stated, that the emperor had a compliance with the wishes of his Britannic Majesty, sent his ambassador to Bonaparte, to meet the pacific overtures which he had made to the court of London ; but that by a fresh transgression of the most solemn treaties, the union of the Ligurian republic with France had been effected, and all hope of restoring tranquillity to Europe by negotiation thereby destroyed. But the most important effect resulting from the annexation of Genoa to France, was the impression which this event appears to have made upon the cabinet of Vienna. Notwithstanding the urgent solicitations of Russia, and the immense pecuniary offers made by Great Britain, Austria had hitherto refused to accede to a treaty of concert. She had acquiesced in the assumption of the crown of Italy ; she had even directed her ambassador to congratulate Bonaparte upon that acquisition of his titles ; but this last act of usurpation, combined with the formidable military attitude which France had assumed in the north of Italy, fixed her wavering purpose. Urged, therefore, by the remonstrances of the allies, and impelled by the strongest feelings of resentment, she abandoned her former cautious system of policy, and by a treaty signed at St. Petersburg, on the 9th of August, consented to become a party to the league ; the objects of which, as defined in a treaty of concert between Great Britain and Russia, signed at St. Petersburg on the 11th of April, were, First, The expulsion of the French troops from Hanover and the north of Germany : Secondly, The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland : Thirdly, The re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of his territory as circumstances might admit : Fourthly, The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, the Isle of Elba included, by the French forces : and Fifthly, the establishment of an order of things in Europe, which might effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpation.

The cabinet of Vienna was deeply impressed with the importance of the impending contest, and with the necessity of making exertions correspondent to this emergency. Her armies were accordingly diligently recruited, and large reinforcements were sent to Italy and the Tyrol ; while military works were constructed upon the territory of Venice ; and the details of the march and co-operation of the Austrian and Russian troops concerted with the Baron de Wintzingerode, who had been deputed to Vienna by the court of St. Petersburg.

While these transactions were passing in Germany, Bona-

parte did not allow himself to remain inactive. The hostile dispositions and intentions of Austria were sufficiently manifest, and he had already declared to the emperor, that he would not delay his operations till the arrival of the Russians. Accordingly, towards the close of the month of August, while he was at Boulogne, he issued orders to dismantle the flotilla in that harbour, and directed the troops to march from the coast to the banks of the Rhine. Similar orders were at the same time transmitted to General Marmont, who commanded the army in Holland; and Marshal Bernadotte was also directed to proceed with his force from Hanover towards Franconia. The necessary arrangements having been made to hasten the march of the troops, Bonaparte immediately quitted Boulogne and repaired to Paris.

A rupture had now become inevitable, and the several powers of the continent placed themselves in a state to meet the approaching storm. Bavaria, of whom strong suspicions were entertained by the allied powers, was summoned to incorporate her troops with the Austrian army, and the latter in full force passed the Inn early in the month of September, and endeavoured to enforce this command. It must be admitted that the Austrians on this occasion acted with little circumspection towards Bavaria, which was treated like a conquered country: heavy exactions were made upon the people for the support of the Austrian troops; the paper money of Vienna was forced into circulation at its nominal value, while it had suffered a great depreciation at home; the elector of Bavaria was obliged to seek refuge in Wurtzburg, and all these rigorous proceedings towards a neutral state were justified by "the tyrant's plea"—necessity.

As soon as intelligence was received at Paris that the Austrian army had entered the dominions of the Elector of Bavaria, the senate was convened, and in a speech from the throne, Bonaparte informed his senators that he was about to place himself at the head of his army in order to afford immediate assistance to his allies, and to defend the dearest interests of his people. The war had, he informed them, already commenced by the invasion of Bavaria, the elector of which state had actually been driven from his territories. He next exhorted the French people to support their emperor in the present unprovoked contest; and concluded by saying:—"Frenchmen, your emperor will do his duty, my soldiers will perform theirs; you will fulfil yours." On this occasion two important decrees were proposed; the one for the immediate levy of eighty thousand conscripts, and the other for re-organizing and embodying the national guard. Having formed

these arrangements, his next step was to appoint his brother Joseph to superintend the government in his absence, and on the following day he left Paris for Strasburgh.

A plan of military operations had already been concerted between the courts of Vienna and St. Petersburg. It was apparent from the distance of the Russian armies that Austria must rely solely upon her own strength in the commencement of the campaign, and the plan of operations was accordingly formed upon this evident principle. The resources of France were estimated at six hundred and fifty-one thousand men; and of this number it was supposed she might employ five hundred thousand in Italy, Germany, and Switzerland. In opposition to this force Austria could bring into the field two hundred and fifty thousand rank and file, exclusive of the Russian armies which were destined to co-operate with her in the war, and was expected to swell her numbers to an equality with the force of the enemy. The first blow was to be struck in Italy, by forcing the passage of the Adige, dislodging the enemy from the Mincio, investing Mantua and Peschiera, and detaching a body of troops to the Po, to observe the south of Italy, and to open its way to the Adda, in order to cover the blockade or sieges of these places. It was foreseen that in Germany Austria must sustain the first shock of the French impetuosity, without the aid of her imperial ally; it was therefore determined that the Austrian corps should enter Bavaria, and taking a strong position on the Lech, await the arrival of the Russians, while the forces in the Tyrol were to be regulated in their motions by those of the armies of Italy and Germany.*

In pursuance of this plan of operations, the Austrian army upon the Adige was increased to one hundred and twenty thousand men; and about the middle of September the Archduke Charles quitted Vienna for the purpose of assuming the command; at which period the French troops in Italy, under the command of General Massena, did not exceed seventy thousand men. The Austrian army in Germany was intrusted to the command of Field-marshal Baron Mack, an officer that had for a considerable time enjoyed a very powerful influence over the military councils of the court of Vienna. The Austrian army having traversed the electorate of Bavaria, arrived towards the end of September on the banks of the Lech. Abandoning that position immediately afterwards, they advanced to the Iller, and detachments were pushed to-

* Sir Arthur Paget's Correspondence.

wards Doneschingen and Stockach, and into the duchy of Wirtemberg. Besides the two armies stationed on the Adige and in Suabia, a considerable force was also assembled under the command of the Archduke John in the Tyrol, which was destined to act as the events of the campaign might require. Such was the distribution of the Austrian troops about the commencement of the month of October.

On the 26th of September Bonaparte arrived at Strasburg : on the same day the greater part of the French army, which had proceeded by rapid marches from the coast, passed the Rhine at Mannheim, Spires, and Durlach, under the command of Marshals Davoust, Soult, and Ney. Marshal Lannes with his division, and the reserve of cavalry under Prince Murat, had crossed the river on the preceding day at Kehl. The French army of Hanover, consisting of about twenty thousand men, and commanded by Marshal Bernadotte, having marched by Gottingen and Frankfort, had arrived at the headquarters of the Elector of Bavaria at Wurtzburg. In this position Bernadotte was soon after joined by General Marmont and the Gallo-Batavian army, which had crossed the Rhine at Mentz ; and by this union the force collected at Wurtzburg amounted to upwards of sixty thousand men. The plan of operations which Bonaparte had adopted for the opening of the campaign was of a most masterly character. In order to avoid the difficulties and inconveniences of penetrating through the passes of the Black Forest, he had resolved to advance along the northern bank of the Danube, and passing the river below the position of the Austrians, to interpose his army between them and the Russian force. It was with a view to this movement that Marshal Bernadotte and General Marmont had been ordered to proceed to Wurtzburg. As the Austrian commander might by an immediate retreat have frustrated the success of this plan, it became necessary that the project should not only be disguised from the imperialists, but should be executed with the utmost possible rapidity. Prince Murat was therefore ordered to manœuvre near the passes of the Black Forest, in order to deceive the Austrians, and to induce them to suppose that the French army intended to force its way in that direction. General Mack fell into the snare, and advanced with the greater part of his army to oppose the execution of this design. He had already fortified the banks of the Iller, and had issued orders to strengthen with the utmost expedition the positions of Memmingen and Ulm. At length, however, he discovered his error, and was compelled suddenly to change all his plans. In the mean time, the French army had traversed with almost incredible rapidity

the electorate of Wirtemberg, and the plains of Nordlingen ; and on the 16th of October, Marshal Soult arrived, at the head of his division on the Danube, at Donawerth, and obtained possession of the bridge at Munster. On the 8th, General Marmont reached Neuberg, having penetrated through the Prussian neutral territory of Anspach, and shortly after Marshal Bernadotte, at the head of his division, arrived at Ingolstadt. From this moment the issue of the campaign was decided. The army under General Mack did not exceed eighty thousand men : a hostile force nearly double that amount was now posted in his rear ; while his communication with the Austrian states, and with the Russian auxiliaries, the first division of which had not yet arrived on the Inn, was upon the point of being completely intercepted.

On the 7th, a part of the French army passed the Danube at Donawerth, and the division commanded by Marshal Soult extended itself along the Lech to the city of Augsburg, and afterwards to Landsburg and Fuessen. In the mean time a strong detachment from the Austrian army was ordered to advance to Wertingen, for the purpose of observing the motions, and checking the progress of the enemy. This corps was attacked by the cavalry under Prince Murat, and the division commanded by General Lannes. The Austrians, after a short contest, in which they sustained considerable loss, were compelled to retire. On the following day a second action took place in the vicinity of Guntzburg ; the division commanded by Marshal Ney attacked the Austrians, who were advantageously posted on the banks of the Danube, and, after a sharp conflict, forced the passage of the river, and remained masters of the bridges and strong position of Guntzburg.

General Mack, alarmed by the accounts which he received of the strength of the enemy, was obliged to send for reinforcements to the Italian army. Prince Charles thus saw himself deprived of the means of pursuing those objects which he hoped to accomplish. The necessity however was urgent, and he ordered, though with much ill humour and reluctance, thirty battalions to march to the support of the Austrian army in Germany. Of this force a part only arrived on the banks of the Iller ; some detachments were taken by the enemy, and the rest fell back upon the Tyrol. The Austrian army was stationed on the banks of the Iller, from Memmingen to the Danube ; but its principal strength was collected on the left of this line, in the neighbourhood of Ulm ; and the French were rapidly advancing with their whole force to that quarter. The situation of the Austrians became every hour

more and more critical ; they found themselves circumscribed and inclosed on every side ; and the commander saw the necessity of endeavouring to dislodge the enemy from some of its positions. Accordingly on the 11th of October, a vigorous attack was made upon a French division posted under the command of General Ney at Albeck. The enemy was driven to a considerable distance along the banks of the Danube ; and the event of the day was highly honourable to the Austrians. But no important advantage resulted from the victory.

After the battles of Guntzburg and Wertingen, Bonaparte repaired to the city of Augsburg, from which place he again returned on the 13th to the camp before Ulm ; when he issued immediate orders to force the bridge and position of Echlingen. This post, of great importance in the present situation of the armies, was defended by a body of sixteen thousand Austrians. In this contest, which was long and obstinate, the French charged with their usual impetuosity ; while the Austrians fought with all the fury of despair. Great numbers fell on both sides ; but at length the Austrians were broken and driven from the field. The same day, after a series of sharp and stubborn conflicts, the French troops under General Lannes possessed themselves of the heights of Michel Malgen and Kuhe, in the vicinity of Ulm, while on the other side, General Marmont occupied the bridges at the confluence of the Iller and the Danube. The situation of the Austrian army was now desperate ; it was nearly incircled by the enemy, and compelled to take refuge within the walls of Ulm. Two divisions under Generals Hohenzollern and Werneck, had already been detached from the main army, and Prince Ferdinand, desirous to rescue a part of the troops from the disgrace of a capitulation, placed himself at the head of four squadrons of well-mounted cavalry, and proceeded with the utmost expedition towards Aalen.

The two following days the French were employed in making preparations for a general assault. The city was surrounded by a broad ditch filled with water ; and though the fortifications were weak and unfinished, yet a brave and veteran army, consisting of more than thirty thousand men, might have made a fierce and dreadful resistance. Bonaparte, eager to avail himself of his present advantages to their full extent, issued an address to his soldiers on the 15th, in which he says, " Merely to conquer the enemy would be to do nothing worthy of yourselves or of your emperor. Not a man should escape, and that government which has violated all its engagements, should first learn its catastrophe by your

arrival under the walls of Vienna." This proclamation was immediately followed by a summons to General Mack requiring him to capitulate, and threatening in case of refusal to storm the town. On the night of the 16th there arose a furious tempest; the waters of the Danube overflowed their banks; and many of the bridges upon that river, and among the rest the bridge of Echlingen, were swept away by the rapidity of the torrent. A favourable opportunity was thus afforded to the Austrian army to endeavour to force their way through the posts of the enemy; but the commander was deficient in enterprise and activity, and this unforeseen and fortuitous occurrence was suffered to pass unimproved.

On the 17th the terms of the capitulation were finally settled. The garrison was allowed to march out with the honours of war, and after filing off to lay down their arms. The field-officers were permitted to return home upon their parole, but the subalterns and soldiers were sent prisoners to France. During the campaign which preceded and accompanied the surrender of Ulm, the rain fell almost without intermission. The rivers overflowed their banks, and the roads became almost impassable. Bonaparte, however, was continually in the midst of his troops; he encouraged and animated them to exertion; he shared all their hardships and privations, and distributed upon the field of battle rewards and honours to those who had distinguished themselves. By these popular acts he excited a spirit of enthusiasm in his troops, which led them not merely to encounter danger with alacrity, but to sustain with cheerfulness the severest toils. On the 20th the Austrians, according to the terms of a convention concluded the second day after the capitulation of Ulm, marched out of that city. Bonaparte, surrounded by his guards, occupied the heights near the town, and was a witness of this humiliating scene. Thirty thousand men, three thousand of whom were cavalry, with sixty pieces of cannon, and forty stands of colours, were paraded before the victor. Having sent for the Austrian generals, and kept them near his person while the troops defiled, he complained of the injustice and aggression of the emperor: "I desire nothing," said he, "on the continent. France wants only ships, colonies, and commerce; and it is as much your interest as mine that I should have them." To this effusion General Mack is reported to have replied, that "the Emperor of Germany did not wish for war, but was compelled to entertain hostile views by Russia." "If that be the case, then," said Napoleon, "you are no longer a power."

Thus, within little more than ten days, a well-appointed

army, consisting of upwards of eighty thousand men, commanded by gallant and experienced officers, and composed of the best troops in the Austrian service, was, in consequence of the inexplicable errors of its chief, completely dissipated. In addition to those who perished in the field, more than fifty thousand were made prisoners of war; and a very small portion succeeded, with great difficulty and the utmost exertion, in effecting their escape into the Austrian territories.

Information of the disasters in Germany, and of the capitulation of Ulm, was conveyed to Vienna by a messenger from the Archduke Ferdinand. No sooner was the intelligence spread through the city, than the houses were deserted, and the inhabitants crowded into the streets, anxiously inquiring into the particulars of this disastrous event. When the full extent of the calamity was known, the people gave vent to their feelings in the bitterest expressions of indignation and rage. They saw in their apprehensions the French already at their gates. They loudly exclaimed against General Mack as the author of their misfortunes, and openly charged him with having betrayed and sold his country to the enemy. The emperor made every exertion to re-establish the public confidence, and to restore the tranquillity of his capital. It was ordered that all persons capable of bearing arms should be trained and embodied, and that every effort should be made to supply the deficiencies in the army. Instructions were at the same time issued to hasten the general levy in Hungary; and the emperor published a proclamation, in which he appealed to the patriotism and loyalty of his subjects, and called upon them in the most earnest terms to unite with vigour for the protection of their country and his throne.

Immediately after the capitulation of Ulm, the most active exertions were made by the enemy for the further prosecution of the campaign. The first division of the Russians, under the command of General Kutusoff, had already arrived upon the banks of the Inn, and uniting itself to the Austrians in that quarter, formed an army of nearly seventy thousand men. It was of importance, if possible, to attack this force before the arrival of the second division, and with this view the French army having been joined by the contingents of Bavaria, Baden, and Wurtemberg, crossed the Iser at three different points, and advanced by rapid marches towards the Inn. The arrangements for the further prosecution of the campaign, on the immense theatre of war, were all completed. Marshal Ney's division, and the Bavarian army, were ordered to drive the Austrians from the Tyrol. The operations in the Voralberg were entrusted to Marshal Augereau, who

from the interior of France had arrived with a considerable force at Stockach; and General Baraguay de Hilliers was ordered to penetrate into Bohemia, and to observe the motion of the Austrians to the east.

The French army which was advancing towards the Inn consisted of about one hundred and ten thousand men, while the allied troops, stationed upon that river, scarcely amounted to seventy thousand. Judging it impolitic to hazard an action with such a disparity of strength, the allies determined to retire, in order to effect a junction with the second Russian division, which was advancing under General Buxhovden. From the Inn, the combined army retired behind the Ems, their rear occasionally skirmishing with the advanced guard of the enemy.

In this situation of affairs, the emperor of Austria endeavoured to avert the evils with which he was menaced by negotiation. He saw the allied army compelled to retire before a superior force; the second division of the Russians was still at a distance; and it was evident that in a few days the French would become masters of his capital. The Count de Guilay accordingly repaired to the head-quarters of the enemy at Lintz, to propose an armistice, in order that negotiations might be commenced for a general peace. The answer of Bonaparte was concise but comprehensive: He demanded as the price of an armistice, that the Russian forces should return home, that the Hungarian levies should be disbanded, and that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the duchy of Venice and the Tyrol. It was evident that to accede to these terms would be to place the imperial crown at the mercy of Bonaparte; the emperor therefore resolved still to struggle with his difficulties; and to trust to the support of his allies, to the fortune of his house, and to the zeal and affection of his people.

In the mean time the principal force of the enemy advanced by Ems and Amstten, while the Russians, still continuing their retreat, retired to St. Polten. At Krems, not far from that place, there is a bridge over the Danube, which is the last bridge above the city of Vienna. The enemy had detached a considerable force over the river, under the command of Marshal Mortier, who was ordered to march with the utmost expedition for the purpose of seizing and destroying the bridge. By this manœuvre, the communication between the first and the second divisions of the Russian army would have been completely intercepted; but the Russians, aware of the design of the enemy, frustrated its execution, and after a rapid march from St. Polten to Krems, crossed

the river at that place, and laid the bridge in ruins. It was now evening, and the situation of the allies, who were closely pressed upon the side of the Stein, became extremely critical. It was necessary to force the enemy from his position. Accordingly, at day-break on the following morning, the Russian army having formed itself into three columns, advanced against the French lines with the utmost impetuosity ; and after a smart contest put the enemy to the rout in every direction. In this engagement great numbers of the French were slain ; many escaped in the vessels that had been collected on the river ; and about two thousand men, with a large proportion of officers were taken prisoners. This victory, so important in the present situation of the army, was obtained without any considerable loss on the part of the Russians. There fell, however, in the heat of the engagement, the Austrian Field-marshal Schmidt, a veteran officer of great bravery and merit, and whose death filled the army with regret.

Bonaparte now removed his head-quarters to the beautiful abbey of Molk, built by the Emperor Commodus, and celebrated for having been one of the posts of the Romans. In the vaults of this magnificent building, he found prodigious stores of excellent Hungarian wine, which proved of great service to his army. From this moment, the fate of the Austrian capital was decided.* The great road to Vienna lay open ; and it was impossible to attempt the defence of the city without the walls. The court, the nobility, and all those who could provide the means of flight, had abandoned the city. The utmost agitation and confusion prevailed, and the public anxiety became intense from the accounts which were daily and hourly received, of the rapid advance of the enemy. But when the people were informed, that the Russian army, on which they reposed their last and only reliance, had passed the Danube and left the capital to its fate, they abandoned themselves to despair.

On the 9th, a deputation of the inhabitants of Vienna, with Prince Sinzendorf at its head, repaired to the French camp, to declare the emperor's intention to deliver up the metropolis, in order to preserve the people from impending distress ; and that in so doing, he fully relied on the justice and generosity of Bonaparte, to carry his benevolent wishes into execution. The deputies were received by Prince Murat with attention and respect ; and after a short conference, in which they obtained the strongest assurances of protection, they returned to Vienna. Murat, in consequence of the arrange-

* Memoirs of Count Starhemberg.

ments which had been previously made, immediately entered the city, and his troops were conducted to the quarters which had been assigned for their accommodation.

The Austrian force, which had retired from Vienna upon the approach of the enemy, amounted to about ten thousand men; and having crossed the Danube, they proceeded towards Moravia, for the purpose of forming a junction with the Russians. The French arrived at Vienna in successive divisions, and passed through that city with the utmost expedition in pursuit of the Russians. On the 14th, Bonaparte himself arrived at Vienna, and took up his residence in the castle of Schoenbrunn, a small palace built by the Empress Maria Theresa. So rapid had been the progress of the French, and such was the consternation which prevailed, that no effectual measures had been adopted for the removal of the artillery and military stores from the city, in consequence of which neglect, two thousand pieces of cannon, two hundred thousand muskets, and ammunition of every description, besides other articles of immense value, fell into the hands of the enemy. The French were now in complete possession of Upper and Lower Austria, and it became necessary to establish a provincial administration for the government of these extensive conquests. For this purpose a code of regulations was soon prepared, and General Clarke was appointed governor-general of the districts. These important arrangements having been completed, Bonaparte left Vienna and repaired to the army in Moravia. The French patrols of cavalry were already at the gates of Presburg; and a party of these troops intercepted a courier from Vienna, by whose despatches they learned that the Archduke Charles, on hearing of the disasters at Ulm, had quitted the Italian territory, and was hastening with his army to the relief of Vienna.

On the 18th of October, the Italian campaign was opened upon the Adige. The Austrian army was strongly posted at Veronetta, a suburb of the city of Verona, situated upon the left bank of the river; while the French troops, under the command of Marshal Massena, occupied the city upon the opposite bank of the Adige. The communication between Verona and its suburb was by means of two bridges, the new bridge and the bridge of the old castle; and both parties had guarded against the passage of these bridges by strong works raised at the opposite extremities. The Archduke Charles found himself so far weakened, in consequence of the reinforcements which he had despatched for the support of General Mack, that he was no longer in a condition to undertake offensive operations against the position of the enemy; the at-

tack was therefore begun by the French, and Massena determined to force a passage over the bridge of the old castle. After a fierce and obstinate struggle, the French general forced the passage of the bridge, and made himself master of the Austrian intrenchments upon the opposite bank of the river. The Austrian army, however, still maintained its position in Veronetta, and several days elapsed without any further attack; but the Archduke Charles having, in the mean time, obtained information of the disaster at Ulm, prepared to fall back with his force towards Vienna. It was impossible that these preparations should escape the observation of the enemy, and it was not till after an arduous contest that the Archduke made good his retreat, and took up a position under cover of the redoubts of Caldiero. During these operations, General Hillinger, to whom was confided the command of an Austrian column, consisting of about five thousand men, was separated from the main army, and after exhausting every effort to extricate himself from his difficulties, was obliged to capitulate with his whole corps. The enemy, still continuing the pursuit of the army of the Archduke, arrived upon the Isonzo, having made himself master of the Austrian magazines at Palma and Udine, and from this position General Massena ordered a detachment to proceed to the left, towards Villach, for the purpose of opening a communication with the grand army.

While the Archduke Charles continued his retreat, the contending armies in the Tyrol and the Voralberg were pursuing their operations. General Ney, with his corps, amounting to seventeen thousand men, after having quitted the neighbourhood of Memmingen, took a course towards Upper Bavaria. On the 4th of November, this general arrived in the environs of Partenkirch, and on the 5th, commenced an attack on the strongly fortified position of Scharnitz, situated two leagues to the south of Mittenwarld. To these movements the militia and sharp-shooters, as well as the *levy-en-masse* of the Tyrol, favoured by the nature of the country, opposed a long and obstinate resistance; but, after a gallant struggle, this brave band of patriots was at length obliged to give way; and the fortress of Scharnitz, with eighteen hundred prisoners, one standard, and fifteen field-pieces, fell into the hands of the enemy. On the 16th, General Ney marched through Lecfield and Zierl, and after forcing the Archduke John to abandon his position on the stupendous mountains of Brenner, took possession of Inspruck, the capital of Upper Austria. In the last war, the 76th regiment of the French line had lost two standards in the Grisons, and on their arrival in Inspruck, on the present oc-

casion, a scene occurred which deeply affected the feelings of every soldier. On entering the city, an officer of the 76th, recognized in the arsenal the proofs of the tarnished honour of his regiment; as soon as this discovery was made known, all the soldiers of his corps ran with eagerness to the places where the standards were deposited, and exhibited for some time, the most extravagant indications of joy; some of the soldiery danced round the colours, and rent the air with their acclamations, while others, with tears in their eyes, embraced these lost companions of their glory, and renewed their oaths never again to suffer them to be torn from their ranks. During the short but vigorous campaign of the Tyrol, an Austrian column, under the command of the Prince de Rohan, had been totally separated from the main army by the manœuvres of the French in that country. Unwilling to surrender without an effort, the Prince determined, if possible, to effect a junction with the Archduke Charles by traversing the mountains which separate the Tyrol from Italy; but finding himself surrounded by the troops of General Partoneaux and General Regnier, and discovering that his position was turned by General St. Cyr, in the neighbourhood of Castel-Franco, he was forced to capitulate, and six thousand infantry, one hundred cavalry, six standards, and twelve pieces of cannon, with a considerable quantity of baggage and ammunition, fell into the possession of the enemy.

The defence of the Voralberg, had been entrusted to the Austrian General Jellachich, who was despatched for that purpose from the main army in Suabia, previously to the fall of Ulm. In this service he was opposed by Marshal Augereau, at the head of a very superior force. A series of sharp encounters immediately took place, and the Austrians were driven in succession from position to position, till at length the concert of their movements being broken, their columns were separated, and the commander-in-chief, with a force of from eight to ten thousand men, found himself compelled to capitulate in the neighbourhood of Feldkirk. The whole of the Voralberg, Pludentz, and the entire district of Arlemburg, together with the Austrian arsenals and magazines in those territories, were thus surrendered to the enemy, and it was agreed that the troops should not serve either against France or Italy for one year from the date of the capitulation.

The violation of the neutrality of Anspach by the French troops under the command of General Marmont, had excited a deep sensation at Berlin; and the people of Prussia were still more exasperated than their government. The immediate result of Bonaparte's contempt for the representative

of the great Frederick, was a permission given by that sovereign to a large body of Russians to march through his dominions. The insult which the French ruler had given to the Prussian power effected what the allies had endeavoured in vain to accomplish, and an instant determination was taken to enter into the war. In order to encourage this resolution the British ministry sent Lord Harrowby to Berlin with the most liberal offers of pecuniary assistance; and, on the 26th of October, the Emperor Alexander, full of zeal for the cause in which he was engaged, visited the Prussian monarch, by whom he was welcomed with great cordiality, and received with princely distinction. The design of the emperor was to induce the king to enter with spirit into the views of the confederates. The two sovereigns from this moment acquired a mutual esteem for each other; and swore on the tomb of the great hero of Brandenburg to maintain an unalterable friendship. Apathy seemed for a moment to melt away in the fierce beams of resentment against the common foe, and from one extremity of the Prussian dominions to the other, preparations for vigorous action began to prevail. The armies of the Prussian monarchy, were, without delay, put on the war establishment; and several large bodies of troops actually marched to the south and approached the scene of action. This force consisted of no less than seven corps in excellent condition; and amounted together to two hundred and twenty squadron of horse, one hundred and thirty-three battalions of infantry, twelve companies of chasseurs, forty batteries of heavy ordnance, and twelve divisions of flying artillery. But the cabinet of Berlin soon relapsed into its former system. Before any decisive steps could be taken, General Mack had capitulated; and the Austrian army completely dispersed. These events disposed Prussia to listen to terms of accommodation; and Count Haugwitz was ordered to proceed to the head-quarters of the French army. The moment of action had been suffered to pass; when the Count arrived at Vienna, Bonaparte was master of Upper and Lower Austria, in possession of the greater part of the imperial resources; and in a state to reject the intervention of Prussia, as well as to deride her vengeance.

It was a part of the plan of operations concerted by the allies, to create a powerful diversion in the north of Germany; and if an army of thirty or forty thousand men had entered the Hanoverian territory towards the close of the month of September, General Bernadotte would have been kept in check, and prevented from marching to the Danube. The King of Sweden, notwithstanding his professed eagerness to take the

field, and his antipathy to the French emperor, did not effect a landing with his army at Stralsund until the 2d of November, and extraordinary as it may appear, the English force meant to co-operate with the Swedes, did not arrive at the place of rendezvous until the critical situation of the allied army pointed out the urgent expediency of an immediate separation and return.

In every stage of this unfortunate campaign there appears to have been a deplorable deficiency of energy and foresight. Soon after the breaking out of the war, an army, amounting to upwards of fifteen thousand English and Russian troops was assembled in the Mediterranean, with the professed design of co-operating with the Austrian army in Italy, or of effecting a powerful diversion in their favour. Instead of landing in the Venetian territory at an early period of the campaign, and supplying the place of those battalions which the Archduke Charles had found it necessary to despatch to the aid of General Mack, a landing was not effected till the middle of November, in the neutral territory of Naples, and at a distance of several hundred miles from the nearest position of the enemy. Here, as might have been foreseen, this powerful auxiliary force remained entirely inactive, and its only effect was to irritate the Neapolitan government by the violation of a neutral territory.

Marshal Davoust, leaving the principal part of the French army at Vienna, proceeded with his division towards Presburg. On his arrival in the vicinity of that city he received overtures from Count Palfy the governor, in the name of the Archduke Palatine, proposing that the military preparations in Hungary should be discontinued on condition that the French general would guarantee the neutrality of that kingdom. To this proposal Marshal Davoust yielded a ready acquiescence; and the principal resources of the house of Austria were thus reduced to the army which the Archduke Charles had with so much skill and bravery conducted in the face of superior numbers from the Adige to the Danube, and to the small force of Prince John of Lichtenstein, which had united itself to the first division of the Russian army.

Prince Murat, with the French cavalry under his command, having crossed the Danube at Vienna, came up with the allied army of the Austrians and Russians at Hollabrun. By these movements the situation of General Kutusoff's army became extremely perilous. Perceiving the difficulties of his situation, he sent the Baron de Wintzingerode to Prince Murat to propose terms of capitulation; and a convention, subject to the ratification of Bonaparte, was concluded, by which it was

stipulated that the Russian army should retire by a prescribed route out of the Austrian dominions into their own territory ; but Bonaparte, conceiving the Russians to be in his power, and desirous to signalize himself by a complete victory over their army, refused to ratify the convention. In the mean time, General Kutusoff had retired with the utmost expedition to Znaim, leaving the division, under Prince Bagration, opposed to the enemy. The determination of Bonaparte not to ratify the convention was communicated to the prince without delay, and upon the expiration of the time limited for the suspension of hostilities, his division, consisting of six thousand men, was surrounded and attacked by a French force thirty thousand strong. The prince, who had embraced the magnanimous resolution to cut his way through the enemy, succeeded, after displaying prodigies of valour, and arrived with comparatively little loss at the head-quarters of Wischau.

On the 18th of November, Bonaparte entered Znaim, where the Russians in their hurry and retreat to Brunn, had been compelled to leave their sick, besides a large supply of flour and other provisions. General Sebastiani, to whose brigade of dragoons the pursuit of the retreating Russian force was confided, favoured by the extensive plains of Moravia, cut off several corps of their rear-guard, and made two thousand prisoners. In the mean time the cavalry force, under Prince Murat, advanced to Brunn, which was evacuated on their approach, and by the possession of which they became masters of sixty pieces of cannon, immense stores of powder, and a very seasonable supply of corn, meal, and clothing. On the 20th, Bonaparte arrived at Brunn, and received a deputation from the Moravian states, with a bishop at their head. The French pursued their advantages in every direction. Ney was already master of Brixen, and General Bernadotte occupied Iglau, on the confines of Bohemia. Many prisoners, and much baggage fell into their hands in several petty affairs between the 20th and the 23d, on the latter of which days they had pushed their reconnoitering parties to the gates of Olmutz.

The combined forces at that place amounted to about one hundred thousand men ; the Russians formed the greater part of this number ; for the remnant of the Austrian army, which was placed under the command of Prince John of Lichtenstein, did not exceed twenty-five thousand effective soldiers, and of this number a considerable proportion were raw levies, harassed by constant exertions, dispirited by defeat, and enfeebled by continual privations.* The condition of the Russian

* Russian Memoir.

troops was still more unfavourable. Exhausted by forced marches, and reduced by hunger and fatigue, dearth, misery, and desolation, encircled the armies of the coalesced sovereigns. The provinces to a great distance around them were wasted. The total failure of provisions and forage was alone sufficient to prevent them from maintaining the position before Olmutz, or to take another station further in the rear ; and no alternative remained but to commit the fortunes of the campaign to the last desperate valour of their troops. A general battle had therefore become indispensable, but it was necessary to gain time for the purpose of concentrating their forces, and to enable the Russians to present a numerous and imposing front to the enemy. Delay, indeed, was the object of both parties ; Bernadotte had not yet joined Bonaparte ; and whatever opinion may be formed of French tactics, they have always been peculiarly studious to obtain the advantage of physical strength and the power of numbers. Much diplomatic artifice seems to have been resorted to on both sides. As soon as Bonaparte was apprised of the arrival of the Emperor of Russia in his camp, he sent his aide-de-camp, General Savary, to compliment that prince in terms of the most courteous civility, and to propose to him an interview. The imperial sovereign declined a personal conference, but he suffered the French General to remain within his lines for three successive days, where he did not fail to avail himself of the advantages presented by his singular situation. Although the Emperor Alexander did not choose to meet Bonaparte in person, he sent his aide-de-camp, Prince Dobgoruski, to explain his sentiments to the French chief. In the mean time Savary had returned to the French camp, and reported to his master the observations which he had been so indiscreetly allowed to make. Napoleon was informed that the Russian generals, in spite of the deplorable state of their troops, relied fully on themselves ; and that presumption, imprudence, and indiscretion reigned in their military councils. Availing himself of this intelligence, he issued orders for his army to retire, as if apprehensive of an engagement with so formidable an enemy. In order to strengthen this impression, the retreat was made under cover of the night, and the French army took up a strong position about ten miles in the rear of its former station. Here the troops began to throw up intrenchments, and to form batteries, as if for the purpose of defending themselves against the attacks of a hostile army. Every thing wore the appearance of alarm and confusion. When Prince Dobgoruski made his appearance, Bonaparte, as if anxious to conceal from the observation of the prince, both

the temper of his army, and the measures which he had adopted, received him, contrary to his general practice, at his out-posts. Preparations had been artfully made for this interview. Wherever the Russian directed his eye, he discovered the symptoms of anxiety and dismay. The troops were labouring with the utmost activity at the intrenchments, all the posts were doubled; every precaution seemed to be taken to guard against surprise; and so completely was the aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander impressed with the belief that the French army was on the eve of its ruin, that as a preliminary arrangement to pacification, he proposed to Bonaparte to place Belgium at the disposal of the allies, and to resign the throne of Italy to the King of Sardinia. These dispositions appear to have been attended with the desired effect. The confidence of the Russians increased; they considered the victory as secure, and were anxious only to prevent the escape of the enemy. The head-quarters of the Emperor of Russia, and the Emperor of Germany were removed to Austerlitz, and M. de Kutusoff, the commander-in-chief, ordered a powerful division to march to the left, for the purpose of turning the right flank of the French army. The confederates executed the orders of their generalissimo in five columns. The first, under Lieutenant-general Dochterow, took possession of the eminences of Klein-hostieradeck, and a regiment of chasseurs occupied Aujest, situated at the foot of the mountain near the lake of Menitz. The second, led by Lieutenant-general Langeron, posted itself on the heights of Pratzen to the right of the first column. The third, commanded by Lieutenant-general Pizibischewski, took its position on the same mountain to the right of the village of Pratzen. The fourth, under the orders of Lieutenant-general Kollowrath, partly intersected the heights from Austerlitz to Brunn, and partly stationed itself in the rear of the third column. The fifth consisted of cavalry, and was under the direction of Prince John of Lichtenstein. It followed the course of the third column, behind which it was formed under the mountains. The Grand Duke Constantine drew up the reserve on the hills near Austerlitz, a little to the rear of the whole army; while Prince Bagration threw forward the advanced corps by Holubitz and Blasowitz; in order to give facility to the third and fourth columns in marching on their points of destination; and Lieutenant-general Kienmayer proceeded by Pratzen to the front of Aujest. The head-quarters were established at Krzenowitz. No attempt was made to interrupt these motions; and the enemy even withdrew his videttes as far as Tellnitz and Sokolnitz.

Bonaparte saw from the heights of Schlapanitz with inexpressible joy, the whole of the movements of the allied army, and turning to his attendants repeatedly exclaimed, "Before to-morrow night that army will be in my power." This prediction proved but too true. The Russians continued their march at a short distance along the front of the French lines. The enemy still preserved the same cautious and timid appearance; his troops remained inactive in their respective stations; and Murat, having advanced at the head of a small body of cavalry into the plain between the two armies, instantly retired with the utmost speed, as if astonished at the force and confounded by the movements of the allies.

When the day had closed, Bonaparte determined to proceed on foot and *incognito* through the several quarters of his camp, for the purpose of discovering the temper, dispositions, and opinions of his army. His person, however, was soon recognized, and in an instant lighted straw was raised upon a thousand poles. It was the eve of the anniversary of his coronation, and eighty thousand men presenting themselves before their emperor, rent the skies with acclamations. Upon his return to his tent, he made the dispositions and issued the necessary orders for battle. Marshal Davoust was directed to march with the utmost expedition to Raygern, for the purpose of keeping the Russians in check upon the right, and General Gudín was ordered to advance at break of day, with his corps from Nicolsburgh, to oppose that part of the Russian division which should extend itself beyond the position of Davoust. The command of the right wing of the army, which was stationed next to Davoust's corps, was entrusted to Marshal Soult. Marshal Bernadotte commanded the centre, and Marshal Lannes the left, the flank of the latter being protected by the position of Santon, strongly fortified and defended by eighteen pieces of cannon. The whole of the cavalry, under the command of Prince Murat, was posted between the left wing and the centre. Bonaparte himself, attended by "his faithful companion in war, Marshal Berthier,"* his aide-de-camp, General Junot, and all his état-major, commanded the reserve, which was composed of ten battalions of the imperial guard, and the ten battalions of the grenadiers of Oudinot, with forty pieces of cannon.

The scene of this tremendous battle, which took place on the 2d of December, was the heights of Pratzen, a range of mountains, with a small semi-circular inclination in the mid-

* *Precis de la Campagne de Napoleon le grand, en Allemagne et en Italie.*

dle to the east, running from the lake of Menitz, nearly north and south to the distance of ten or eleven miles. At the foot of these mountains on the western side, and about a mile from the base of them, is a little stream, which on the north divides the defile between the parallel heights of Schlapanitz and Pratzen, and towards the south washes the plain of Turas. Between this stream and the fort of Pratzen, and in the vicinity of the plain of Turas on the west of the rivulet, are situated the various villages in which the French were posted, while the allied armies occupied the heights and the hamlets in the ravines to the east.

At one o'clock in the morning of the 2d of December, Bonaparte mounted his horse, again to inspect the posts, reconnoitre the piquets of his opponents, and to obtain an account of what the guards had been able to learn of the movements of the confederates. He was informed that they had passed the night in drunkenness, noise, and revelry ; and that a corps of Russian infantry, had appeared in the village of Sokolnitz, occupied by a regiment of the division under General Legrand.

The day at length dawned. Surrounded by his marshals, Bonaparte, who remained with the reserve, waited only for the horizon to clear up to issue his last orders. The sun appeared to be rising with extraordinary splendour, and held out the promise of a clear autumnal day. As soon as his first beams shot above the heights of Pratzen, the orders were issued, and each marshal hastened to join his corps. Bonaparte in passing along the front of several regiments, exclaimed : "Soldiers ! we must finish this campaign by a thunder-bolt, which shall confound the pride of our enemies." This appeal was received with extacy by the forces, who placing their hats on the points of their bayonets, exclaimed, "*Vive l'Empereur !*" The sound of a furious cannonade drowned their acclamations. The engagement had begun on the right.

The allies conceived that by passing the defiles in the neighbourhood of Sokolnitz, and the other villages, the right of the enemy would be effectually turned ; and that by avoiding the formidable ravines, which would obstruct their manœuvres, they might have an opportunity of executing their further intentions with advantage in the plain between Schlapanitz and the wood of Turas. They then proposed to press sharply on the enemy's right flank, by attacking it vigorously with numerous and compact bodies of troops, in rapid succession. This movement was to be covered by the right of the allies, with the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein, and the advanced corps under Prince Bagration. The five

columns were then put in march for the heights, and the fortune of the day was made to depend on the success of this attempt to drive back the enemy's right wing. Lieutenant-general Kilnmayer, who was to force the hollow valley of Tellnitz, and open the route for the first column, lost both time and advantage by commencing the attack with an insufficient force. The Austrians had already been engaged about an hour, and had suffered greatly from the French sharp-shooters, who took advantage of the ground, covered as it was with vineyards, and intersected by wet ditches, before M. de Buxhoven, with the first column of the Russians, made his appearance. At length, however, he arrived, and detached a battalion to support the Austrians.

At nine o'clock, the enemy was strengthened by four thousand men, from the corps under Davoust, and took advantage of a thick fog, which suddenly obscured the valley, to regain the ground they had lost. When the mist cleared up, the French were driven back, and forced to abandon the plain between Tellnitz and Turas; but the communication between the first and second columns of the allied armies, was not yet established; in consequence of which, it was found impossible to follow up this advantage. By this time, the second and third columns of Russians had quitted the heights of Pratzen, and approached to Sokolnitz. A blind rage seemed to actuate their movements; for without concerning themselves about the fourth column, and without attending to the offensive movements of the enemy, they thought of nothing but the first disposition, and continued their progress upon Sokolnitz; of which they took possession with little resistance after a long and useless cannonade.

General Kutusoff, who never conceived the possibility of being attacked on the heights, although it is difficult to conjecture on what grounds his ill-fated security was constructed, was surprised in the midst of his combinations by an unexpected and vigorous assault on his centre, made by the massy columns which Bonaparte ordered to advance for that purpose. The faults committed by the Russian general, had not failed to strike his eagle-eyed adversary, who perceived the advantage to be drawn from the circuitous route that the left wing of the allies was obliged to take. This wing, which became every moment more distant from their centre, still marched forward with the most surprising want of attention to military combination. Bernadotte having crossed the rivulet by a narrow and ruinous bridge, attained the eminence of Blasowitz, supported by the cavalry of Murat, and by Lannes with his grand division. From this time, the centre and right of

the allies became engaged in all quarters. The confederates evinced no want of impetuous gallantry; several brilliant charges of cavalry were made on their part, which owing to the precipitate courage of the Hulans, whose fiery temperament could not wait for the formation of the rest of the line, were very destructive to themselves as well as to their opponents. The centre of the allies, unsupported by the third column, had to sustain the fury of the French troops. Twelve thousand men were attacked by twice that number, and though the whole of the French army was inferior to that of the allies in strength, yet by a more happy arrangement of its force, its numbers were doubled on the point where the fate of the battle was to be decided.

Field-marshal Kutusoff conceiving himself to be the assailant, was confounded by these offensive operations; yet he felt all the importance of maintaining the heights of Pratzen.—When he was informed that the adverse forces were so near, he gave orders to his troops to draw up in front; and at the same time, sent for a reinforcement of four regiments of dragoons, from the cavalry of Prince John of Lichtenstein. The French directed the march of their two compacted bodies of infantry, with great coolness and at a slow pace. A third corps, commanded by Marshal Soult, now made its appearance on the right of Pratzen, and threatened to pierce through the intervals of the allies. To oppose this movement, the infantry of the fourth Russian column came up to support the advanced-guard, which being overpowered by numbers, abandoned its post. In the mean time, the enemy continued to advance, and by the immense superiority of his force, succeeded in making himself master of the heights. The Russian division, which had marched to the left, was thus completely separated from the main army; and it was evident that the battle was lost, unless the communication could be restored. In this emergency, the imperial guard, commanded by the Archduke Constantine, was ordered to advance, and by its impetuous charge, for a moment arrested the progress of the enemy. Marshal Bessieres was ordered to hasten at the head of the French guards to repair this disaster. The two corps were soon engaged; the fate of the day depended upon the issue of this contest; and the struggle was fierce and desperate. “The allies returned to the charge with increased fury, and were received by the French with a steady and well directed fire, which made dreadful carnage in the closely united ranks of the Russians. The ardour of this assault quickly evaporated. The superior numbers of the French, and their steadiness, soon changed it to a slow and uncertain

pace, accompanied by ill-directed volleys from firelocks. The fourth Russian column now lost the heights of Pratzen, beyond the possibility of recovery, together with the greater part of its artillery, which was buried in the deep clay, which pervades that part of the country.* The only expedient which remained, was retreat; and every possible exertion was made by the subordinate generals to conduct it without confusion. The action on the heights of Pratzen continued nearly two hours. The fourth column marched upon Waschau, where it collected its battalions unmolested by the enemy.—The Grand Duke Constantine, and General Ulanus highly distinguished themselves with their cavalry; the latter in protecting and disengaging the right, and the former in covering both wings of the allies; but their corps suffered severely from the dexterity and rapid manœuvres of the sharp-shooters, and from a battery of eighteen pieces of cannon, which discharged an incessant and well-pointed shower of grape-shot, overwhelmed both men and horses in one common ruin, and occasioned a slaughter that neither courage nor numbers could withstand. The second and third columns had become entangled at Sokolnitz, during the fog, and mutually embarrassed each other. Part of the centre of the allies had already penetrated this village, where they were turned and cut off by General Franceschi, and compelled to surrender; while Lieutenant-general Przibischewski, who had the command of the third column, shared the fate of Prince Repnin, and was made prisoner in the valley, together with six thousand men.

Informed when it was too late, of the attack on the centre, Lieutenant-general Dochterow intended to return to its support, but took a wrong direction; and perceiving the irretrievable posture of affairs, he retired upon Aujest, followed by the remains of the second column, which fell back on the first. No sooner had this part of the defeated army gained the village, than the enemy rushed like a mountain-cataract upon the place, which he carried, and possessed himself of four thousand prisoners. Driven to desperation, many of the flying troops betook themselves to the lake, which was too slightly frozen to bear their weight; and the waters engulfed these lacerated and unhappy men, victims at the same moment to two opposite elements; for the French had by this time brought up their batteries of flying artillery, which at once swept the lake and plain with a continual fire.†

Before two o'clock in the afternoon, the action was decided

* General Stuttenheim's Narrative.

† Austrian official account.

along the rest of the line; when the division of Vandamme rapidly approached to confirm the general route. Behind Tellnitz, is a hill of considerable altitude, the right of which extends to the lake. Thither the Russian infantry retired, still under the protection of the Austrian cavalry; which a perpetual cross-fire of grape-shot cut down in all directions. Worn out with fatigue, the infantry continued to retire with tardy steps, and the cavalry had to maintain their ground for a long time. At length the enemy took possession of the hill, when the Austrian cavalry quitted it, and the former persevered in plying the fugitives with cannon-shot, until they were out of the range of the guns. About eight thousand men of the first and second columns were thus brought off, and marched the whole night by Boschowitz, under incessant and drenching rain, which rendered the roads nearly impassable. The artillery, except that appertaining to the brave regiment of O'Reilly, was of course all lost in the retreat.

Bonaparte possessed himself of the ground on which the allies had been drawn up on the preceding night. The two emperors having exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to repair the disasters of the battle, retired in the evening to Hodiegitz, behind Austerlitz, with the wretched remains of their army. The Austrian cavalry posted some detachments before Austerlitz, and acted as the rear guard of the allies. The loss in this engagement fell principally upon the Russians, and is said by the enemy, to have amounted to twenty-two thousand in killed and wounded, and twenty thousand prisoners. In opposition, however, to this statement, it was asserted, in the official account afterwards published at St. Petersburg, that the entire loss in the campaign, did not exceed on the part of the Russians seventeen thousand men. The two commanders, Kutusoff and Buxhovden, with several other generals, and a great number of officers of rank, were wounded: numbers were among the slain, and many were taken prisoners. One hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and forty standards fell into the hands of the enemy. The day after the battle the French Emperor addressed to his army the following:—

PROCLAMATION.

Austerlitz, 12 Frimaire, Year 14.

“Soldiers, I am satisfied with you: you have on the day of Austerlitz, justified every thing that I expected from your intrepidity. You have decorated your eagles with immortal glory. An army of an hundred thousand men, commanded by the Emperors of Russia and Austria, has been, in less than four hours, either cut down or dispersed; the part which escaped your sword, has been drowned in the lakes.

“Forty colours, the standards of the imperial Russian guard, one

hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, twenty generals, more than thirty thousand prisoners are the result of this ever memorable day.

"That infantry so highly boasted of, and superior in number, could not resist your attack, and henceforward you have no more rivals to dread.

"Thus, in two months, this third coalition has been conquered and dissolved. Peace can no longer be distant; but, as I promised my people before crossing the Rhine, I will make such a peace only as shall afford us guarantees, and secure rewards to our allies.

"Soldiers, when the French people placed upon my head the imperial crown, I relied upon you to maintain it always in that splendour of glory, which alone could give it value in my estimation. But in the same moment, our enemies sought to destroy and degrade it; and this iron crown, conquered by the blood of so many Frenchmen, they would compel me to place upon the head of our most implacable enemies; rash and foolish projects, which upon the very day of your emperor's coronation, you have frustrated and confounded. You have taught them that it is easier to defy and threaten than to conquer us.

"Soldiers, when all that is necessary to secure the happiness and prosperity of our country shall be accomplished, I will lead you back to France; there you shall be the object of my most tender solitudes: my people will behold you again with joy, and it will be sufficient for you to say: "I was at the battle of Austerlitz," to authorize the reply, "Behold a brave man."

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

This battle, which was styled by the French soldiers, "the battle of the three emperors," and by Napoleon, "the battle of Austerlitz," terminated the campaign and the war. On the 4th, two days after the engagement, an interview took place at the French advanced posts, between Napoleon and the Emperor of Austria, and an armistice was agreed upon, in which it was stipulated that the Russian army, should within a limited time withdraw from the territories of Austria.*

* The following is the French version of the particulars of this interview, extracted from "Precis de la Campagne de Napoleon-le-grand, en Allemagne et en Italie:"

"The Emperor Napoleon received the Emperor Francis in his bivouac, at Sarusnitz, on the 4th of December. The interview lasted two hours. The Emperor of the French invited the Emperor of Austria to draw near the fire. "I receive you," said he to him, "in the palace which I have for some time inhabited."† The Emperor of Germany answered smiling: "You have obtained so many advantages from this residence that it must be very agreeable to you." After some conversation on the causes and policy of the war; the two Emperors agreed upon an armistice, and upon the principal conditions of peace. Francis then intimated to Napoleon, that Alexander wished to make a separate peace, and that his imperial majesty would abandon entirely his connection with England, and requested a truce on behalf of the Russian army. Napoleon here observed, that the Russian army was completely surrounded, and that not a man could escape; "but," added he, "I wish to confer a favour upon the Emperor Alexander: I will let the Russian army pass: I will stop the march of my columns. But your majesty

† This bivouac, or tent, consisted of a bad cabin of turf, without roof. made by the grenadiers for Bonaparte.

General Savary, accompanied by an Austrian general officer, was sent to the head-quarters of the Russians. These generals reached Hollitsch at twelve o'clock at night, and had instant access to the Emperor Alexander, by whom they were received with his usual affability. Gen. Savary states, that the emperor expressed no objection to retire from the Austrian dominions. "But," said he, "can I fall back with safety?" "Yes, Sire," replied the Frenchman, "if your majesty be resolved to accede to the capitulation, agreed upon between the Emperors of France and Germany." "And what are its contents?" "That your majesty's army should withdraw by the routs prescribed by the Emperor Napoleon: that you shall evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland. Upon these conditions I have authority from the Emperor, to repair to my nearest advanced posts, which have already turned you, and to give them orders to cover your retreat, the emperor being willing to respect the friend of the first consul." "What guarantee do you require?" "Sire, your word,"—"I give it you." Hereupon the aid-de-camp retired and repaired to Marshal Davoust, to whom he communicated orders to halt, and put a stop to all the movements of the French army.

Count Haugwitz, the Prussian ambassador, had arrived at Vienna on the 30th of November; and shortly afterwards set out for the head-quarters of the French army, at Brunn. Bonaparte in his conferences with this minister, expressed the warmest esteem and attachment for Prussia, and his earnest desire to preserve peace with that country. The fate of the war with the allied powers was already decided. The rapidity of these events, had confounded the speculations of the cabinet of Berlin; Count Haugwitz saw the necessity of relaxing from his demands; and this dispute which had promised such important consequences to Europe was speedily adjusted. One of the principal stipulations of the treaty concluded upon this occasion, (such was the thirst for territorial acquisition felt by the court of Berlin) secured the eventual cession of Hanover to Prussia, in exchange for some of her detached and more remote dependencies.

The armistice which was concluded in Moravia on the 6th, was followed by negotiations for peace between Austria

must promise me that the Russian army shall return to their own country, and shall evacuate Germany and Austrian Poland." "That," replied the Emperor of Germany, "is the intention of the Emperor Alexander, I can assure you; and this night you may be convinced of it by your own officers."

The interview being ended, Napoleon accompanied Francis to his carriage, and returned to sleep at Austerlitz.

and France ; Prince John of Lichtenstein, the Count de Guilay, and M. Talleyrand, the plenipotentiaries of the two powers, assembled for this purpose at Nicolsburg. The conferences, after a short time, were adjourned to the city of Presburg, Bonaparte was in a situation to dictate terms to the emperor, and the latter had no alternative but to acquiesce. The provisions of this memorable treaty were, of course, sufficiently humiliating to Austria. It was agreed that the Venetian territory should be united in perpetuity to the kingdom of Italy ; that the royal title which had been assumed by the electors of Bavaria and Wurtemberg, should be acknowledged by the emperor ;—that the margraviate of Burgau, the principality of Eichstadt, the part of the territory of Passau belonging to the elector of Saltzburg, the county of the Tyrol, comprehending the principalities of Brixen and Botzen, and the seven lordships of the Voralberg, the county of Hohenems, the county of Konigsegg-Rothenfels, the lordships of Tetnang and Argen, and the town and territory of Lindau should be ceded to the King of Bavaria :—that the five cities of the Danube, to wit, Ehingen, Munderkingen, Reidlingen, Mengen, and Sulgaw, with their dependencies, the city of Constance excepted, and a part of the Brisgaw should be ceded to the King of Wurtemberg ; and the remainder of the Brisgaw, the Ortensaw, the city of Constance, and the commandery of Meinau, to the Elector of Baden ; that the King of Bavaria should be allowed to occupy the city of Augsburg with its territory, and unite it to his other dominions, and that the King of Wurtemberg should be permitted to do the same with respect to the county of Bondoff. It was on the other hand stipulated in favour of the emperor, that the county of Saltzburg, and that of Berchtolsgaden, belonging to the Archduke Ferdinand, should be incorporated with the Austrian empire ; and Napoleon engaged to procure as an equivalent for that prince, the cession by the King of Bavaria of the principality of Wurtzburg. It was also agreed, in conformity with the declaration made by Napoleon, at the moment when he assumed the crown of Italy, that as soon as the parties named in that declaration should have fulfilled the conditions which it expressed, the crowns of France and Italy should be separated for ever, and should not in any case be united on the same head. It was further stipulated, that the prisoners of war taken on both sides, should be restored within forty days from the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty ; that in ten days from the same date, the armies of France and her allies, should evacuate Moravia, Bohemia, the Viertel Unter Vienne Wald, the Viertel Unter Manhartsburg, Hungary, and

the whole of Styria ; in the ten following days, they should evacuate the Viertel Viennner Wald, and the Viertel Ober Manhartsburg ; and that finally, in the space of two months from the exchange of the ratifications, they should withdraw from the whole of the hereditary states, with the exception of Braunau, which should remain for one month at the disposal of the French, as a place of depot for the sick and for the artillery. This treaty was signed at Presburg, on the 26th of December, and ratified by Bonaparte on the following day ; after which he immediately proceeded to Munich, on his return to France.

The Russian army began its march on the 8th of December, in three columns, to return within their own frontier : the first column, headed by the Emperor Alexander and his brother, the Grand Duke Constantine, took the route of Cracovia, and of Therespole ; the second that of Caschau, Lemberg, and Woody ; and the third marched by Ciznan, Vatrei, and Hussiatin.

The events of the campaign terminated on the plains of Moravia, had too plainly evinced that the councils and the measures of the Emperor of Austria had been alike unwise and precipitate. Whether he was goaded to action by the advice of the courts of London and St. Petersburg, or whether his resolves originated in his own cabinet, it is difficult to decide ; but certain it is that the course of conduct pursued was calculated rather to ensure the triumph of the adversary than to advance the cause of the allies. It is unnecessary to illustrate the truth of this observation by recapitulating the details of a war, commenced and terminated in the period of three months. In this short period, the Emperor Francis saw himself despoiled of by far the greater part of his hereditary states, and obliged to accept of conditions of peace, which for a time laid continental Europe at the feet of the conqueror.

CHAPTER VII.

NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1805 : *Effects of the Declaration of War against Spain—Rocheford and Toulon Fleets put to Sea—Attack on the Island of Dominica—Contributions raised on the Islands of St. Nevis and St. Kitt's by the French Squadron—The Toulon Fleet again at Sea—Sails to the West Indies—Pursued by Lord Nelson—Naval Engagement off Cape Finisterre—Battle of Trafalgar—Death of Lord Nelson—Memoir—Capture of Four Sail of the Line by Admiral Sir Richard Strachan—Political State of the Country at the close of the Year 1805.*

THE events of the year 1805 bestowed upon the two great rival nations of Europe an almost uncontrolled dominion over

their respective elements : by the memorable campaign of Ulm and Austerlitz the continent of Europe was laid at the feet of France ; and the battle of Trafalgar, fought the same year, and nearly at the same period of the year, ratified and confirmed to Great Britain the dominion of the seas.

The declaration of war against Spain, which opened a new scene of adventure to the officers and seamen of the British navy, became a very popular measure in that department of the public service ; and the increase of the French fleets, by the junction of her new ally, afforded to the gallant defenders of their country an opportunity of asserting their superiority in a nobler field than that presented by the catamaran warfare. But if great advantages were anticipated by the British navy from the declaration of war against Spain, the effects of the co-operation of the Spanish fleet with the fleets of their Gallic neighbours seemed still more to animate the French nation. As early as the month of January, after having remained in port two years, a French squadron, consisting of six sail of the line, and two frigates, quitted the port of Rocheford and ventured out to sea, with the view to unite itself with the more formidable force at Brest. At this period the tone of France was loud and menacing : Their official paper took every opportunity to boast of their accumulated strength, and to exaggerate their " irresistible power." " Years had indeed elapsed, but they had not been passed in inactivity. Arms, ships, and men, had been secretly in preparation, and fleets would now be poured forth from all the harbours of France. England was no longer to assume the dominion of the ocean ; but rather to tremble in every quarter of the globe, for in every quarter of the globe would her possessions be assailed."

On the 15th of January the Toulon fleet, consisting of eleven sail of the line, and two frigates, with nine thousand troops on board, following the example of the Rocheford fleet, pushed out to sea without being perceived by the blockading squadron under Lord Nelson. When it was known that two such formidable fleets were at sea, and that with a view to some grand combined exertion, they were speedily to be joined by detachments from Brest, the alarm and consternation in this country became general, and Sicily, Malta, Egypt, the West Indies, the Brazils, the East Indies, and even Ireland, were all in rapid succession assigned as the places of their destination.

After a short cruise the Toulon fleet was obliged again to put into port through stress of weather. But in the West Indies an attack was made on the island of Dominica by a French force, consisting of one three-decker, four seventy-

fours, and some frigates. On the 22d of February, a landing was attempted between the town of Roseau and the post of Cachecrow, by the enemy's force, consisting of four thousand men, under General Le Grange, embarked in nineteen large barges, attended and protected by an armed schooner full of men, and seven other boats carrying carronades. Brigadier-general Prevost, the governor, made the most judicious dispositions for the defence of the island, and with the small force under his command resisted the landing of the enemy inch by inch. The town of Roseau, after withstanding a vigorous cannonade from the enemy's ships, accidentally took fire, and was obliged to capitulate. But the British general, by a forced march, made good his retreat to St. Rupert's. In this situation he was in vain summoned to surrender, and the French commander-in-chief, finding the conquest so much more difficult than he had anticipated, abandoned the island, but not till he had levied a heavy contribution on the inhabitants of Roseau.

Pursuing this predatory system of warfare, the French fleet visited the islands of St. Nevis and St. Kitt's, both of which were laid under contributions. The arrival of Admiral Cochrane in the West Indies soon determined the conduct of this marauding squadron, which precipitately sailed for France, where it arrived in safety, after having narrowly escaped the different English fleets then at sea, and some detachments of which had been expressly cruising for its detention.

With the immense nautical means, and multiplied facilities, under the control of the admiralty, the naval department of the state was unpardonable in not possessing the necessary intelligence relative to the combined fleet, and the other maritime efforts of the enemy. With frigates, sloops of war, and gun-brigs, which might and ought to have been traversing the main in every direction, and watching the extended line of coast under the power of France, the admiralty board laboured under a deplorable want of information. Frigates, detached vessels, and even squadrons, made their escape from the different ports without molestation, while large and potent fleets put to sea with impunity, and prosecuted their voyages without discovery. The alarm created in the public mind, respecting the proceedings of the Rocheford squadron in the West Indies, had scarcely subsided, when that feeling was again awakened in a still more powerful degree, by the arrival of certain information, that Admiral Villeneuve had again put to sea. On the 30th of March, this officer sailed to Carthage with the intention of strengthening himself by the Spanish ships of the line in that port, but not finding them in

a state of sufficient readiness, he continued his course unmolested to Cadiz. Having been joined at that place by one French and six Spanish sail of the line, he directly steered to the West Indies, with an accumulated force of eighteen sail of the line, carrying beside their full compliment of seamen, and in a perfect state of equipment, ten thousand veteran troops. On the approach of Villeneuve to Cadiz, Admiral Sir John Orde, charged with the blockade of that port, with five British ships of the line, thought it prudent to retire, and succeeded in joining the English fleet off Brest under Lord Gardener.

While the country was exposed to the most alarming apprehensions, the welcome account arrived that Lord Nelson had left the Mediterranean, and was in pursuit of the enemy to the West Indies. The knowledge of this event had the most tranquillizing influence on the drooping spirits of the people ; for the idea of victory and Nelson were inseparably connected in every British mind. Lord Nelson, it is true, had with him only ten ships of the line to oppose the force of the hostile squadrons, but his name was a tower of strength, on which the community placed the firmest reliance. The expedition of Lord Nelson had been such that on the 15th of May, he was twenty leagues to the eastward of Madeira, and on the 4th of June, he came to anchor in Carlisle Bay, off Barbadoes. Here his lordship learnt, that the combined fleet, under Admiral Villeneuve, had arrived at Martinique on the 14th of May, but that the Diamond Rock was the only conquest hitherto achieved by this powerful armament. Notice was soon after received that the combined fleets, after remaining some time at Martinique, appalled at the name of their pursuer, had actually set sail for Europe, and that Lord Nelson, with his characteristic energy, was in pursuit of them.

Sanguine hopes were now entertained that the enemy would be intercepted by Sir Robert Calder, or Admiral Collingwood, before he could reach any friendly port : this hope was realized : but the event did not answer the national expectations. On the 22d of July, the hostile fleet, consisting of twenty sail of the line, three fifty gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs, fell in with Sir Robert Calder's squadron, amounting to no more than fifteen sail of the line, two frigates, a cutter, and a lugger, six leagues west of Cape Finisterre. (55)

(55.) The reader will not fail to observe the inconsistency between the account here given of the force of the combined fleet, at the time of action, and at the time of sailing. In a preceding paragraph, we are told that Admiral Villeneuve left Cadiz with "an accumulated force of eighteen

Sir Robert, notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, immediately attacked the enemy, and after an engagement of four hours, in which he displayed the greatest gallantry and skill, succeeded in taking two ships of the line, the *St. Raphael*, of eighty-four guns, and the *El Firme*, of seventy-four. He then judged it expedient to put a stop to the action, in order that his squadron might cover his captures. During the whole day, the enemy had the advantage of wind and weather. The night was spent by both fleets in the necessary repairs, and the following morning the enemy seemed disposed to renew the action, but he never approached nearer the British lines than four leagues. At night the fleets were about six leagues asunder; and when the day broke on the 24th, the enemy was seen steering away to the south east, which course he kept till he disappeared at about six o'clock in the evening. In England the conduct of Sir Robert Calder became the subject of the most unreserved disapprobation; and the court-martial which sat in judgment upon Sir Robert, sentenced him to be severely reprimanded "for not having done his utmost to take and to destroy every ship of the enemy, which it was his duty to engage."*

The designs of the enemy had now become sufficiently manifest, and the combined fleets collected at Cadiz, under the command of Admiral Villeneuve, were known to be in the most active state of refitment. Scarcely had Lord Nelson arrived in London, after his long and persevering cruise, when he was offered the command of an armament, to be prepared immediately, of sufficient force to cope with the united naval force of France and her allies. His lordship, without a moment's hesitation, embraced the opportunity of again bearing his country's flag. To this situation the public suffrage universally called him; and to him all eyes were directed with

sail of the line." With this fleet he sailed for the West Indies, where no accession to his numbers appears to have been received; and on his return he is stated to have encountered Admiral Calder, with twenty sail of the line, three fifty gun ships, five frigates, and two brigs. Which of these statements is correct, can easily be determined, when the propensity of English writers to magnify the force opposed to them is remembered. The French historians claim the victory, on this occasion, for their countrymen, with equal plausibility. The weather is represented to have been uncommonly boisterous, and the fog so thick, during the engagement, as to conceal the greater part of the two fleets from each other. Four of the English vessels are said to have been dismasted, and the two Spaniards captured had been previously separated from the rest of the fleet by the storm, and fell an easy prey to the English.

* Sentence of the Court Martial for the Trial of Sir Robert Calder, passed on the 26th of December, 1805, on board his Majesty's ship, the *Prince of Wales*, in Portsmouth harbour.

PLAN OF THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR.

BRITISH FLEET.

- Larboard or Weather Line. { 1 Victory—2 Temeraire—3 Neptune—4 Britannia—5 Leviathan—6 Conqueror—
7 Agamemnon—8 Ajax—9 Orion—10 Minotaur—11 Spartiate—12 Africa.
- Starboard or Lee Line - - - { 13 Royal Sovereign—14 Belleisle—15 Mars—16 Tonnant—17 Bellerophon—
18 Achille—19 Polyphemus—20 Revenge—21 Swiftsure—22 Defiance—
23 Thunderer—24 Defence—25 Colossus—26 Prince—27 Dreadnought.
- Frigates, &c. - - - - - { 28 Euryalus—29 Pickle schooner—30 Sirius—31 Naiad—32 Phœbe—33 Enter-
prenante.



hope, in a moment when every other circumstance around appeared gloomy and unpromising.

Invested with this high and distinguished command, his lordship quitted England on the 16th of September, in his flag ship the *Victory*, accompanied by the *Ajax* and *Defiance*, of seventy-four guns each, the *Agamemnon*, of sixty-four, and a frigate, and on the 29th of the same month arrived off Cadiz. Here his lordship was received by the officers and crew of the fleet with the most gratifying enthusiasm ; and the first object of his wishes appears to have been to induce the enemy to quit the port and to come out to sea. In consequence of this design he never kept more than seven or eight sail of the line before Cadiz, remaining himself with the rest of his forces near Cape St. Mary, while a line of frigates was formed to communicate with the several divisions of the armament. The admirals of the blockaded squadron had been ordered to put to sea, in case their opponents should be weakened by detachments, or compelled by the weather to quit the station. It was supposed to be their intention to collect in their cruise the squadron at Carthagená, and to make for Toulon ; where their number of ships would have been increased to between forty and fifty sail of the line, with which it was conjectured to be the enemy's intention to prevent the British and Russian troops in Malta and Corfu from co-operating with the allied forces in Italy and Germany.

On the 19th of October, Lord Nelson despatched Admiral Louis with six sail of the line to Tetuan for stores and water. Informed of this event, and supposing the English to be much reduced in strength, Admiral Villeneuve availed himself of the favourable juncture to obey the positive commands which had been issued by his government. On the next day the fleet under his command got under weigh, and at day-break on the 21st, was distinctly seen from the *Victory's* deck, formed in a close line of battle off Cape Trafalgar, about twelve miles to leeward of the British fleet, and standing to the south. Our fleet consisted of twenty-seven sail of the line, and four frigates ; theirs of thirty-three sail of the line, and seven frigates, and their superiority was greater in size and weight of metal than in numbers. Admiral Villeneuve was a skilful seaman, and his plan of defence was as well conceived, and as original as the plan of attack. The Spaniards were commanded by Admiral Gravina ; and four thousand troops were embarked on board the fleet, under the command of General Contamin, among whom were several of the most skilful sharp-shooters that could be selected, and many Tyrolese riflemen. Lord Nelson, certain of a triumphant issue to the

day, asked Captain Blackwood on the morning of the 21st, what he should consider a victory? and being answered that from the situation of the land he should think it would be a glorious result if fourteen of the enemy's ships were captured, he replied, "I shall not be satisfied with less than twenty."—Soon afterwards he asked the captain if he did not think there was a signal wanting. Captain Blackwood said, he thought that the whole fleet seemed very clearly to understand what they were about. These words were scarcely spoken before the signal was made, which will be as imperishable as the achievements of the British navy itself; it was Lord Nelson's last signal—"England expects every man to do his duty." The shout with which this inspiring sentiment was received, was truly sublime. "Now," said Lord Nelson, "I can do no more. We must trust to the great Disposer of all events, and the justice of our cause. I thank God for this great opportunity of doing my duty."*

The commander-in-chief immediately made the signal for the British fleet to bear up in two columns, as they formed in the order of sailing; a mode of attack his lordship had previously directed, to avoid the inconvenience and delay in forming a line of battle in the usual manner. The enemy formed their line of battle with great closeness and correctness; and as the mode of attack was unusual, so the structure of their line was new; it formed a crescent convexing to leeward; so that in leading down to their centre, Lord Collingwood had both their van and rear abaft the beam. Before the fire opened, every alternate ship was about a cable's length to windward of her second a-head and a-stern, forming a kind of double line, and appeared, when on their beam, to leave a very little interval between them, and this without crowding their ships. Admiral Villeneuve was in the *Bucentaure* in the centre, and the *Prince of Asturias* bore *Gravina's* flag in the rear; but the French and Spanish ships were mixed without any apparent regard to order or national squadron. As the mode of our attack had been previously determined on, and communicated to the flag-officers and captains, few signals were necessary, and none were made except to direct

* Having seen that all was ready, Lord Nelson retired to his cabin, and wrote the following prayer:—"May the great God whom I worship, grant to my country, and for the benefit of Europe in general, a great and glorious victory: and may no misconduct in any one tarnish it; and may humanity after victory be the predominant feature in the British fleet! For myself individually, I commit my life to Him that made me; and may his blessing alight on my endeavours for serving my country faithfully! To him I resign myself, and the just cause which is entrusted to me to defend.—Amen, Amen, Amen."

close order as the lines bore down. The commander-in-chief, in the *Victory*, led the weather column, and the *Royal Sovereign*, which bore Lord Collingwood's flag, the lee.* Lord Collingwood, the second in command, having the entire direction of his line, was to break through the enemy about the twelfth ship from their rear: Lord Nelson was to lead through the centre, and the advanced squadron was to cut off three or four a-head from the centre. This plan was adapted to the strength of the enemy, so that they should always be one-fourth superior to those whom they cut off. The two columns of the British fleet, led on by their gallant chiefs, continued to advance, with light airs, and all sails set towards the van and centre of the enemy, whose line extended about N. N. E. and S. S. W. In order to cut off any possibility of the enemy's escaping to Cadiz, Lord Nelson steered about two points more to the north than Admiral Collingwood, owing to which the leading ships of the lee line were the first engaged. The *Royal Sovereign* and her line of battle steered for the centre. At half-past eleven A. M. the enemy began to fire on the *Royal Sovereign*. "See," exclaimed Nelson, "how that noble fellow, Collingwood, carries his ship into action!" In ten minutes afterwards the *Royal Sovereign* opened her fire, and cut through the enemy's line a-stern of the Spanish *Santa Anna*, of 112 guns, engaging her at the muzzle of her guns on the starboard side; when, being delighted at having got into action, Collingwood, turning to his captain, said, "Rotherham, what would Nelson give to be here?" The weather column, led on by Lord Nelson had, in the mean while advanced towards the enemy's van; flags had been hoisted on different parts of the *Victory*'s rigging by his orders, lest a shot should carry away her ensign. The *Santissima Trinadada*, and *Bucentaure*, are described as having been the ninth and tenth ships, but as the enemy's admirals did not shew their flags, the former ship was only distinguished from the rest by having four decks; and to the bow of this formidable opponent Lord Nelson ordered the *Victory* to be steered.

The enemy at first displayed considerable coolness; and as the *Victory* approached, such of the ships as were a-head of her began frequently to fire single guns, in order to ascertain whether she was within range, when a shot having passed through the main-gallant sail of the *Victory*, a tremendous fire was opened upon her. The coolness that was preserved by his crew, was noticed with much satisfaction by Lord Nelson,

* Lord Collingwood's Despatches, dated off Cape Trafalgar, Oct. 22d.

and he declared, that in all his battles he had seen nothing that could surpass it. The Victory had lost about twenty men killed, and thirty wounded, before she returned a shot: her mizen-top-mast, and all her studding sails, and their booms on both sides had been shot away, when, at four minutes past twelve she opened her larboard guns on the enemy's van; Captain Hardy soon afterwards informed the Admiral that it would be impossible to break through the enemy's line without running on board one of their ships, and begged to know which he would prefer.—“Take your choice, Hardy,” replied he, “it does not much signify which.” The tiller ropes of the Victory being afterwards shot away, she ran on board the Redoubtable, which coming along side, fired a broadside into the Victory, and immediately let down her lower-deck ports; which was done to prevent her being boarded through them by the Victory's crew; nor were they again opened. A few minutes after this, the Temeraire fell likewise on board of the Redoubtable, on the side opposite to the Victory, having also an enemy's ship on board of her on her other side: so that the extraordinary and unprecedented circumstance occurred here, of four ships of the line being on board each other in the heat of battle, forming as compact a tier as if they had been moored together, their heads all lying the same way. The Victory then passing a-stern of the Bucentaure, hauled upon her starboard side, and pouring in a dreadful broadside, stood for the admiral's old opponent, the Santissima Trinidad, playing her larboard guns on both ships, whilst the starboard guns of the middle and lower decks were depressed, and fired with a diminished charge of powder and three shot each into the Redoubtable. This mode of firing was adopted by Lieutenants Williams, King, Yule, and Browne, to obviate the danger of the Temeraire's suffering from the Victory's shot passing through the Redoubtable, which must have been the case, if the usual quantity of powder, and the common elevation had been given to the guns. A circumstance occurred in this situation, which shewed in a most striking manner the cool intrepidity of the officers and men stationed on the lower deck of the Victory. When the guns on that deck were run out, their muzzles came in contact with the Redoubtable's side, and at every discharge there was reason to fear that the enemy's ship would take fire, and both the Victory and the Temeraire be involved in her flames. The fire-man of each gun stood ready with a bucket full of water which, as soon as the gun was discharged, he dashed into the French ship through the holes made in her side by the shot. Owing to the judicious mode which Lord Nelson had adopt-

ed, his fast sailing ships, like sharp-shooters in an army, had half gained the battle before the slow sailing ones came up to their support, which, as a corps of reserve, soon determined the day. What the genius of Nelson so ably planned, the British fleet fully executed. The superiority of their seamen was very manifest throughout the action; for the enemy's fleet by keeping with the wind nearly on their beam lay in a trough in the sea, and rolled considerably, so that one broadside passed over, and the next fell short of their opponents.

In the first heat of the action, Mr. Scott, the admiral's secretary, was killed by a cannon ball, while in conversation with Captain Hardy, and near to Lord Nelson. Captain Adair, of the marines, who soon afterwards fell, endeavoured to remove the mangled body, but not till it had attracted the notice of the admiral, who very feelingly said, "Is that poor Scott who is gone?" In a few minutes a shot struck the fore-brace lists on the quarter-deck, and passing between Lord Nelson and Captain Hardy, drove off some splinters, which bruised the captain's foot. They mutually looked at each other, when Nelson, whom no danger could affect, smiled, and said, "This is too warm work," Hardy, "to last." The Redoubtable had for some time commenced a heavy fire of musketry from her tops, which, like those of the enemy's other ships, were filled with riflemen.

At fifteen minutes past one, and a quarter of an hour before the Redoubtable struck, Lord Nelson, and Captain Hardy, were observed to be walking near the middle of the quarter-deck, the admiral had just commended the manner in which one of his ships near him was fought, Captain Hardy advanced from him to give some necessary directions, and he was in the act of turning, near the hatch-way, with his face towards the stern, when a musket ball struck him on the left shoulder, and entering through the epaulette, passed through the spine, and lodged in the muscles of the back, towards the right side. Nelson instantly fell with his face on the deck, in the very place that was covered with the blood of his secretary. Captain Hardy turning round, saw the sergeant of marines, Secker, with two seamen, raising him from the deck; "Hardy," said his lordship, "I believe they have done it at last, my back-bone is shot through."*

Some of the crew immediately bore the admiral to the cockpit, and several wounded officers, and about forty men

* Life of Admiral Lord Nelson by Clarke and M'Arthur, from which publication this account of the battle of Trafalgar is principally extracted.

were carried below at the same time. He was met at the foot of the cockpit ladder by Mr. Burke, the purser, who, with the assistance of a marine, conveyed him with some difficulty over the bodies of the wounded and dying men, and placed him on a pallat, in the midshipman's birth, on the larboard side. Mr. Beatty was then called, and soon afterwards the Rev. Mr. Scott attended; and his lordship's clothes were taken off, that the direction of the ball might be the better ascertained. "You can be of no use to me, Beatty," said Lord Nelson, "go and attend those whose lives can be preserved." As the blood flowed internally from the wound, the lower cavity of the body gradually filled; Lord Nelson therefore constantly desired Mr. Burke to raise him, and complaining of an excessive thirst, was supplied by the clergyman with lemonade. In this state of suffering, with nothing but havock, death, and misery around him, the spirit of Nelson remained unsubdued. His mind continued intent on the great object that was always before him—his duty to his country. Under the influence of this feeling he anxiously enquired for Captain Hardy, to know whether the annihilation of the enemy might be depended on; but it was upwards of an hour before that officer, could at this momentous crisis, leave the deck, and Lord Nelson became apprehensive that his brave associate was dead. The crew of the Victory were now heard to cheer, and he anxiously demanded the cause, when Lieutenant Pasco, who lay wounded near him, said, that one of the enemy's ships had struck; a gleam of joy lighted up the countenance of the dying hero, and as the crew repeated their cheers, and marked the progress of the Victory, his satisfaction visibly increased. When Captain Hardy came down from the deck, Lord Nelson anxiously said, "How goes the day with us, Hardy?" "Ten ships, my lord, have struck." "But none of ours. I hope." "There is no fear, my dear lord, of that. Five of their van have tacked, and shown an intention of bearing down upon us; but I have called some of our fresh ships round the Victory, and have no doubt of your complete success." Having said this, Captain Hardy found himself unable any longer to support the yearnings of a brave and affectionate heart, and withdrew from the cabin. Some time afterwards, Lord Nelson was again visited by the surgeon. "I find," said he, "something rising in my breast, which tells me I shall soon be gone. God be praised that I have done my duty. My pain is so severe that I devoutly wish to be released." When the firing from the Victory had in some measure ceased, and the glorious result of the day was accomplished, Captain Hardy immediately visited the dying

chief, and reported that fourteen or fifteen of the enemy's vessels had struck. "God be praised, Hardy," said he, "bring the fleet to an anchor." Captain Hardy was again returning to the deck, when the admiral called him back to deliver his last injunctions, and desired that his body might be carried home, to be buried with the remains of his father and mother. He then took Captain Hardy by the hand, and observing, that he would most probably not see him again alive, he took a last and affectionate farewell of his bosom friend. His voice, then, gradually became inarticulate, with an evident increase of pain, when after a feeble struggle, these last words were distinctly heard—"I have done my duty, I praise God for it." Having said this, he turned his face to Mr. Burke, on whose arm he had been supported, and expired without a groan. Such was the end of this great man, whose career had been eminently useful and brilliant, and whose fate was glorious and triumphant. He lived a hero, and died a patriot.*

* ADMIRAL LORD NELSON was the fourth son of the Rev. Edward Nelson and was born 29th of September, 1758, at Burnham Thorpe, Norfolk, of which place his father was rector. He began his education at Norwich school, was afterwards removed to North Waltham, and at the age of twelve, when the nation was threatened with war, in consequence of the disputes about the Falkland islands, he entered on board the *Raisonable*, of sixty-four guns, under his maternal uncle, Captain Maurice Suckling.

He rose to the rank of lieutenant in April 1777, and was immediately employed as second of the *Lowestoffe*, of thirty-two guns, on the Jamaica station. In June, 1779, young Horatio Nelson obtained under Admiral Peter Parker, the appointment of post captain, and the command of the *Hinchinbroke*, and when an attack was expected in Jamaica from the French forces under D'Estaing, the youthful hero was entrusted with the care of the batteries of Port Royal, and the defence of Kingston and Spanish Town. In the attack made in 1780, upon Fort Juan, in the gulf of Mexico, his perseverance was of infinite benefit to the public service. Here the unfortunate Colonel, then Captain Despard, gallantly supported him in the attack, and after storming the battery, they fought and defeated the Spaniards with their own guns. The next ship which he commanded was the *Janus*, of forty-four guns, and soon after he was removed to the *Albemarle*, and continued on the American station with Sir Samuel Hood till the peace.

In 1783 he visited France, and the next year he was appointed to the *Boreas* of twenty-eight guns, at the Leeward islands, and during his continuance in this station he married, March 1787, Frances Herbert Nesbit, widow of Dr. Nesbit, of Nevis, and daughter of W. Herbert, Esq. senior judge of that island, then only in her eighteenth year. He returned to England, Nov. 1787, and retired to Burnham Thorpe, in the bosom of domestic happiness, till 1793, when the war with France called upon him for the exertion of his great talents. He obtained the command of the *Agamemnon*, of sixty-four guns, and joined Lord Hood in the Mediterranean, where he assisted at the taking of Toulon, and at the siege of Bastia, in which he superintended the disembarkation of the troops, and ably commanded the batteries. He afterwards had a gallant encounter with five French ships of war, and then supported the siege

When his lordship was seen to fall, the crew of the *Santisima Trinidad* testified their joy by a vehement shout of

of Calvi, where he lost the sight of his right eye, in consequence of some particles of sand being violently driven against it by one of the shots of the enemy's batteries. Under the next commander, Lord Hotham, he continued to distinguish himself, particularly in the engagements with the French fleet, on the 15th of March, in July, 1795, and in the blockade of Genoa. When Admiral Jervis succeeded in the Mediterranean command, the brave hero removed from the *Agamemnon* to the *Captain*, of seventy-four guns, and soon after obtained a commodore's pendant, and was employed in the blockade of Leghorn, and the taking of Porto Ferrajo. On his passage to Gibraltar, in the *Minerva* frigate, he fell in with two Spanish frigates, one of which, the *Sabine*, of forty guns, he took, and sailing immediately to join Admiral Jervis, he was pursued by two Ships of the Spanish fleet, a circumstance which was quickly communicated to the commander-in-chief, and in a few hours produced a general action. In this memorable fight, on the 14th of February, 1797, in which fifteen English ships defeated a Spanish fleet of twenty-seven ships, and took four three deckers, the commodore behaved with his usual gallantry. In the *Captain*, to which he had shifted his flag, he attacked the *Santisima Trinidad*, of one hundred and forty guns, and passing to the *St. Nicholas*, of eighty guns, and then to the *San Joseph*, of one hundred and twelve guns, he had the happiness to see both these ships strike to his superior valour.*

For his gallant conduct on this occasion, he was created knight of the Bath, and in April 1797, he was made rear-admiral of the blue, and appointed to the command of the inner squadron in the blockade of Cadiz. After making some vigorous, but unsuccessful attacks on the town, he was sent by Lord St. Vincent, to take the town of Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, but though he obtained possession of the place for seven hours, he was unable to reduce the citadel, and was permitted to retire unmolested to his fleet. During this desperate attack he lost his right hand, which was shattered by a shot, but his life was preserved by the attention of his son-in-law, Captain Nesbit, who during the darkness of the night, missed him from his side, and returning, found him exhausted on the ground, and carried him safe on his back to the shore, where a boat conveyed him to his ship. In consequence of his wound, the gallant admiral received a pension of 1000*l.* and in the memorial which, according to custom, he presented to his majesty on the occasion, he declared in the simple language of truth, that in the glorious services in which he had been employed, he had been engaged with the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times.†

Among other marks of public favour, he received the freedom of the

* See Book II. Chap. I.

† MEMORIAL.—“ To the King's most excellent Majesty, the memorial of Sir Horatio Nelson, K. B. and a rear-admiral in your Majesty's fleet, sheweth, That during the present war, your memorialist has been in four actions with the fleets of the enemy, namely, on the 13th and 14th of March, 1795, on the 13th of July, 1795, and the 14th of February, 1797, in three actions with frigates, in six engagements against batteries, in ten actions in boats employed in cutting out of harbours, in destroying vessels, and in taking three towns. Your memorialist has also served on shore with the army four months, and commanded the batteries at the siege of Bastia and Calvi. That during the war he has assisted at the capture of seven sail of the line, six frigates, four corvettes, and eleven privateers of different sizes, and taken and destroyed near

triumph. Their exultation was short; for they were compelled to strike to British valour. The Victory finished her honourable course with the capture of a third ship.

city of London in a gold box, worth one hundred guineas; these honours excited him to greater exertions, and he soon after joined in the Vanguard, Lord St. Vincent, and was sent up the Mediterranean to watch the motions of the French ships, which were ready to convey Bonaparte to the invasion of Egypt. Notwithstanding his vigilance, the fleet escaped, but he sailed in its pursuit, and after returning from the Egyptian shores to Sicily, almost in despair, he again hastened to the mouth of the Nile, and to the general joy of his fleet, perceived the enemy moored in an advantageous situation in the bay of Aboukir, flanked by strong batteries, and supported by gun boats. Here he obtained one of the most splendid and important naval victories recorded in history,* and as a reward for his services was created a baron, by the title of Nelson of the Nile.

On his return to Naples the naval hero removed the royal family from the violent popular commotions which seemed to threaten their safety, and even their life, and in July, 1799, in consequence of the success of the Russian arms in Italy, he had the satisfaction to convey them back from Palermo to their capital, and to replace the monarch on his throne. On his return home he was received with enthusiastic joy by every rank of society. He had, indeed, every earthly blessing except domestic happiness; that he had forfeited for ever. Before he had been three months in England he separated from Lady Nelson. This was the consequence of his infatuated attachment to Lady Hamilton, the widow of Sir William Hamilton, who, next to his country, occupied his thoughts, and absorbed his affections even in the hour of death.† Lord Nelson was soon after called away to break that confederacy which the capricious politics of the Emperor of Russia had formed with Denmark and Sweden against this country. In consequence of this, the gallant admiral embarked as second in command, under Sir Hyde Parker, and after passing through the Sound, in defiance of the batteries, he volunteered to make an attack on Copenhagen, 2d of April, 1801. After a most vigorous defence, the Danes saw their strong batteries silenced, and seventeen of their men of war either sunk, burned, or taken‡. For these services, which were chiefly attributed to him, and not to the commander-in-chief, Lord Nelson was created a viscount, and his honours made hereditary in his family, even in the female line. On the re-commencement of hostilities, in 1803, he was summoned from his beloved retreat at Merton, to take the command of the fleet in the Mediterranean. Notwithstanding his active vigilance, the French fleet escaped from Toulon, and from the Mediterranean, and after being joined by the Cadiz squadron, they sailed to the West Indies, but he pursued them with rapidity, and nearly came up to them off Antigua. Such, however, was the terror of his name, that they returned in con-

fifty sail of merchant vessels, and your memorialist has actually been engaged against the enemy upwards of one hundred and twenty times. In which service your memorialist has lost his right eye and arm, and been severely wounded and bruised in his body. All of which services and wounds your memorialist most humbly submits to your Majesty's most gracious consideration.

October, 1797.

(Signed)

"NELSON."

* See Book II. Chap. V.

† Southy's Life of Nelson.

‡ See Book II. Chap. XVIII.

doubtful ; by three in the afternoon, the line of the combined forces had given way, and many of their ships were either destroyed or taken. It is but justice to add, that both the French and the Spaniards fought gallantly. Several of the English ships were assailed by two antagonists at a time. Among these the *Temeraire* was boarded on one side by the Spaniards, and on the other by the French. The double

REAR.

Royal Sovereign,	-	110	{ Vice-admiral Lord Collingwood.
Mars,	-	74	{ Captain Rotherham.
Belleisle,	-	74	{ Captain George Duff.
Tonnant,	-	80	{ Captain William Hargood.
Bellerophon,	-	74	{ Captain Charles Tyler.
Colossus,	-	74	{ Captain John Cooke.
Achille,	-	74	{ Captain J. N. Morris.
Polyphenus,	-	64	{ Captain Richard King.
Revenge,	-	74	{ Captain Robert Redmill.
Swiftsure,	-	74	{ Captain Richard Moorsom.
Defence,	-	74	{ Captain W. G. Rutherford.
Thunderer,	-	74	{ Captain George Hope.
Defiance,	-	74	{ Lieut. J. Stockham (acting.)
Prince,	-	98	{ Captain P. C. Durham.
Dreadnought,	-	98	{ Captain Richard Grindall.
			{ Captain John Conn.

2,178 guns, exclusive of four frigates, a schooner, and a cutter.

Captain Duff, of the *Mars* ; and Captain Cooke, of the *Bellerophon*, both fell in the service of their country on this memorable occasion.

COMBINED FLEET.

			<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>
Captur'd.	{	*San Ildefonso,	- - 74	Brigadier Don J. de Vargus.
		*San Juan Nepomuceno,	74	Brigadier Don C. Churcura.
		*Bahama,	- - 74	Brigadier Don A. D. Galiano.
		Swiftsure,	- - 74	M. Villemadrin.
		*Monarca,	- - 74	Don Argumosa.
Destroyed.	{	Fougueux,	- - 74	M. Beaudouin.
		Indomptable,	- - 84	M. Hubert.
		Bucentaure,	- - 80	{ Admiral Villeneuve.
				{ Captains Pigmy and Majendie.
		*San Francisco,	- - 74	Don L. de Flores.
		*El Rayo,	- - 100	Brigadier Don H. Macdonnel.
		*Neptuno,	- - 84	Brigadier Don O. Valdes.
		Berwick,	- - 74	M. Camas.
		Aigle,	- - 74	M. Courrege.
		Achille,	- - 74	M. De Nieuport.
		Intrepide,	- - 74	M. Infortnet.
		*San Augustin,	- - 74	Brigadier Don F. X. Cagigal.
	{	*Santissima Trinadada,	- 140	{ Rear-adm. Cisneros.
				{ Brigadier Don F. Uriarte.
		Redoubtable,	- - 74	M. Lucas.
		*Argonauta,	- - 80	Don A. Parejo.

swarm poured in multitudes on the quarter-deck, rushed to the flag staff, tore down the colours, and hoisted their own. The spirit of Britons was roused by this daring exploit. The crew of the *Temeraire*, after an animated struggle, cleared the decks of the enemy, dashed away the hostile ensigns, and again elevated the proud standard of naval sovereignty with loud huzzas. Captains Freemantle, Conn, Harwood, and the Earl of Northesk, particularly distinguished themselves in this celebrated battle; and indeed every officer and seaman of the fleet in his performance exceeded the orders of the commander-in-chief, conveyed in the ever memorable signal—*England expects every man to do his duty.*†

Gravina with ten sail, joined by the frigates to leeward, made for Cadiz. The five leading ships of the enemy's van tacked and standing to the south, to windward of the British, were engaged, and the sternmost taken. The others escaped, leaving to his majesty's fleet nineteen ships of the line, of which two were first rates, the *Santissima Trinadada*, and the *Santa Anna*, with the three flag officers. These were Admi-

Escaped into Cadiz.	{	*Santa Anna, - - -	112	{ Vice-admiral Don J. d'Alava.
				{ Captain Don J. D. Gardoqui.
		Algeziras (<i>wreck.</i>) - -	74	{ Rear-admiral Magon.
				{ Captain Bruraro.
		Pluton (<i>wreck.</i>) - - -	74	M. Cosmao.
		*San Juste (<i>wreck.</i>) - -	74	Don M. Gasten.
		*San Leandro (<i>wreck.</i>) -	64	Don J. D. Quevedo.
		Principe d'Asturias (<i>wreck.</i>)	112	{ Admiral Don F. Gravina.
				{ Don Escano.
		Argonaute (<i>wreck.</i>) - -	74	M. Epron.
Escaped South'd.	{	*Neptune (<i>serviceable.</i>)	84	M. Maistral.
		Heros (<i>serviceable.</i>)	74	M. Poulain.
		*Montanez (<i>serviceable.</i>)	74	Don F. Alcedo.
		Formidable, - - -	80	Rear-admiral Dumanoir.
		Mont Blanc, - - -	74	M. Le Villegries.
		Scipion, - - -	74	M. Berenger.
		Duguay Trouin, - -	74	M. Trouffet.

2,648 guns.

The 15 ships marked thus* were Spanish; the other 18 French; in addition to which the combined fleet had 7 frigates.

† Before the battle began, Lord Nelson entertained a presentiment that this would be the last day of his life, and seemed to look for death with almost as sure an expectation as for victory. But although this gloomy foreboding occupied his mind, and though he had more than once observed, that the enemy would endeavour to mark him out as one of their victims; yet his lordship, on the morning of the 21st, put on the stars of the different orders with which he had been invested. His secretary and chaplain, apprehensive that these insignia might expose his person to unnecessary danger, endeavoured, but in vain, to prevail upon him to take them off. To all their entreaties he replied—"In honour I gained them, and in honour I will die with them."

ral Villeneuve ; Don Ignatio Maria d'Aliva, vice-admiral ; and the Spanish rear-admiral Don Baltazor Hidalgo Cisneros. General Contamin, the commander of the troops embarked, was also taken in the Bucentaure. By some mismanagement of the crew, the *Achille*, a French seventy-four, after her surrender took fire and blew up ; but two hundred of her men were saved by the tenders. The Spanish Vice-admiral d'Aliva died of his wounds ; but Admiral Villeneuve was sent to England, and afterwards permitted to return to France, where, as the French government assert, he destroyed himself, dreading the consequences of a court-martial.

In this splendid triumph the total British loss amounted to 423 killed, and 1,064 wounded. Twenty of the enemy's vessels struck ; but a gale of wind coming on from the south-west, fifteen of the prizes went down, one effected its escape into Cadiz, and four only were saved. The wounded Spaniards were sent on shore, on an assurance that they would not serve again till regularly exchanged ; and the Spaniards, with a generous feeling, which would not, perhaps, have been found in any other people, offered the use of their hospitals for the wounded British seamen, pledging the honour of Spain, that they should there receive all possible care and attention. It is such conduct that distinguishes the warfare which may unfortunately arise between civilized nations, from the savage and relentless hostility of barbarians.

" After such a victory it is unnecessary to enter into encomiums on the particular parts taken by the several commanders ; the conclusion says more on the subject than language can express ; the spirit which animated all was the same ; when all exert themselves zealously in their country's service, all deserve that their high merits should stand recorded ; and never was high merit more conspicuous than in the battle of Trafalgar."* On this occasion, the country poured forth its tribute of approbation with no parsimonious hand. The thanks of both houses of parliament were conferred upon the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet ; gold medals were awarded to those who had particularly distinguished themselves on this memorable day ; and in addition to the honours and rewards showered down upon the family of the fallen hero, the dignity of Baron of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with an annuity of two thousand pounds a year, to himself and his two next heirs, was conferred upon Vice-admiral Collingwood, by the style and title of Baron

* Admiral Collingwood's Despatches, dated October 22.

Collingwood of Caldburne and Hethpoole, in the county of Northumberland.

The four ships under Rear-admiral Dumanoir, which escaped to the southward towards the close of the action of Trafalgar, after a short respite shared the fate of their companions. On the night of the second of November, Rear-admiral Sir Richard Strachan, cruising off Ferrol, with four ships of the line and three frigates, fell in with what he thought the Rocheford squadron, but which proved to be the fugitives from the combined fleet, to which he immediately gave chase. A little before noon on the 4th, the French admiral, finding an engagement unavoidable, came to close action; and after a well supported contest, continued for nearly three hours and a half, all the four ships struck to the English, but not till they had become quite unmanageable. These ships proved to be the *Formidable*, of eighty guns, and the *Mont Blanc*, *Scipion*, and *Duguay Trouin*, of seventy-four guns each, on board of all of which the slaughter had been very great, but the loss on board the English ships amounted only to twenty-four killed, and one hundred and eleven wounded.

Thus was the naval power of France and her ally reduced to insignificance. The phantoms of "ships, colonies, and commerce," which had floated before the imagination of the Emperor Napoleon, were chased from the regions of probability, and Great Britain was confirmed in her paramount dominion of the seas. The pleasure of the country derived from the victory of the fallen hero was so deeply tinged with regret for one of the bravest of her sons, that the voice of gratulation was mute. The memory of Nelson was consecrated by every individual in the state; and his best monument was found in the bosoms of his fellow subjects.

The battles of Trafalgar and of Ferrol, in some degree, consoled the country for the disasters on the continent: but they failed to cheer the drooping spirits of the premier, which were rapidly sinking under the accumulated pressure and difficulties of his situation. Afflicted at those miscarriages which had overwhelmed his endeavours to recover the balance of power in Europe, and degraded, as he thought himself, by his fruitless endeavours to avert the disgrace of his friend and colleague, he was hastening to the tomb under the combined influence of mental anguish and bodily disease. As none of the colleagues of Mr. Pitt had ever aspired to take a lead in the cabinet, they all appeared ready at the prospect of his speedy dissolution to abandon the helm. Much doubt and solicitude, both in and out of parliament, prevailed as to the future arrangements of office. In the different rolls of

political connexions, there were many persons of brilliant faculties, and enlarged understandings; but of these some were supposed to be particularly objectionable to the crown. The great difficulty however likely to arise, consisted in uniting the materials of which the future administration was to be formed, and in assigning to the members their proper departments without exciting jealousy and discontent. The prospects of the country were by no means animating. Scarcely at any period in our history has the condition of the kingdom called forth more anxiety and silent apprehension, than the close of a year marked by extraordinary events both foreign and domestic, a year that had afforded many causes for grief and dismay; some occasions for temporary joy, and others for every feeling in which the most exalted patriotism can indulge.

CHAPTER VIII.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Importance of the Victory of Trafalgar—Meeting of Parliament—Last Sickness and Death of Mr. Pitt—Memoir—Dissolution of the Ministry—New Ministry—Lord Grenville and Lord Ellenborough's Appointments—New Military Project—Finance—The Last Speech delivered by Mr. Fox in Parliament—Solemn Pledge of Parliament to Abolish the Slave Trade—Impeachment of Lord Melville—Negociation for Peace between Great Britain and France.*

THE situation of Europe, at the commencement of 1806, was unexampled in history. Two rival nations had acquired, not merely a decided preponderance, but an absolute and uncontrolled dominion, the one over the seas, the other over the land. If the battle of Austerlitz had confirmed the military superiority of France over other nations, and left her without a rival on the continent, the victory of Trafalgar had no less decisively established the naval superiority of England, and crowned all her former victories on the ocean. The accumulated fruits of the persevering labours of four years, on the part of France and her dependencies, to form and collect a navy, fit to cope with the maritime forces of England, had been swept away and annihilated in a single action. The importance of such a victory to England, cannot easily be exaggerated. For it was not merely that the high formed expectations of France from her newly repaired marine, in which she had so weakly indulged and prematurely exulted at the commencement of the campaign, were thus abruptly and completely frustrated: or, that her projects of

invading the British islands, under the protection of a powerful fleet, were again defeated: nor was it even that the most splendid victory had on this occasion been won by England, that ever was gained at sea: or, that the greatest number of vessels of first rate magnitude, had, in this action been taken and destroyed, that ever rewarded a conqueror in any naval combat; but the great and incalculable advantage to England was the universal conviction arising from this victory, that in the skill, bravery, and discipline of her naval forces, she was so incomparably superior to her enemies, that all their future efforts to contend with her for the empire of the seas, must be as unavailing as their past endeavours had been fruitless. If the trident of Neptune be really the sceptre of the world, England was now the mistress of the globe. The maritime trade of all nations was at her mercy, and subject in many respects to her control. There was no country which she could not visit with her fleets to conciliate its friendship, or take vengeance for its hostility; and what was of more importance to the true interests and permanent welfare of Great Britain, there was no independent state out of the reach of France, which she might not hope, by a wise and enlightened policy, to attach steadily to her party. No country, independent of her enemy, could prosper without England partaking in its prosperity: no country could increase in wealth or population, without finding by experience, that the ties of connection with England were drawn closer by its own progress and improvement.

But great and splendid as were the present circumstances, fair as were in some respects the future prospects of this country, her situation on the whole, was full of danger and alarm. It was not the power and pre-eminence only, but the existence of Great Britain that was threatened with danger; and this menace proceeded from an enemy, who was actuated by every motive of policy, ambition and resentment to pursue her utter ruin and destruction. England was the only power that had ever set bounds to his ambition, or maintained with him a successful contest. She had defeated in a former war his most favourite enterprise, and had rejected with scorn and contempt, the offers of peace, which, in the overflowings of unlooked for successes, he had addressed to her sovereign. England, once subdued, Napoleon might plausibly argue, he would be the sole and undisputed master of the universe, but, while England retained her independence, her maritime superiority, and her inveteracy against him, he must expect to be thwarted in all his commercial and colonial views, confined to the continent of Europe, and compelled, for safety, to surround his throne with an armed force,

instead of emerging, as he desired, from the precarious and uncertain condition of a military chief, to be placed at the head of a regular government, and the founder of a dynasty of kings.

After the peace of Presburg, France was at liberty to direct her whole force and energies against England. No longer deterred from an invasion by the fear of a continental confederacy, she had only to decide what was the most expedient and practicable way of conducting it. If England had nothing to apprehend from any number of troops which Bonaparte might land upon her shores, there were other parts of the British empire not equally invulnerable to his attacks. Ireland was exposed by her grievances to the seduction of his emissaries, and easily accessible by her situation to the invasion of his army. Rebellion had been put down in that country, but discontent still existed in the minds of the people. The fire, which had lately blazed with so much fury, was smothered, but not extinguished.

At this moment of danger and dismay, when the surrender of Ulm and the battle of Austerlitz, were still recent events, when the extent of the late calamities was still unknown, and the immediate consequences were apprehended to be more fatal than any that ever flowed from them, there was no efficient government in England. Mr. Pitt, in whose wisdom and patriotism a great majority of the people had for many years reposed their confidence, was sinking under his infirmities and rendered incapable of attending to public business. His colleagues were men of inferior parts, and at that time had credit for less ability than they really possessed. In this posture of affairs, parliament, after repeated prorogations, was at length suffered to meet on Tuesday, the 21st day of January, 1806, and as the state of his majesty's sight did not permit him to deliver his speech from the throne, that assembly was opened by commission. After the usual formalities, the commission was opened by the clerk at the table, and the Lord Chancellor read the speech from the throne.

The principal topics of the speech, were congratulations on the splendour of our late naval successes, mixed with suitable expressions of regret for the lamented death of the hero by whom they were achieved. His majesty next informed parliament that he had directed the treaties concluded with foreign powers to be laid before them; and while he lamented the late disastrous events on the continent, he congratulated the two houses of parliament, on the assurances which he continued to receive from the Emperor of Russia, of that monarch's determination to adhere to his alliance with Great Britain. He

next signified to the house that he had directed the sum of one million sterling, accruing to the crown from the droits of admiralty, to be applied to the public service of the year ; and concluded by recommending vigilance and exertion against the enemy, as by such means alone the present contest could be brought to a happy consummation. The address, which was, as usual, framed on the model of the speech, was moved in the house of lords by the Earl of Essex, seconded by Lord Carleton ; and in the house of commons by Lord Francis Spencer, seconded by Mr. Ainslie. An amendment to the address was read in the house of lords by Earl Cowper, and in the house of commons, by Lord Henry Petty, but on account of the dangerous indisposition of Mr. Pitt, who was at that moment on his death-bed, the amendment was not in either house proposed as a motion.

The premier, it appeared, had left Bath on the 10th of January, and on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, on the day following, had taken up his residence at his own house, on Putney Heath. His health had been for some time in the most alarming state. He was emaciated in the extreme, reduced to the greatest possible debility, and as the functions of his stomach no longer performed their office, little hope was entertained of the re-establishment of his health. In this deplorable situation he was seized with the symptoms of a fever, of that sort called *Typhus* ; his pulse rose to one hundred and thirty ; and he was occasionally delirious, but in general drowsy and lethargic. A constitution so exhausted by previous disease, sunk rapidly under the violence of his present malady, and at a quarter-past four o'clock on the morning of the 23d of January, he expired.

Thus died William Pitt, in the 47th year of his age, after having enjoyed greater power and popularity, and held the first place in the government of his country, for a longer course of years, than any former minister of England. That he was a person of the most rare and splendid qualities, a powerful orator, a skilful parliamentary debater, and an expert and enlightened financier, will be universally admitted. That he was disinterested with regard to money, and sincerely and ardently attached to the honour and welfare of his country, can as little be doubted. But whether the appellation of illustrious statesman, has been justly applied to him, is a question on which men may reasonably differ. The French Revolution was the great event of his time, and his conduct, with regard to that tremendous political convulsion, is the touch-stone by which posterity will decide his claims. It is in vain to urge, that the French revolution was an event with-

out a precedent. It is the part of a great statesman to steer his way in safety, where there is no track to direct his course. But though it must always be a matter of uncertainty, whether a different policy from that pursued by Mr. Pitt would have been more fortunate than his, it will not be denied, that a more complete failure of success than attended his efforts to check the progress of the revolution, cannot well be imagined. Had he interfered, as Mr. Fox in his situation would probably have done, at an early period of the revolution, to prevent the great continental powers from intermeddling in the affairs of France, and disturbing the settlement of her government, the direful scenes that followed might possibly have been prevented, and France, if left to herself could never have obtained a military ascendancy, by which she was enabled to menace the independence of Great Britain, and to over-run the continent of Europe. As a minister, the power of Mr. Pitt was for many years unbounded; but the circumstances attendant on his return to office in 1804, deprived him of the support of the ablest and most respectable of his friends, and in his second administration he was reduced to difficulties and expedients to maintain his authority. The disastrous termination of his last coalition against France, had lessened considerably the public confidence in his administration, but the general opinion of his merits and past services was not materially influenced by these misfortunes. His own views of the portentous aspect of public affairs at this crisis may be sufficiently collected from his dying exclamation—"Oh! my country," and the Prime Minister of England may be added to the number of victims that fell by the battle of Austerlitz.*

* THE RIGHT HON. WILLIAM PITT, the second son of William, Earl of Chatham, was born at Hayes, the 28th of May, 1759. From his earliest years he was instructed by his father, who foresaw the future elevation of his son, and taught him to argue with logical precision, and to speak with elegance, correctness, and force. He was afterwards under the tuition of the Rev. Mr. Wilson, and at the proper age he was admitted member of Pembroke hall, Cambridge, where he had for his tutors Dr. Turner, since dean of Norwich, and Dr. Prettyman, now Dr. Tomline, bishop of Lincoln. Under the guidance of these able men, he rapidly matured his knowledge of classical literature, and of mathematics, and he left the university with the degree of M. A. and a high character for application, for abilities, and for correctness and propriety of deportment. He next entered as student at Lincoln's inn, and was called to the bar, and afterwards went once or twice on the western circuit, where he was occasionally employed as junior counsel. A higher situation, however, awaited him. At the general election, in 1780, he was proposed as member for Cambridge university, but few seconded his pretensions, and on the 23d of January, in the following year, he obtained a seat for Appleby, on the interest of Sir J. Lowther. In the house he enlisted on the side of opposition against Lord North and the

The death of Mr. Pitt, at so critical a juncture, was considered as a virtual dissolution of the existing administration.

American war; and his first speech, which was in support of Mr. Burke's bill for economical reform, displayed that commanding eloquence which many of the members had before so warmly applauded in his illustrious father. In the early part of his political career, he was an able and strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform; and the first motion which he ever submitted to the house of commons, was for a more equal representation of the people in parliament, by the addition of at least one hundred members, consisting of knights of the shire and representatives of the metropolis. This was a subject that deeply interested the young patriot; and at the meetings to promote a reform in the commons house of parliament, held at the Thatched House Tavern, Mr. Pitt sat as a delegate. On the death of the Marquis of Rockingham, he accepted, at the age of 22, the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and under the administration of which he formed a part, the American war was concluded. Though he ably defended the conduct of his colleagues, the terms of peace were regarded by the majority of the nation as unpopular, and the ministry was dissolved. Restored to privacy Mr. Pitt passed some months on the continent; and after visiting Italy, and several of the German courts, he returned to England, and on the dismissal of the coalition administration of Mr. Fox and Lord North, he was selected for the arduous office of first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, 18th of Dec. 1783. Thus seated at the head of affairs, he bent the great powers of his mind to the framing of a bill for the regulation of Indian affairs, which might be more palatable to the nation, and less objectionable than that of Mr. Fox. His attempts, however, were at first unavailing, as his predecessors, though dismissed from office, still retained their influence in the commons; and in consequence of this struggle between the house and the king's prerogative, an appeal was made to the sense of the nation in a new parliament. The people warmly seconded the measures of the youthful premier, and the new parliament not only approved of his India bill, but adopted his financial system for the reduction of the national debt by a sinking fund, and cemented the commercial treaty which, under his auspices, had been concluded with France, on a basis advantageous to the interests and the prosperity of England. During the unfortunate illness with which the king was afflicted in 1788, Mr. Pitt successfully resisted the right of the Prince of Wales to assume the reins of government, which Mr. Fox as warmly maintained. Hitherto popular, and successful as a peace minister, Mr. Pitt had now to contend with a new and formidable adversary in the French revolution. During the continuance of hostilities for eight years, in situations where all precedents were unavailing, and all the political principles of former times disregarded, the premier conducted the affairs of the nation with great vigour and perseverance, but unfortunately without attaining the objects for which the war was commenced and persevered in, and at length he was obliged to retire from the head of affairs to make room for an administration which might with more propriety and greater probability of success, negotiate a peace with France. The insidious peace of Amiens, effected under the administration of Mr. Addington, met with the approbation of Mr. Pitt, as the most advantageous which the situation of the continent, and the gigantic power of France could allow, and in 1804 he was again replaced at the head of affairs. Difficulties, however, surrounded him on all sides; many of his old colleagues had joined the ranks of opposition, and not a few condemned the method by which he had regained his ascendancy in the king's councils; and it may be asserted that the

His colleagues were men of little weight or consideration in the country ; and besides the want of public confidence in these

complicated machine of government was to be directed, in all its minute parts, by him alone. Unappalled by the dangers which threatened his country, and actively awake to resist all the attacks of parliamentary opposition, he formed that ill-fated confederacy with Russia and Austria, which terminated in the peace of Presburg, and hastened his own dissolution. Three days before the death of Mr. Pitt, the Bishop of Lincoln, who never left him during his illness, after informing him that it was the opinion of his physicians, that his life was in the most imminent danger, and that probably he had not many hours to live, requested to administer to him the consolations of religion. "I fear," said Mr. Pitt, "I have, like too many other men, neglected prayer too much to have any ground for hope, that it can be efficacious on a death-bed—" but,"—rising as he spoke, and clasping his hands with the utmost fervency and devotion, "I throw myself *entirely*" (the last word being pronounced with a strong emphasis) "upon the mercy of God, through the merits of Christ?" The bishop then read the prayers to him, and he seemed to join in them with calm and humble piety. On the anniversary of that day on which, five and twenty years before, he had become a member of the British senate, he breathed his last without a struggle and without pain. On a motion of the Hon. Henry Lascelles, made in the house of commons, on the 27th of January, and carried by a majority of 258 to 89 voices, his remains were buried at the public expense, in Westminster Abbey, by the side of his father, with becoming funeral pomp, the herald pronouncing after the corpse had descended into the tomb, the emphatical words:—*non sibi sed patriæ vixit*.—He lived not for himself, but for his country.

"As a statesman, the energy and firmness of Mr. Pitt's mind were demonstrated by his measures. Abroad he had to contend with the most gigantic power which ever raised itself in opposition to the greatness of this country ; while at home, he had to support, at the same time, commercial and national credit, to allay the turbulent spirit of mutiny, to extinguish the flame of rebellion, and to provide for the importunate calls of famine."* "However deplorably his schemes of foreign policy might fail, whether from deficiency in political sagacity, or from incapacity or treachery of allies, his advocates will triumphantly maintain that, in a point of primary importance, he succeeded : he saved the English constitution. If this be true, no praise can exceed his deserts. To have preserved a constitution which has raised man to the true level of his nature, which has *refined souls*, which secures to every individual, under its protection, a degree of practical liberty of writing, of speaking, and of action, greater than exists in any other country on the face of the globe, must emblazon his name to all posterity. His opponents however, will remind us of unhallowed attempts to deprive us of these proud distinctions ; and they will contend, that great as are the honours that should be paid to his memory, if the measures of his administration should appear to have been really the means of preserving the glorious monument of the wisdom of our ancestors ; so great must be the indignation that should pursue it, if they should have proved to have impaired its magnificence, to have undermined its foundations, and to have exposed us to the hazard of a contest, in which not common interests only were involved, but on the issue of which was staked, every thing that is dear to the heart of a Briton, every thing that can render life itself valuable and desirable."† Notwithstanding the early tincture

* Gifford's History of the Political Life of Mr. Pitt.

† Life of Dr. Beddoes, by Dr. Stock.

ministers, they were disunited and without a head. As they were connected together by no public principle, no sooner had the death of their patron dissolved the only tie that united them, than symptoms of disunion and disagreement began to appear in their ranks; and it contributed not a little to the dispersion of the party, that while many competitors presented themselves for the place of leader, there was no person of their number so pre-eminent for his station or abilities, as to be raised by general consent to that distinguished situation. In circumstances so discouraging, it is not wonderful, that the surviving members of Mr. Pitt's administration resigned to their opponents the reins of government without a struggle, and even refused to retain charge of them when urged to that duty by the solicitations of the court. Deterred by the state of his party from accepting the offices and situation vacant by the death of Mr. Pitt, Lord Hawkesbury, to whom the offer had been made, declined to take upon himself the government of his country. His refusal, when made known to the public,

which the mind of Mr. Pitt may be supposed to have received in favour of freedom, there is not perhaps to be found in all the voluminous additions which he made to our acts of parliament, a single disinterested law introduced by him in favour of the liberty of the subject. It is true, that the spirit of the times may in some degree account for this extraordinary fact, but it is impossible to suppose that all improvements in civil and religious liberty should have ceased during the twenty years of his ministry, if he had, in office, been what he undoubtedly was when he first entered upon public life—an ardent friend to the liberties of his country.

Mr. Pitt possessed no particular advantages of person or physiognomy, the first of which was ungraceful, the second repulsive, rather than attractive. As a speaker he was thought to be without a rival: such was the happy choice of his words, the judicious arrangement of his subject, and the fascinating effect of a perennial eloquence, that his wonderful powers, were acknowledged even by those who happened to be prepossessed against his arguments. When employed in a good cause, he was irresistible; and in a bad one, he could dazzle the judgment, lead the imagination captive, and seduce the heart, even while the mind remained firm and unconvinced. Ambition and the love of power were his ruling passions; his mind was elevated above the meanness of avarice. His personal integrity was unimpeached; and so far was he from making use of his opportunities to acquire wealth, that he died insolvent. "With a manner somewhat reserved and distant, in what might be termed his public deportment, no man was ever better qualified to gain, or more successful in fixing, the attachment of his friends than Mr. Pitt. In the society of his intimate friends, he was distinguished for a kindness of heart, a gentleness of demeanor, and a playfulness of good humour, which no one ever witnessed without interest, or participated without delight."* Modesty was a striking feature in his character; and in his conduct he was rigidly just, and strictly moral.

* Rose's Examination into the Increase of the Revenue, &c. during the administration of Mr. Pitt.

communicated universal satisfaction, and men were disposed to give him credit for forbearance and self-denial, as well as for prudence, till they were informed that he had obtained for himself a grant of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and had procured the warrant, conferring upon him that lucrative appointment, to be passed with unusual expedition through the public offices, as if he had entertained the apprehension that its progress might be arrested, and the propriety of the grant questioned by his successors.

The wardenship of the Cinque Ports having been in this manner disposed of, and every attempt to form an administration from the wreck of the late ministry, having proved unsuccessful, his majesty was at length advised to call in the assistance of Lord Grenville. A message was conveyed to his lordship, on the 26th of January, by Lord Dartmouth, desiring his attendance at Buckingham House.

Lord Grenville having obeyed the summons, was graciously informed by his majesty, that he wished to consult him on the formation of a new ministry; to which his lordship is said to have replied, with proper acknowledgements for so distinguished a mark of his majesty's confidence, that his majesty was already in possession of his sentiments on that subject; he was convinced that an administration, to be of any effectual service to the country, must not be formed on an exclusive principle, but must comprehend all the leading men of the country. His majesty replied, that it was his wish to have Lord Grenville's opinion, who ought to be included in such an administration; his lordship is said to have answered, that he felt it his duty thus early in the business, to apprise his majesty, that the person he should consult with was Mr. Fox. "I thought so, and I meant so," is said to have been his majesty's most gracious reply. After this, Lord Grenville was honoured with two other audiences of the king; and on the 3d of February, the new ministerial arrangements were finally settled, and embraced the leading members of the three parties designated by the appellation of the old and new opposition, and the Sidmouth party.*

* LIST OF THE NEW MINISTRY.

CABINET MINISTERS.

Earl Fitzwilliam,	- -	President of the Council.
Lord Erskine,	- -	Lord High Chancellor.
Viscount Sidmouth,	- -	Lord Privy Seal.
Lord Grenville,	- - -	First Lord of the Treasury (Prime Min.)
Lord Howick (late Mr. Grey,)	- - -	First Lord of the Admiralty.
Earl of Moira,	- - -	Master General of the Ordnance.

After the treaty of Amiens, the great objects for which Mr. Fox had been drawn, with unfeigned reluctance, from his favourite retirement and induced to embark again in the business and contentions of public life, were, first, the maintenance, and next, the restoration of peace; these objects he had never ceased to recommend, and when unexpectedly invested with power, and at liberty to choose whatever place best suited him in the government, he shewed how sincerely he had these objects at heart, by the department of the state which he selected for himself. Though to the leader of a party, the office of first lord of the treasury must have been peculiarly acceptable by the opportunities it would have afforded him of rewarding the zeal and attachment of his adherents, yet, the reflection that by taking the place of secretary of state for foreign affairs, he should be placed in a situation where he could most effectually contribute to the restoration of peace, decided his choice, and determined him to prefer a place with little or no patronage, to one which has infinitely the greatest influence and patronage of any office under government. When Mr. Fox declined to be first lord of the treasury, that place naturally devolved on Lord Grenville. But

Earl Spencer, - - -	{ Secretary of State for the Home Department.
Right Hon. Chas. Jas. Fox,	{ Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.
Rt. Hon. Wm. Windham, -	{ Secretary of State for the Department of War, and the Colonies.
Lord Ellenborough, - -	{ Lord Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench.
Lord Henry Petty, - - -	{ Chancellor and Under Treasurer of the Exchequer.

NOT OF THE CABINET.

Lord Minto, - - - -	{ President of the Board of Control for the affairs of India.
Earl of Derby, - - - -	{ Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.
Rt. Hon. Rd. Fitzpatrick, -	{ Secretary at War.
Rt. Hon. R. B. Sheridan, -	{ Treasurer of the Navy.
Earl Temple, - - - -	{ Joint Pay-Master General.
Lord John Townsend, - -	{ Joint Post-Master General.
Earl of Buckinghamshire, -	{ Secretaries of the Treasury.
Earl of Carysfort, - - -	
Rt. Hon. Nicholas Vansittart,	
John King, Esq. - - - -	{ Master of the Rolls.
Sir Wm. Grant, - - - -	{ Attorney-General.
Sir A. Pigott, - - - -	{ Solicitor-General.
Sir Samuel Romilly, - - -	

The Duke of Bedford went as Lord-lieutenant to Ireland, accompanied by the Right Hon. Wm. Elliot as his chief secretary. Mr. George Ponsonby was appointed Chancellor and Keeper of the Seals in Ireland, and Sir John Newport, Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer.

his lordship held the office of auditor of the exchequer, which is incompatible with that of first lord of the treasury. It was scarcely to be expected that Lord Grenville would resign the auditorship of the exchequer, a place which he held for life, on being made prime minister, from which office he might be removed at the pleasure of the crown. It was therefore deemed necessary to bring a bill into parliament, to enable the auditor of the exchequer to accept the office of first lord of the treasury, without forfeiting his present situation; and in order to palliate the objections that might be made to this equivocal union, Lord Grenville was impowered to name a trustee to hold the office of auditor, so long as his lordship should continue in the situation of first lord of the treasury; which trustee should be responsible to the auditor for the salary, and to the public for the due execution of his office.

The appointment of Lord Ellenborough to a seat in the cabinet, was a measure of still more doubtful policy. This proceeding had become the subject of general discussion and animadversion in the country, and at length it was brought before parliament, by the Earl of Bristol, in the house of lords, and Mr. Spencer Stanhope, in the house of commons. On the 3d of March, the noble earl moved a resolution, stating it to be the opinion of that house,

“That it was highly inexpedient, and tended to weaken the administration of justice, to summon to any committee, or assembly of the Privy Council, any of the judges of his majesty’s courts of common law.”

This motion was supported by Lords Eldon, Borringdon, Mulgrave, and Hawkesbury; and opposed by Lord St. John, the Earls of Carlisle and Caernarvon, Viscount Sidmouth, and Lords Holland and Grenville; and on the question being put, the motion was negatived without a division. On the same day, a resolution of a similar tendency was moved in the house of commons, and supported by Mr. Canning, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Percival, and Mr. Wilberforce; and opposed by Mr. Bond, Lord Temple, Mr. Fox, Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Sheridan. The previous question, being put on the resolution, was carried by a majority of two hundred and twenty-two, to sixty-four voices.

On the part of the ministry it was contended that the cabinet, as such, is not responsible for the measures of government; that no individual minister is responsible for more than his own acts, and such advice as he is proved actually to have given; that the lord chief justice is always a privy counsellor, and that a cabinet counsellor performs no duties, and incurs no responsibility, to which a privy counsellor is not liable; that the nomination of Lord Ellenborough to a place in

the cabinet, was not only strictly legal, but justifiable on the ground of precedent and constitutional analogy ; and that the tendency and effect of his appointment, had been misunderstood, or misrepresented by the supporters of the motion, before parliament. But the public could easily perceive the difference between the actual duties of a privy counsellor and those of a cabinet counsellor ; between the occasional and habitual exercise of the same functions ; between the right of taking a part in the political discussions of the day, and the necessity of giving an opinion on all state affairs as they arise. And they who reflected on the slow and beneficial progress, by which judges had been detached from state intrigues, and removed out of the pernicious atmosphere of court influence, could not but regret that the stream had now taken a retrograde direction, and threatened to flow back into that gulph in which so many judges had perished in former times. In this view of the subject, the appointment of a lord chief justice to a seat in the cabinet, was to be considered rather as a precedent that might lead to evil consequences, than as a measure from which any mischief was at present to be apprehended ; and such was the impression that remained, after the conclusion of this debate on the minds of many excellent and enlightened persons throughout the kingdom.

No subject had, of late years, so frequently engaged the attention of parliament, as an inquiry into the best mode of increasing and recruiting the army. Project had succeed project, and experiment after experiment had been tried. Every possible variety of form had been given to our military establishments, and, as if the rulers of the country had been desirous of indulging a speculative curiosity, every species of military force had been resorted to. It was the merit of Mr. Windham, to whom this department of the public service was now confided, to abandon the complex plans and visionary speculations of his immediate predecessors, and to trust to the simple and obvious expedient of bettering the condition and prospects of the soldiery, for the future increase and supply of the army. On the 3d of April, Mr. Windham introduced the subject of his new military arrangements to the consideration of the house of commons. After some introductory observations, there were, the right honourable gentleman remarked, two ways by which an army might be recruited—force or choice. Force, Mr Windham contended, was peculiarly unfitted for England, where its operation would be at once less efficacious and more oppressive than in countries subject to arbitrary government. Force then, being excluded, choice, or voluntary enlistment, was the only means

left us for procuring soldiers, and it was the present business of the house to consider how those means might, in the most effectual manner, advance the proposed end. If the inquiry was made, why of late years this instrument had failed in England, (for it used not formerly to be inefficacious) it would be found that the military profession in this country was not sufficiently rewarded when compared with the other occupations open to the lower orders, and was, therefore, considered by the body of the people as less eligible than other callings.

To reduce these principles to practice, it behoved us to consider what was the most eligible way of improving the condition of the soldiery. Little was to be done by increasing the pay of the army, though much might be effected by encouragement of a different sort. A better provision might be made for those persons who were disabled from further service by their wounds, infirmities, or age. But the great change which he proposed to introduce into the army was in the terms of its engagement. Instead of an engagement to serve for life, he proposed that the soldiers in future should be enlisted to serve for a term of years only. The term of military service should be divided into three periods, of seven years each for the infantry, and for the cavalry and artillery, the first period to be ten years, the second, six years, and the third, five years. At the end of every period the soldier should have a right to claim his discharge. If he left the army at the end of the first period, he should be entitled to exercise his trade and calling in any part of Great Britain or Ireland; if at the end of the second period, he should be entitled, besides, to a pension for life; and at the end of the third period, after a service of twenty-one years, he should be discharged from the army, with the full allowance of Chelsea, which by judicious regulations might be raised to a shilling a day. If he was wounded or disabled in the service, he should receive the same pension as if he had served out the whole term. During the second period he should also receive sixpence a week of additional pay, and during the third period, a shilling a week. Desertion might be punished by the loss of so many years service, and though corporeal punishments could not be banished entirely from the army, they might be diminished both in number and severity. By these means a better description of men would be induced to enter the army, the profession of a soldier would rise in the estimation of the country; desertion would become less frequent; and, though the necessity of bounties could not be expected to cease immediately, they would begin soon, in the language of 'Change

Alley, to be "looking down;" and if the system, now recommended, was steadily pursued, and faithfully adhered to, the army would be placed in a situation, where its own attractions would be the only bounty required, for recruiting its ranks, and procuring for it any number of men, which the exigencies of the state might require. With respect to the volunteers, his opinion was, that there ought to be no corps of that description, except those formed of persons in the better ranks of like, who would serve at their own expense, with no other allowance from government but arms, and no other exemption but from service in other sorts of irregular force, which it might be advisable to constitute. But as he found the volunteer system already established, he meant not rashly to put it down, but should rather content himself with reducing its exorbitant expenses. It was a fact, that in three years and a half the volunteer system had cost the government five millions sterling, and as much more, at least, had been expended in the support of it by private individuals. The total amount of the reductions which he proposed in this establishment, would produce to government an annual saving of more than eight hundred thousand pounds. He should reduce the number of days for training from eighty-five to twenty-six a year, and should propose that in future no volunteer officer should have a higher rank than that of captain; that is, that no officer of the line of a higher rank than that of captain, nor any captain commanding a corps should be commanded by an officers of volunteers.

The peasantry, artisans, and other persons of the same class, he wished to see, not locked up in volunteer corps, and vainly employed in adopting the dress, and imitating the evolutions of troops of the line, but loosely trained under officers of the militia, or regular army, so that they might be qualified under their direction, to act as an armed peasantry, and harass and impede the motions of the enemy, if he should ever accomplish a landing in this country, or be prepared at least to take their place in the regular army, and repair whatever losses it might sustain in action. This training he meant to be compulsory, but it should last only for four and twenty days in each year. The persons so trained should have no particular dress, nor be carried to a distance from their homes. For the days they were engaged in training, the same allowance should be paid to them as to the volunteers. As it would be impossible to train the whole population of the country at once, the persons liable to that duty might be limited to two hundred thousand men annually; and of these the government should select for actual training the proportion which it judged to be

most expedient. But the whole numbers liable to that service should be enrolled in classes according to their age, and on any emergency a discretionary power might be left with government to call out and embody whatever classes it should think proper, and in whatever parts of the country it should find necessary.

With respect to the militia, Mr. Windham had at present no alteration to propose. He meant to continue the suspension of the ballot, and he would certainly recommend, in future, recruiting for that service, on the scheme projected in Ireland, and at a limited bounty.

Such is the outline of Mr. Windham's military project, which encountered the most determined opposition in every stage of its progress, but which in its essential particulars, passed through the respective stages in the two houses of parliament, and received the sanction of law.

The new ministry, in the measures of finance, which they pursued during this session of parliament, were satisfied with following the systems, and executing the plans of their predecessors in office: and unless in shewing greater vigilance and anxiety for the detection and suppression of abuses, they seemed to be unambitious of any higher distinction, in this important branch of their public duty. The period of the year when they came into office obliged them, indeed, to adopt in most instances, the estimates prepared by the former government; and in raising the ways and means for the current year, they adhered scrupulously to the principles laid down and followed by Mr. Pitt. The sinking fund for the redemption of the national debt, which some persons, both in and out of parliament, urged them strongly to encroach upon, they determined religiously to respect. The system of war taxes, on the plan of raising within the year a great part of the supplies necessary for the public service, they embraced with zeal, and carried to an extent before unexampled. In the prosecution of this object, so meritorious in itself, and so beneficial to the country, they had recourse to a measure of taxation, which bore peculiarly hard on the middle rank of life, and on those industrious classes of society, which are removed by one degree only from indigence; and as the popularity of one branch of the administration, lay chiefly among persons of that description, the conduct of ministers in this particular, excited a degree of odium proportioned to the former affection and regard entertained towards them. It must at the same time in candour be acknowledged, that it was owing to the heavy taxes imposed during this session of parliament, and to the vigorous measures taken to render them effectual, that

ministers were enabled at a future period to hold out to the country the consolatory assurance, that on the scale on which they had determined to conduct the war, no additional taxes would be necessary for carrying on the contest, to whatever period it might be prolonged.

On the 28th of March, Lord Henry Petty, the new chancellor of the exchequer, opened the budget, in a speech remarkable for the perspicuity of its statements, and the clearness of its arrangement. After submitting to the house a variety of financial details, his lordship proceeded to state, that the beneficial effects of raising the supplies within the year were strongly exemplified by the fact, that during the last war, the average increase of the national debt had been at the rate of twenty-five millions a year, while the average annual increase in the present war, was at the rate of only twelve millions—a difference to be attributed solely to the system of war taxes, which had not been introduced in the last war till near its close. Last year, the war taxes had been estimated at fourteen millions and a half, and they had actually produced more than thirteen millions. In the current year, it was intended to raise them to nineteen millions and a half, of which five millions were to be raised by making the property tax more productive, and one million additional from the excise and customs. The proposition he should submit to the house with respect to the property tax, was to raise that impost from six and a half to ten per cent. and to do away the principal part of the present exemptions. As to the *quantum* of income to be made liable to the tax, it was proposed that ten per cent. should be paid on all property above fifty pounds a year, but that a scale of abatements should be introduced in favour of small tradesmen, and small annuitants, whose income was less than one hundred a year.

With respect to the war duties on the customs, it was proposed to raise those duties, with certain modifications from one-fourth to one-third, by which a million a year would be produced. And in order to cover the interest of the loan, the duty on wine was to be made permanent, and applied to that purpose ; a duty of forty shillings per ton was to be imposed on pig-iron ; the duty on tea was to be equalized ; and a tax on appraisements imposed, by the whole of which taxes it was estimated that a sum of one million one hundred and thirty-six thousand pounds would be produced annually. The noble lord concluded his speech by expressing his determination, and that of his colleagues, to administer the government with economy, and to reform all abuses wherever they could be detected.

The property tax bill encountered great opposition on its way through the house, not so much from the late ministers, who now occupied the benches of opposition, as from independent members of parliament, who disliked the harshness and rigour of the proposed enactments, and disapproved of such an enormous addition to the present heavy burthens of the people. Several modifications and alleviations of the tax were accordingly proposed, to some of which the ministers acceded, but the greater part of them were rejected on account of their tendency to diminish the product, and impair the efficacy of the measure. In the course of these debates, Mr. Secretary Fox candidly confessed, that he was not a friend to the tax, nor to any of its principles or operations; he was sensible that the objections against it were just and innumerable; but his majesty's ministers were reluctantly obliged to resort to this source of revenue, under the pressure of existing circumstances, which they had at least the consolation to reflect they had no share in producing.

The proposed tax on iron was abandoned after a strenuous opposition; and in lieu of it a tax was proposed on private brewers; but this obnoxious impost was at length withdrawn from the consideration of parliament, and the interest of the loan was provided for by an addition of ten per cent. to the assessed taxes. In consideration of the severe pressure of the taxes on persons who had large families, a bill was passed, granting to parents an allowance of four *per centum* out of their assessed taxes for each of their children above two, maintained at their own expense, provided the total amount of their assessment was under forty pounds a year.

The attention of parliament was in the course of the present session directed to the correction of a series of abuses connected with the revenue department of the state. The first of these measures was an act for regulating the office of treasurer of the ordnance, on the principle of Mr. Burke's bill for regulating the office of paymaster of the forces, and of the bill introduced by Mr. Dundas, now Lord Melville, for regulating the office of treasurer of the navy. In bringing forward this bill, Lord Henry Petty announced his intention of extending the same principle to the post-office, the excise-office, custom-house, and other public offices to which it was applicable, that an end might be put to the practice of public officers deriving profit from the use of the money confided to their care. During this session, acts were accordingly passed through their respective stages for effecting these necessary and salutary reforms, and an act was also passed for abolishing the fees of the custom-house officers of the port of London,

and regulating the attendance of the officers of that establishment. In pursuance of this system of reform, the mode of auditing the public accounts was next brought by his majesty's government under the consideration of parliament. It appeared, that in consequence of the imperfection of the provisions established for that purpose, there had been a gradual accumulation of unaudited accounts, amounting when the present ministers came into office, to the enormous sum of five hundred and thirty-four millions sterling. Not a single account in the army pay-office had been audited since the year 1782. The store accounts had been suffered to lie over, without examination, during the same period. The navy accounts were left greatly in arrear. None of the accounts of the late war were audited, and those relating to the expeditions to Holland and Egypt, and to the treaties of subsidy with foreign powers, had never yet come under the inspection of the auditors. To obviate these evils the number of auditors was increased, and effectual regulations adopted, not merely to submit the accounts thus in arrear to a prompt and complete examination, but also to prevent the recurrence of such dangerous and reprehensible omissions in future.

No part of the conduct of the present administration reflected a brighter lustre on their characters than the measures which they adopted to effect the abolition of the African Slave Trade. After the eloquent harangues in which former ministers had indulged against this iniquitous and inhuman traffic, whilst the trade so reprobated continued to flourish and increase, the friends of the abolition had at length the consolation to behold a ministry whose conduct corresponded with their professions, and whose zeal in the cause of humanity enabled them to effect in a few months, a great public duty, which the labours of eighteen years had hitherto failed to accomplish.

Soon after the formation of the ministry, the attorney-general, with the entire concurrence of the cabinet, brought a bill into parliament, which passed both houses without any formidable opposition, and afterwards received the royal assent. This bill prohibited the exportation of slaves from the British colonies after the 1st of January, 1807, and prohibited all subjects of this country, residing either at home or in our foreign settlements, from being in any way concerned in, or accessory to the supply of foreign countries with slaves after that period. The zeal of the new government did not stop here: another bill was soon after brought into parliament, which passed without opposition, for the purpose of preventing the increase of the British slave trade in all its branches.

By the provisions of this bill, all British vessels were prohibited under severe penalties from engaging in the African slave trade, which had not been actually employed in that traffic before the 1st of August, 1806, or contracted for, to be employed in it before the 10th of June in that year. This act was limited in its duration to the term of two years after the conclusion of the session of parliament then sitting : but happily for the interests of humanity, long before the expiration of that period, every provision for the limitation, or regulation of this traffic was rendered unnecessary by the total and formal abolition of the slave trade. The next measure brought forward by ministers upon this subject was a resolution moved by Mr. Fox in the house of commons, on the 10th of June, and with which that great statesman closed his parliamentary career. On this occasion,

MR. SECRETARY FOX rose, and after a well-merited compliment to Mr. Wilberforce, for his strenuous and persevering exertions in the cause of humanity, said—"So fully am I impressed with the vast importance and necessity of attaining the object of the motion of this night, that if, during the almost forty years I have had the honour of a seat in parliament, I had been so fortunate as to accomplish that, and that only, I should think I had done enough, and could retire from public life with comfort, and the conscious satisfaction that I had done my duty. Surely, Sir, it does not remain yet to be argued, that to carry men by violence away to slavery, in distant countries, 'is not a traffic in the labour of man, but of man himself.' I will not now enter, for it would be unnecessary, into that exploded argument, that we did not make the negroes slaves, but found them already in that state, and condemned to it for crimes. The nature of the crimes themselves (witchcraft in general) is a manifest pretext, and a mockery of all human reason. But, supposing them even to be real crimes, and such as men should be condemned for, can there be any thing more degrading to sense, or disgusting to humanity, than to think it honourable or just in Great Britain, annually to send out ships, in order to assist in the purposes of African police? It has, I am told, been asserted by an authority in the other house of parliament, that the trade is in itself so good a one, that if it were not found already subsisting, it would be right to create it. I shall certainly not compare the authority just alluded to with that of my honourable friend (Mr. Wilberforce :) nor shall I compare it with the authority of a right honourable gentleman now no more (Mr. Pitt :) but on the ground of authority I think all the weight is on the side of humanity.

“ I shall now proceed to recall the attention of the house to what has been its uniform, consistent, and unchangeable opinion for the last eighteen years, during which time we should blush to have it stated, that not one step has yet been taken towards the abolition of the trade. If, then, we have never ceased to express our reprobation of this traffic, surely the house must think itself bound, by its character, and the consistency of its proceedings, still to condemn it. The first time this measure was proposed, on the motion of my honourable friend, (Mr. Wilberforce) which was in the year 1791, it was, after a long and warm discussion, rejected. In the following year, after the question had been, during the interval, better considered, there appeared to be a very strong disposition to adopt the proposition in its utmost extent; but in the committee, the question for gradual abolition was carried. On that occasion Lord Melville, who was the leader and proposer of the gradual abolition, could not venture to push the period longer than eight years, or the year 1800, when the trade was to be totally abolished. Yet we are now in the year 1806, and while surrounding nations are reproaching us with neglect, not a single step has been taken towards this just, humane, and politic measure. Denmark, much to its honour, has abolished the trade; and England, I trust, is preparing to follow her example. I own, that when I began to consider the subject, early in the present session, I was sanguine enough to hope that the total abolition might be carried this year; but the present advanced period now precludes that expectation, and no alternative remains but to resort to the measure I am now about to propose. The motion which I shall now have the honour to submit to the house will not mention any limitation, either as to the time or manner of abolishing the trade. There have, indeed, been hints thrown out, that it would be advisable to adopt some plan that must inevitably lead to an abolition; but after eighteen years of close attention to the subject, I cannot think any course so effectual as a direct law for the immediate abolition of the trade.

“ In answer to the stale argument of the ruin this measure will bring upon the West India islands, I would refer gentlemen, to perhaps the most brilliant and convincing speech that ever was, I believe, delivered in this or any other assembly, by a consummate master of eloquence (Mr. Burke,) and of which, I believe, there remains in some publications a report that will convey an inadequate idea of the substance of that speech; but the voice, the gesture, and the manner, are not to be described—“ *O! si illum vidisse, si illum audibisse!*” If all the members of this house could but have heard and seen the

great orator in the delivery of that speech, on that day, there would not now be one who could for a moment longer suppose that the abolition of the slave trade could injuriously affect the interests of the West Indian colonies. I am aware that a calculation was once made, and pretty generally circulated, by which it would appear, that if the importation of negroes into the islands was put an end to, the stock of slaves could not be kept up; and if I recollect right, the calculation was made with reference of Jamaica. Fortunately, however, for our argument, the experiment has already been tried in North America, in those states where the trade has been abolished; and the effect of it shews, that the progress of the population of the negroes is nearly equal to that of the whites. As that is the part of the world where population proceeds more rapidly than in any other, and as we know that, within the last twenty years, the population of whites has doubled, and that of negroes very nearly so, without importation, it affords, I will not say a damning, but a blessed proof, that the adoption of a similar course would ultimately produce gradual emancipation, and an increasing population, and that it would enable the negroes to acquire property as the reward of long servitude; and thereby place these islands in a state of safety beyond any thing that could be effected by fleets and armies." Mr. Fox in conclusion moved the following resolution:—

"That this house, conceiving the African slave trade to be contrary to the principles of justice, humanity, and sound policy, will, with all possible expedition, proceed to take effectual measures for abolishing the said trade, in such manner, and at such period, as they may deem advisable."

The motion was opposed by Gen. Tarleton, Mr. Gascoyne, Lord Castlereagh, Sir William Young, Mr. George Rose, and Mr. Manning; and supported by Sir Ralph Milbanke, Mr. Francis, Sir Samuel Romilly, the Solicitor-General, Mr. Wilberforce, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Barham, Sir John Newport, Mr. Canning, Mr. William Smith, and Mr. Windham. On a division of the house, there appeared for Mr. Fox's motion, one hundred and fourteen, against it, fifteen, leaving a majority in favour of the abolition of ninety-nine voices.

The resolution was then sent up to the lords, and a conference demanded "upon a matter, in which the reputation of the country, for justice, humanity, and sound policy, was deeply interested:" and after this conference, the lords adopted the same resolution on the motion of Lord Grenville, by a majority of forty-one to twenty voices.

The last step taken in this work of mercy, during the present session, was a joint address from the two houses of par-

liament to the king, "beseeching his majesty to take such measures as might appear most effectual for obtaining, by negotiation, the concurrence and concert of foreign powers in the abolition of the slave trade, and the execution of the regulations adopted for that purpose."

By the concurrent operation of these measures, a stop was not only put to the future increase of the slave trade, and a pledge given by both houses of parliament for the total abolition of that iniquitous traffic, with all practicable despatch; but a trade was abolished, which, up to this time, had carried over yearly about forty thousand Africans from their peaceful homes, through the multiplied horrors of the middle passage, to perpetual bondage and wretchedness in the West India plantations; and an end put to the murders, tortures, and plunder, which were daily and hourly desolating the continent of Africa, for the supply of so enormous a demand for human beings.

The trial of Lord Viscount Melville was the only remaining subject of general importance that engaged the attention of the two houses of parliament during the present session. The house of commons, after a minute inquiry into the expenditure of the public money, had deliberately resolved to engage in the most solemn and important part of its functions—the exercise of its power of impeachment against this nobleman. Managers were accordingly appointed by the house;* Westminster Hall was fitted up in a style worthy of the solemnity; and the house of peers made various arrangements which tended to facilitate the progress of the trial, and to rescue the proceedings by impeachment from that censure and disgrace which they had incurred from the case of Mr. Hastings. On this occasion, Westminster Hall presented a concentration of all that was distinguished by elevated rank or authority, by transcendent genius, high honour, or brilliant services. As a tribunal of justice, it contained one of the sublimest of all possible spectacles, the representatives of a free and mighty people, charging with delinquency one of the most eminent servants of the crown, before judges abounding in all the means of human estimation, with no restraint imposed upon the freedom of accusation or defence, but what was due at once to order and to justice.

* The managers were, Mr. Whitbread, Mr. Fox, Lord Howick, Mr. Sheridan, Lord Henry Petty, Lord Marsham, Mr. Giles, Lord Folkestone, Mr. Raine, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. Creevy, Mr. Holland, Mr. Calcraft, Lord Porchester, Lord Arch. Hamilton, Mr. Wm. Wynne, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Morris, Lord Temple, Serjeant Best, and Lord Robert Spencer.

On Monday, the 29th of April, the court was opened with the usual forms and solemnities, after which a master in chancery read aloud the articles of impeachment against Lord Melville, of which the following is the substance:—

1st. That Lord Melville, while treasurer of the navy, did, previously to the 10th of January, 1786, take and receive out of the money intrusted to him from his majesty's exchequer, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or to some other corrupt and illegal purposes; and on the 11th of June, 1805, in the house of commons, did refuse to account for the application of the said sum;

2nd. That, after the passing of the act of parliament in the 25th year of his majesty's reign, intitled "an act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy," Lord Melville, contrary to the provisions of that act, did permit Alexander Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to draw from the bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, large sums of money, which had been issued to the bank on account of Lord Melville, as treasurer of the navy, and place the same in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition;

3rd. That not only did Lord Melville permit Trotter to place, as aforesaid, the public money in the hands of Thomas Coutts and Co. his private bankers, but to apply the same for purposes of private profit and emolument, whereby the same money was exposed to great risk of loss, and withdrawn from the control and disposition of the treasurer of the navy.

4th. That part of the money so taken by Trotter from the bank, was, by permission of Lord Melville, placed in the hands of Mark Sprott and others, and applied for purposes of private profit and emolument;

5th. That Lord Melville himself did, after the 10th of January, 1786, take and receive from the public money issued to the Bank of England, the sum of 10,000*l.* and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or some other corrupt and illegal purpose;

6th. That Lord Melville received advances of large sums of money from Trotter, out of the public money so obtained by him and deposited in the hands of his private bankers, which advances were entered in an account current kept between Trotter and Lord Melville, and preserved till February, 1803, when, by mutual agreement dated the 18th and 23d of February of that year, it was destroyed, with all the vouchers and other memorandums relative thereto, for the purpose of fraudulently concealing these transactions;

7th. That, in particular, Lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* out of the public money, and that the accounts relative thereto have been burned and destroyed for the above mentioned purpose;

8th. That among other advances of money as aforesaid, Lord Melville received from Trotter the sum of 22,000*l.* for which he paid interest;

9th. That Trotter acted as agent to Lord Melville without any pecuniary compensation, and in that capacity was generally in advance for him to the amount of from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* out of the public money in his hands; that Lord Melville was aware, that Trotter had no means of making him such advances, except from the public money of which he had illegally possessed himself; and that Trotter was induced to act gratuitously as Lord Melville's agent, and to make these advances, in consideration of Lord Melville's connivance at his free use and uncontrolled application of the public money to his own private profit and emolument.

10th. That Lord Melville, between August 19th, 1782, and January 1st, 1806, did take and receive from the monies issued to him out of his majesty's exchequer, as treasurer of the navy, divers large sums of money, amounting to 27,000*l.* or thereabouts, and fraudulently and illegally convert the same to his own use, or some other corrupt and illegal purposes.

In reply to these charges, the averment of Lord Melville stated, "That he was not guilty of all or any of the articles of impeachment exhibited against him, and that he was prepared to prove the same before a tribunal composed of his peers."

The charges and answers having been concluded, Mr. Whitbread rose and addressed the court in an elaborate speech, which occupied upwards of three hours in the delivery, and which embraced the topics so successfully enforced in the house of commons on the 8th of April, in the preceding year, when the tenth report of the Commissioners of Naval Inquiry was first brought under the consideration of that assembly.*

The charges, though multiplied into ten, were in substance only three in number :—

First—That before the tenth of January, 1786, Lord Melville had, contrary to the obligation imposed upon him by the warrant appointing him to the office of treasurer of the navy, applied to his private use and profit divers sums of public money, intrusted to him in that capacity.

Second—That after the passing of the act of parliament, in 1785, for the better regulating the office of treasurer of the navy, he had, in breach and violation of that act, permitted Trotter, his paymaster, illegally to take from the Bank of England, for other than immediate application to naval purposes, large sums of money, from the monies issued to the bank on account of the treasurer of the navy, and placed the same in the hands of his private banker, in his own name, and subject to his sole control and disposition.

Third—That he had fraudulently and corruptly permitted Trotter to apply the money, so abstracted illegally from the Bank of England, to purposes of private use and emolument, and had himself fraudulently and corruptly derived profit therefrom.

On the *first* of these charges, comprehending the first and tenth articles of impeachment, it was proved in evidence by the commons ; that on the 19th of June, 1782, the house of commons resolved, "that it is the opinion of this house, that

* See Book III. Chap. V. page 379.

from henceforward, the paymaster of his majesty's forces, and the treasurer of the navy, for the time being, shall not apply any sum or sums of money, intrusted to them, for any purpose of advantage or interest to themselves, either directly or indirectly ;" That the warrant appointing Lord Melville to the office of treasurer of the navy, in August, 1782, granted to him an additional salary of 2,324*l.* 6*s.* 6*d.* in full satisfaction of all wages, fees, and other profits and emoluments, heretofore enjoyed by former treasurers of the navy ; and that Lord Melville himself declared before the naval commissioners, that he considered the said additional salary to be in full satisfaction of all such profit and emolument ; that soon after Lord Melville's acceptance of the office of treasurer of the navy, viz. in August, 1782, there was a considerable difference between the balance of public money charged to the treasurer, and the actual balance to the credit of the treasurer at the bank ;* and though it did not appear in evidence, that the whole of this difference was occasioned by the application of public money to the private use and profit of Lord Melville, yet it was satisfactorily shewn, that certain payments were made to his private use out of the public money intrusted to him as treasurer of the navy, soon after his acceptance of that office. Thus it was shewn, that particular bank notes, issued from the exchequer in the month of November, 1782, and clearly identified, were paid in discharge of the private debts of Lord Melville. It was also proved that, in May, 1783, there was a difference amounting to the sum of 23,000*l.* ; which difference, before the end of July, 1783, was reduced to 7,600*l.* in consequence of various payments made into the bank on account of the treasurer of the navy, by Messrs. Muir and Atkinson, and other private persons, from which it was apparent, that the money so repaid had been used for some private purpose, and applied to private profit and advantage. It was also shewn in evidence, that before the end of March, 1785, during the second treasurership of Lord Melville, certain drafts were drawn under the authority of the treasurer of the navy, the produce of which was not applied to any public purpose, but to the discharge of part of the debt due on the treasurer's own account. All these facts were confirmed by the proof adduced by the commons, by whom it was further shewn, that after the death of Mr. Douglas, Lord Melville confessed, in the month of January, 1806, to Mr. Trotter, who succeeded Douglas as paymaster of the navy, that he was indebted to the public in the sum of 10,000*l.*

* Documentary Evidence.

On the *second* of these charges, contained in the second article of impeachment, it was, in the first place, shewn by the commons, that, subsequent to the appointment of Lord Melville, for the second time, to the office of treasurer of the navy, an act of parliament was passed, intitled, "an act for better regulating the office of treasurer of his majesty's navy;" whereby it is, among other things, enacted, "that from and after the 1st of July, 1785, the monies to be issued unto the governor and company of the bank of England, on account of the treasurer of his majesty's navy, shall not be paid out of the bank, unless for navy services." It was proved, that, in direct breach and violation of the said statute, Lord Melville gave permission to Trotter, his paymaster, to draw from the bank of England, for other purposes than for immediate application to navy services, sums of money issued to the governor and company of the bank of England on account of the treasurer of the navy, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker;* that Trotter, in consequence of this permission, did draw from the bank of England large sums of public money, and place the same in the hands of his private bankers, in his own name, and at his own disposal, and beyond the control of the treasurer of the navy.

And on the *third* of these charges, comprehending the third, fourth, sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth articles of impeachment, it was proved by the commons, that Trotter applied to his private use and emolument the public money taken illegally from the bank of England, and placed in the hand of his private banker, and derived great profit therefrom;* and that Lord Melville connived at such illegal proceeding, and did not prohibit him so to do. It further appeared in evidence, that Trotter, by desire of Lord Melville, opened an account, called the chest account, in which he debited Lord Melville with 10,600*l.* being the sum of money for which Lord Melville, by his own confession, was indebted to the public, when Trotter first became paymaster under him; that various advances were made, at subsequent periods, on the same account, in consequence of requisitions from Lord Melville to Trotter, with which requisitions Trotter invariably complied;* that no interest was ever charged to Lord Melville, or paid by him, on these advances;* that Trotter always considered Lord Melville to be immediately indebted to the public in this chest account; and Lord Melville understood and knew himself to be so indebted; that Trotter having advanced to Lord Melville, in 1797, the sum of 10,000*l.* in order to pay

* Mr. Trotter's Evidence.

the instalments on his subscription to the loyalty loan ; and having, in the first instance, debited Lord Melville for that sum in another account kept between them, intituled their account current, did afterwards, for his own greater security, transfer the same to the chest account, and did present a copy of the said account, bearing on the face of it a statement of the above transaction, to Lord Melville ; by whom it was regularly, duly, and formally settled and signed, and to whom the original book, or a duplicate thereof, so settled and signed, was delivered ; and that, at subsequent periods, Trotter presented other statements and duplicates of the said accounts, containing the same charge, which Lord Melville did, in like manner, settle and sign.* It was further proved, that notwithstanding, Lord Melville must have known from this transaction, that the money advanced to him by Trotter, by means of which he was enabled to hold the loyalty loan, was public money, he permitted the dividends accruing on that stock, to be carried to his credit in his account current with Trotter, till May, 1800, when, by a paper signed with his own hand, he authorised Mark Sprott to dispose of the same, which was accordingly done, and the produce carried to the credit of Lord Melville, in his account with Messrs. Thomas Coutts and Co. his bankers. It was also shewn in evidence that there was an account between Lord Melville and Trotter, called their account current, which was opened within less than three months after the appointment of Trotter to the office of paymaster, in January, 1786, and was not finally closed till May, 1800, when Lord Melville left the navy pay-office : that during the interval it had been frequently balanced and signed by both parties, and duplicates exchanged : that no interest was ever charged on either side in this account, though the balance upon it against Lord Melville was generally from 10,000*l.* to 20,000*l.* ; and that large sums of money were advanced by Trotter, and placed to this account, derived from the public money illegally drawn by him from the bank, on the pretence of navy services, and placed, by permission of Lord Melville, in the hands of his private banker. It was further proved, that when Trotter was made paymaster of the navy, in 1798, he was unable to make advances of money to Lord Melville from his private fortune, which did not exceed, at that time, 1,000*l.* or 2,000*l.* ; and that, nevertheless, within three months after his nomination to the office of paymaster, he advanced 4,000*l.* to Lord Melville, without interest,* his pecuniary cir-

* Mr. Trotter's Evidence.

cumstances being perfectly known to Lord Melville, when he accepted of that loan. It was also shewn, that while Lord Melville was thus receiving advances of money without interest, from Trotter, his attention must have been forcibly drawn to the transactions of that personage, in regard to public money, by a very singular conversation which took place between himself and Trotter, in 1789, wherein Trotter had the audacity to propose to him, Lord Melville, treasurer of his majesty's navy, holding his place by the authority of a warrant, which strictly prohibited him from deriving any emolument from the public money in his possession, to lay out the public money for his, Lord Melville's, private interest and advantage ; but though this proposal was indignantly rejected by the noble lord,* it appeared that his lordship did not then, or at any subsequent period, make any inquiry into the amount of public money in the hands of Trotter, nor into the uses to which it was applied, or risks to which it was exposed ; instead of which, he continued to accept advances of money from Trotter, without paying interest for them, or even inquiring from what source the money was derived. With respect to the account current between Lord Melville and Trotter, it further appeared, that the first item of that account, consisting of a loan of 4,000*l.* advanced by Trotter to Lord Melville, was supplied from the fund intrusted to Trotter for the payment of exchequer fees, and that, in the bond given by Lord Melville for that sum, there was an engagement to pay interest for the same. It was also proved, that on September 4th, 1792, the sum of 8,600*l.* was drawn by Trotter from the bank, on pretence of navy services ; out of which the sum of 4,057*l.* 10*s.* was employed the same day in the purchase of 2,000*l.* East India stock, for the use and benefit of Lord Melville, according to his express desire and request ; and that no interest was charged to Lord Melville for the purchase money of the said East India stock, though the dividends were carried to his credit, and the stock itself ultimately disposed of for his benefit, in May, 1800. Lastly, it was proved, that in May, 1800, when Lord Melville quitted the navy pay-office, he was under the necessity of raising the sum of 50,000*l.* or thereabouts, to make good that part of the deficiency in his account at the bank, which arose from public money, applied to his own profit and advantage : and it further appeared in evidence, that the sum total of public money advanced by Trot-

* Trotter's Evidence.

ter to Lord Melville, and enjoyed without interest by Lord Melville, amounted, on the 31st of December,

1791	to	£19,988
1792	—	26,476
1793	—	37,025
1794	—	28,758
1795	—	30,316
1796	—	75,413
1797	—	58,640
1798	—	54,140
1799	—	54,140

On the part of the defendant, several witnesses were called to establish the fact that Lord Melville refrained from receiving the salaries, fees, and profits, of his office of third secretary of state, up to the time of his resignation, and that a saving had hereby accrued to the public to the amount of twenty-six thousand pounds.

In answer to the *first* of the charges against Lord Melville, it was contended by Mr. Plomer, counsel for his lordship, that, independent of the act of the 25th of Geo. III. which was posterior to the commission of the supposed offences charged in these articles, and independent of the warrant, the treasurer of the navy was not restrained, either by common or statute law, or by the nature of his official duty or trust, from making a temporary use of the public money intrusted to him, before it was wanted for the public service; provided it was at all times ready, when called for, to answer the purposes for which it was destined. With respect to the warrant, the learned counsellor admitted, that it precluded the treasurer of the navy from making profit of the public money in his hands; but he argued, that the breach of this engagement, had it been committed by Lord Melville (which he denied,) did not amount to a public crime or offence, and though it might subject him to civil consequences, could not be the foundation of a criminal charge against him.

This doctrine was impugned, in a very able reply on the part of the managers, by the attorney-general, who contended that a breach of duty, which, between individuals, created nothing but a civil remedy, was, in a public accountant, an indictable offence.* The duty of every officer appointed by the king was a public duty, which the law would vindicate by criminal proceedings. The office held by the defendant prescribed a course of public duty, which, if he infringed, he was liable to have an indictment or information filed against him by the law officers of the crown.

* Lord Mansfield, in the case *The King versus Bainbridge*.

In answer to the *second* charge and article of impeachment, Mr. Plomer and Mr. Adam contended, that it was no violation of the act of the 25th Geo. III. for the treasurer of the navy to draw from the bank of England money intrusted to him for navy services, and to place the same in the hands of his private banker, or any other place of deposit, which he thought safe and eligible, till it should be wanted for the purposes for which it was drawn, provided always it was drawn from the bank by drafts, specifying the heads of service to which it was to be applied, as prescribed by the act. In the course of this argument, the learned counsel entered into a minute examination of the act, from which, after making a distinction between "the original and primary place of deposit, and the sole, ultimate, and continuing deposit," they concluded, that the act regulated in what manner the money wanted for navy services should be issued from the exchequer, and paid into the bank, and prescribed the form to be used by the treasurer of the navy in drawing it from the bank; but that, with respect to its subsequent custody, the act was totally silent, and contained no restriction whatever, which could prevent the treasurer from placing it, till wanted, wherever he pleased. They also contended, that from the number and minuteness of the payments made at the navy pay office, the business of that department could not go on unless there were some other place of deposit for the public money intrusted to the treasurer of the navy, besides the bank of England.

This construction of the act of parliament was treated with ridicule by the attorney-general. The act was a remedial law, intended to take from the treasurer of the navy the custody of the public money, and to deprive him of the opportunity of having that custody, except only where it was inevitable. But, admitting the exposition given of the act by the learned council, so absurdly was it contrived, that though it employed the utmost care and precaution, and providing for the safe conveyance of the public money from the exchequer to the bank, the moment the money arrived at the bank, it was as much at the disposal of the treasurer, as if the act had never existed. He might draw it out without restraint or limitation, provided only he put into the form of his draft, "for navy services." The attorney-general contended, on the other hand, that the act was violated, unless the money drawn from the bank was *bona fide* drawn for immediate application to navy services, and that the treasurer was not justified for defeating the principal and main object of the act, by his adherence in his drafts to the literal form of words it prescribed.

He did not deny, on the part of the commons, that the treasurer might draw small sums from the bank, to supply the daily wants of his sub-accomptants, and carry on the daily business of the navy pay-office, but he was not to withdraw large sums on that pretence, in order to lodge them in a place of custody, different from that provided by the wisdom of the legislature.

In answer to the *third* charge, comprehending the remaining articles of impeachment, the counsel for the defendant began by stating, that the charge against Lord Melville was not a charge for neglect of duty, for omitting to keep a vigilant and superintending eye over the conduct of his paymaster, whereby the latter was enabled to commit the offences proved in evidence; but that he, wilfully, knowingly, illegally, and fraudulently, connived at, and permitted, and authorised all that was done. This charge, the learned counsel contended, was directly, positively, clearly, and satisfactorily disproved by the evidence brought in support of it. Trotter, though he had every possible motive to extenuate his own offences, by dividing the guilt of them with his patron, had declared upon oath, that all the acts charged against Lord Melville were his own unauthorised acts, and committed without the knowledge or suspicion of that noble lord. But if the evidence of Trotter were rejected as unworthy of credit, the whole evidence for the prosecution fell to the ground; for it could scarcely be argued that his evidence was to be believed when it made against Lord Melville, and disregarded when it made in his favour.

It was contended by the managers in reply, that the whole question resolved itself into this—Did Mr. Trotter remove and use the public money with the permission of Lord Melville? If so, his lordship was guilty of *connivance*. Mr. Trotter, indeed, had in his evidence made the act exclusively his own,* but their lordships would decide whether, under the circumstances of the case, it was possible that Lord Melville should not have participated in that act.

As to the argument founded on the circumstance of Lord Melville giving up the salary and profits of his office as third secretary of state, it was entitled to no consideration. He could not do otherwise. An act of parliament existed, in virtue of which no servant of the crown could receive more than six thousand pounds a year; and as Lord Melville's places amounted to considerably more than that sum, he could not take credit to himself for not receiving what he had not the power to receive. But he might have relinquished one of his

* Trotter's Evidence.

offices, had he not known, from experience, that four thousand a year, as treasurer of the navy, was better than four thousand a year as secretary of state.

After the managers had closed their reply, and the lords had adjourned to the chamber of parliament, some conversation took place in the house of peers upon the day to be fixed for discussing the charges, and as the evidence, which was very voluminous, was not printed, it was agreed to postpone the further consideration of this business for ten days, and accordingly the further proceedings on the trial were deferred till Wednesday, the 28th of May, on which day the lords were ordered to be summoned.

In the commons, a motion of thanks to the managers was made on the 23d of May, by General Fitzpatrick. This motion, which was seconded by Sir John Newport, was agreed to with only one dissentient voice. The speaker then, calling on the managers, who stood up in their several places, thus addressed them :—

“Gentlemen, This house, upon the result of grave and important inquiries into the administration of the public expenditure, come to the resolution of entering upon the most solemn of all its functions ; and of resorting to that transcendent power, by which it can bring to judgment all misdeeds done by the highest servants of the crown, and most effectually avenge all inroads made, or attempted to be made, upon the liberties of the people. The conduct and management of that power it delegated to you ; to prepare and arrange the proofs of complex and intricate facts ; and to make good the charge of high crimes and misdemeanors against a noble person, whose elevated and splendid situation in the state, rendered his actions of signal example, for good or for evil, to all persons intrusted with the public treasure. Throughout the progress of the trial so undertaken, we have seen, with peculiar satisfaction, its proceedings conducted with an exemplary diligence and despatch, which have rescued impeachments from the disgrace into which they had nearly fallen, and have restored them to their ancient strength and honour. Upon your part, we have also witnessed that unwearied industry, and singular sagacity, with which you have pursued and established the proofs : that boldness, so properly belonging to the commons, with which you have maintained the charge ; and that powerful display of argument, and learned eloquence, which have spread the light of day over dark, secret, and criminal transactions. The issue of the whole is now with the lords ; and whether that be of condemnation or acquittal, it rests with a tribunal, which, so far as depends upon human institutions, promises the fairest hope of ultimate justice. But, be that issue what it may, your part is accomplished. In the discharge of your duty you have satisfied the expectations of the commons ; you have obtained the high reward of their approbation and thanks, and, in obedience with their commands, I am now to acquaint you with their resolution : ‘ That the thanks of this house be given to the members who were appointed the managers of the impeachment of Lord Melville, for their faithful management in their discharge of the trust reposed in them.’ ”

At the appointed period the members of the house of peers assembled in their chamber of parliament, and much time was

occupied in the discussions relative to the trial, during which the doors were closed to all except the members of that house. The assistance of the judges, on certain points of law, was resorted to, and after a variety of animated and protracted debates, their lordships proceeded, on the 12th of June, to deliver their verdict. The lord chancellor, interrogating each peer by name, put the question, "Is Henry Viscount Melville guilty or not guilty?" to which the answer of "guilty," or "not guilty," "upon my honour," was given by each member, placing at the same time his right hand upon his breast. The lord chancellor, after casting up the votes, addressed the defendant and said:—

"HENRY VISCOUNT MELVILLE, I am to acquaint your lordship that you are acquitted of the articles of impeachment exhibited against you by the commons, for high crimes and misdemeanors, and of all things contained therein."

The lords then adjourned to their chamber, when a correct copy of the verdict, as delivered by each peer, was inscribed on their journals, and exhibited the following result:—

Charge	1st	2d	3d	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th	9th	10th
Not Guilty	120	81	83	135	131	88	85	121	121	124
Guilty	15	54	52	0	3	47	50	14	14	11
Majority	105	27	31	135	128	41	35	107	107	113

The result of this trial, in which the public had taken so deep an interest, disappointed the general expectations of the people. It must, however, be admitted, that the charge of fraudulent and corrupt participation in the profit made of the public money by Mr. Trotter, was not established against Lord Melville by any very clear and satisfactory evidence. But while this fact is conceded, the most zealous advocates of his lordship were obliged to confess,* that he had been guilty of "culpable negligence" in the discharge of his duty—that he had given to his pay-master a degree of "criminal indulgence," and that, had these been the charges exhibited against him by the commons, the noble lord must have been pronounced guilty by the august tribunal to whom the decision on his case was confided.

The new ministry, after taking a clear and comprehensive view of the state of the country, appear to have formed the resolution of directing their views to the accomplishment of a peace with France. About ten days after Mr. Fox came into office, a project for assassinating the French Emperor was communicated by a foreigner to the English foreign se-

* Lord Eldon's Speech on the Impeachment of Lord Melville.

cretary, who immediately transmitted a statement of the circumstances to M. Talleyrand.* The French minister, in a

* LETTER FROM MR. SECRETARY FOX TO M. TALLEYRAND.

(TRANSLATION.)

“Downing-Street, 20th February, 1806.

“SIR,

“I think it my duty as an honest man to communicate to you, as soon as possible, a very extraordinary circumstance which is come to my knowledge. The shortest way will be to relate to you the fact simply as it happened.

“A few days ago, a person informed me, that he was just arrived at Gravesend without a passport, requesting me at the same time to send him one, as he had very lately left Paris, and had something to communicate to me which would give me satisfaction. I sent for him—he came to my house the following day—I received him alone in my closet; when, after some unimportant conversation, this villain had the audacity to tell me, that it was necessary for the tranquillity of all crowned heads to put to death the ruler of France; and that, for this purpose, a house had been hired at Passy, from which this detestable project could be carried into effect with certainty, and without risk. I did not perfectly understand if it was to be done by a common musket, or by firearms upon a new principle.

“I am not ashamed to confess to you, Sir, who know me, that my confusion was extreme, in thus finding myself led into a conversation with an avowed assassin; I instantly ordered him to leave me, giving, at the same time, orders to the police officer who accompanied him, to send him out of the kingdom as soon as possible. After having more attentively reflected upon what I had done, I saw my error in having suffered him to depart without previously having informed you of the circumstances, and I ordered him to be detained.

“It is probable that all this is unfounded, and that the wretch had nothing more in view than to make himself of consequence, by promising, what, according to his ideas, would afford me satisfaction. At all events, I thought it right to acquaint you with what had happened, before I sent him away. Our laws do not permit us to detain him long; but he shall not be sent away till after you shall have had full time to take precautions against his attempts, supposing him still to entertain bad designs; and when he goes, I shall take care to have him landed at a sea-port as remote as possible from France. He calls himself here Guillet de la Gevilliere, but I think it is a false name which he has assumed. At his first entrance, I did him the honour to believe him to be a spy.

“I have the honour to be,

“With the most perfect attachment, Sir,

“Your most obedient servant,

(Signed)

“C. J. FOX.”

LETTER FROM M. TALLEYRAND TO MR. SECRETARY FOX.

(TRANSLATION.)

“Paris, 5th March, 1806.

“SIR,

“I have laid your excellency’s letter before his majesty. His first words, after having read it, were, “I recognize here the principles of honour and virtue, by which Mr. Fox has ever been actuated. Thank him on my part.” I will not allow myself, Sir, to add any thing to the expressions of his imperial and royal majesty. I only request you to accept the assurances of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed)

“CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.”

respectful reply to this letter, took occasion to introduce, unofficially, an extract from the emperor's speech to the legislative body, expressive of his wish for peace with England, and his readiness to negotiate, without a moment's delay, agreeably to the treaty of Amiens.

Mr. Fox considered this communication as a distinct overture, and proceeded to answer it in that frank and direct style, which is the characteristic of all his public despatches. He objected to the uncertainty of the basis of Amiens; the variety of modes in which it had been interpreted; and the delay, which the explanations on the meaning of it would unavoidably occasion, even if no other objection should exist. "The true basis of such a negotiation," he observed, "between two great powers, equally despising every idea of chicanery, would be the reciprocal recognition of the following principle; viz. that the object of both parties should be a peace, honourable for both, and for their respective allies; and at the same time, of a nature to secure, as far as in their power, the future tranquillity of Europe."* He then proceeded to state the impossibility of treating, much less of concluding any treaty, unless in concert with Russia, but suggested the practicability of some previous discussion of the principal points, and some provisional arrangements, while they were waiting for the actual intervention of that power.

A correspondence of some length ensued, in which, as M. Talleyrand observed, there is a character of openness and precision, that had not hitherto been seen in the communications between the two courts. The great difficulty consisted in the admission of Russia into the negotiation. M. Talleyrand endeavoured with much ingenuity to represent that power as interposing its authority between two nations fully competent to adjust their own differences, but Mr. Fox insisted on her being a party in the question as an ally of Great Britain, whose interests were inseparably connected with her own. To bring the discussion to a point, Mr. Fox stated explicitly, that his majesty was willing to negotiate conjointly with Russia, but would not consent to negotiate separately. To this proposal M. Talleyrand re-urged the former objections, and the first overture may be said to have failed in consequence of the determination of England not to negotiate separately, and the unwillingness of France to admit the intervention of Russia.

Early in the month of June, Lord Yarmouth, son of the Marquis of Hertford, who had been among the detained in France, arrived in London, and communicated the substance

* Mr. Fox's Despatch, dated March 26, 1806.

of a conversation with M. Talleyrand, which had passed at the desire of that minister, for the purpose of conveying, through a secret and confidential channel, the sentiments and views of France, and the outlines of the terms on which peace might be restored between the two countries. The terms sketched out in the conversation seemed so favourable that the English cabinet lost no time in conveying to M. Talleyrand their disposition to commence a negociation on the basis contained in them.

As the unwillingness of France to adhere to her original offers, not only occasioned the first departure from that spirit of conciliation, in which the former correspondence had been conducted, but was the real cause of the ultimate failure of the negociation, the substance of those overtures necessarily forms the most important part of the whole transaction.

It appears that three specific offers were held out as inducements to Great Britain to treat; viz. the restoration of Hanover, the possession of Sicily, as a consequence of the principle of the *uti possidetis*—the state of actual possession—and a facility in the arrangement of the form of treating, which, without establishing a congress, or recognizing the claim of a joint negociation, would not impair the advantages which Great Britain and Russia might derive from their close connection and alliance.

M. Talleyrand, in the first interview with Lord Yarmouth, after his return to Paris, not only departed entirely from his clear and explicit offer of Sicily, but indulged himself in vain allusions to further demands, and in peremptory representations of the necessity of negotiating with some persons duly authorised and empowered to treat. This first deviation from the original overtures was received by the British ministry as the omen of the failure of negociation. And, from that period, Mr. Fox is said to have despaired of its successful issue.

The English cabinet considered this intimation as a departure from the principles and basis of the negociation, which had been held out to them as inducements to treat, and as an indication of the little reliance that could be placed in the language or sincerity of the French negociators. The instructions, therefore, to Lord Yarmouth, were distinct and peremptory. He was directed to insist generally on the recurrence to the original overtures, and to make the readmission of Sicily as the *sine qua non* of the production of his full powers, which, "to avoid all pretence of cavil," were conveyed to him without delay. In the mean while the Russian plenipotentiary, M. D'Oubril, who had arrived in Paris on the 10th

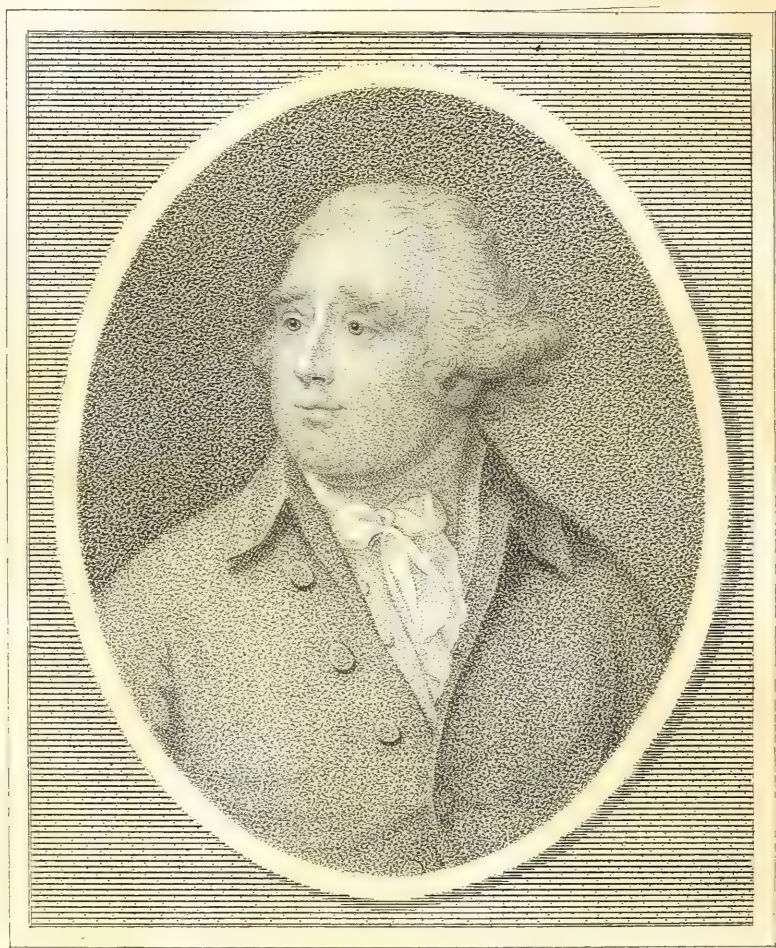
of July, had signed a separate peace with the French government. In this posture of affairs, Lord Lauderdale, a nobleman whose discernment and talents eminently qualified him for the task, and whose uniform disposition to a pacific system of policy was a strong earnest of the sincerity of the British cabinet in their endeavours to obtain peace, was despatched to Paris. Nor were these the only recommendations of his lordship. The health of Mr. Fox began at this period to decline, and the nomination of his personal friend, and tried political adherent, was a pledge that the cabinet continued to promote his views, and to consult the spirit of his policy.—The first endeavour of Lord Lauderdale, on his arrival at Paris, was to bring back the French government to the basis of the *uti possidetis*, and to the application of that principle to the island of Sicily. Lord Yarmouth, after having for that purpose concurred with his colleague, in representing formally and officially the substance and tendency of M. Talleyrand's original overtures, left the subsequent part of the negotiation exclusively in his hands. The French negotiators, (for M. Champagny, minister of the interior, was soon appointed joint plenipotentiary with General Clarke,) never actually admitted the basis of the *uti possidetis*, after the arrival of Lord Lauderdale, and constantly evaded the acknowledgment of having in the first instance made that proposal.—They contrived however, under various pretences, and in one instance by a delay in the passports, for a messenger, to detain Lord Lauderdale at Paris, till it became the policy of Great Britain, as well as France, to await the decision of the court of St. Petersburg, on the treaty which M. D'Oubril had carried thither for ratification.

On the 3d of September, a courier brought the intelligence to Paris, that the Emperor of Russia had refused to ratify M. D'Oubril's treaty, and M. Talleyrand, with great apparent frankness, informed the British negotiator of this piece of intelligence, the day after its arrival in Paris, and assured him that France was now prepared to make peace with England on more favourable terms than she otherwise would have been disposed to admit; but, as it was soon obvious, that the abandonment of Russia was to be the price of more favourable terms, so ostentatiously announced to Great Britain, the honourable determination of our court not to listen to any such projects, prevented any precise detail of the concessions France was willing to make for the attainment of her object. Mr. Fox was now unable to discharge the duties of his office, and the expectations of bringing the negotiations to a favourable issue were daily diminished.

In the mean while, Bonaparte had left Paris for the army on the Rhine, and one of the plenipotentiaries (General Clarke,) as well as M. Talleyrand, accompanied him on his journey. M. Champagny, who remained to conduct the negotiation, was neither authorised to relinquish the claims of Joseph upon Sicily, nor to acquiesce in such an arrangement as would have satisfied the court of St. Petersburg. The negotiation was therefore at an end, and Lord Lauderdale peremptorily insisted on his passports.

The obvious policy of France, when she despaired of any separate peace with Great Britain, was to induce her to admit in the project of a treaty, such terms as she foresaw would alienate the affections, and shake the confidence, of her ally the Emperor of Russia. The honourable determination of our cabinet, and the firm, but temperate conduct of our negotiator, defeated this design, and his earnest and peremptory demand of passports was at length granted, though they were accompanied with a note, evidently composed under the immediate direction of Bonaparte. This paper insinuates that the principles of Mr. Fox had been abandoned by his colleagues and successors; that a departure from the basis laid down by him had thrown the first obstacle in the way of pacification, and that to the loss of that great man alone was to be ascribed the further continuance of the calamities of war. To these charges, Lord Lauderdale delivered a spirited, manly, and convincing reply. Indeed no impartial person can peruse the early part of the negotiation, without being persuaded, that if the French had conducted themselves towards Mr. Fox, as they did towards his successors, the result must have been precisely the same. Whether, if the life of Mr. Fox had been fortunately preserved, confidence in that great character, reliance on the stability and permanence of his power at home, and apprehension of the authority of his name throughout Europe, and in France in particular, might not have induced Bonaparte to relax in his pretensions, and to revert to the counsels of moderation, which seem to have dictated M. Talleyrand's first correspondence, is mere matter of speculation.

The animosity, so studiously excited at the commencement of the war, was by no means extinguished in this country; and an incident soon occurred, which served to shew that motives still more inexcusable contributed to the general sentiment in favour of a rupture of the negotiation. Though the grounds upon which the discussion had broken off were unknown, the intelligence of Lord Lauderdale's departure from Paris was received at the great commercial resort, in the city of Lon-



Adm. &c.

The Rt. Hon^{ble} C. J. Fox.

don,* with bursts of approbation ; and shouts of applause, at the prospect of the continuance of the war, served to shew with how much indifference the calamities of the world can be contemplated, when they serve to administer to the gratification of a spirit of commercial cupidity.

CHAPTER IX.

BRITISH HISTORY: *Last Sickness and Death of Mr. Fox—Memoir—New Ministerial Arrangements—Dissolution of Parliament—NAVAL CAMPAIGN OF 1806: Annihilation of the French Squadron under Admiral Le Seigne, by the Fleet under the command of Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth—Dispersion and Destruction of Admiral Villaurmez's Squadron by a tempest—Capture of the Marengo and Belle Poule, by the Squadron under Sir J. B. Warren—Gallant Achievements by the West India Fleet—Capture of Four French Frigates by Sir Samuel Hood—Surrender of the Cape of Good Hope to the English Troops, under Sir David Baird—Unauthorized Expedition against South America—Surrender of Buenos Ayres to the English—Re-conquest of that Capital—Insurrection against the Emperor of Hayti, violent Death of Dessalines, and Appointment of Christophe as his Successor—Differences between Great Britain and the United States of America—The Points stated and discussed.*

THE accession of Mr. Fox to power, whatever hopes it might excite in a political party, or in the great body of the nation, was a circumstance pregnant to himself with inconvenience and danger. In a life of retirement, which, comparatively speaking at least, he might be said to enjoy, before his summons to power by the death of his political rival, the consequences of his youthful eccentricities were capable of being palliated by cautious attention and remedial applications. But on his advance to office, the perplexities of intrigue, the collision of claims, the chagrin of submitting to arrangements which he most desired to preclude, but which it seemed requisite to adopt, the prolonged contest in parliament, the frequent summonses to council, and even the very convivialities with which it was thought expedient to celebrate and cement a new administration, were but ill calculated for the preservation of that health, which was now, more than ever, desirable ; but seemed also more than ever in danger. In a few months symptoms appeared of an alarming nature, and it was strongly apprehended that Mr. Fox laboured under an incipient dropsy. The business of the house of commons he was, in consequence of his impaired health, obliged to abandon ; but with this deduction from his harassing employments, the remainder

* Lloyd's Coffee-House.

pressed too heavily upon him ; and whatever chance might have been afforded by a total abstinence from public business, and a recurrence to his rural retirement and regularity, this chance was not afforded. It was not long before the most decided indications of dropsy appeared, in consequence of which all hope of continued life was founded upon a long succession of operations, which, in comparatively vigorous subjects, have sometimes preserved the springs of life for a series of years, but which a broken constitution has seldom, if ever, been capable of sustaining. The operation of tapping was several times performed on Mr. Fox, producing that temporary relief which it seldom fails to effect : but the disease was too formidable for effectual resistance, and, in a short time, even for mitigation. After a series of increasing languors, amidst which the fondness of affection would seem to perceive foundations for hope, which medical skill could never really admit ; this great man closed his connection with all mortal scenes, at Chiswick, the seat of the Duke of Devonshire, on the 13th of September, in the 59th year of his age. The regret occasioned by this event was evinced by the general feeling at the reception of the intelligence, notwithstanding it had been so long expected, and by that procession which some time after took place on the solemn interment. The funeral was performed at private expense, but was attended nevertheless by the most distinguished nobility, vast numbers of the house of commons, many dignitaries of the church, men of genius and talents from all quarters, a numerous body of the electors of Westminster, and gentlemen deputed from distant parts of the country, in testimony of their respect for the character of the deceased, and an immense assemblage of the general population of the metropolis. One general sentiment of grief appeared to overwhelm all the distinctions of party politics, and the day that consigned Fox to the grave, was consecrated from all profane and factious asperity, to deplore the loss of a man, whose genius, acquirements, and virtues, did honour to the nation and to the age. The private character of this great man appears to have abounded in all those qualities which can conciliate affection and esteem. The independence of his mind was totally unmingled with any portion of that surly asperity with which it is too frequently connected ; and while it excited respect, it did not impair attachment. The frankness of his manners, the generosity of his feelings, which, agreeably to the testimony of one who knew him well, were unalloyed by the smallest particle of gall ; the elevation of his principles ; and that self-oblivion, which he displayed in circumstances, where personal interest, in common minds, appears to absorb

every other sentiment; procured for him in return, a degree of regard, which perhaps was scarcely ever extended to any human individual, as he appears to have been excelled by no one in the tenderness of his affections, the sublimity of his views, and the comprehension and sagacity of his understanding.*

On the death of Mr. Fox, Lord Grenville, on whom the duty of suggesting the new ministerial arrangements naturally

* THE RIGHT HON CHARLES JAMES FOX, born the 13th of January, 1749, was the second son of Henry Lord Holland, by the sister of the Duke of Richmond, and to the accidental favours of high rank, and of titled relatives, he added the more solid advantages of extraordinary natural genius, and strong powers of mind. After a short initiation at Westminster school, he was removed to Eton, and from Eton he removed to Oxford, where he is said to have studied more than ten hours a day, during the whole time. The uniformity of a college life did not long agree with the ardour of his mind, and after some time spent at the university, he set out on the usual tour of Europe. Though he indulged freely in the dissipations over which his rank and fortune gave him the command, yet he did not fail to acquire that intimate knowledge of the world, and of human nature, which fitted him for the most exalted rank in the state. An unfortunate attachment to the gaming table, which can never be passed over in silence, nor spoken of without becoming censure, was the principal error of Mr. Fox's youth; and before he was eighteen years of age he had lavished away large sums of money, and contracted very heavy debts. His father, being apprised of these excesses, recalled his favourite son. At nineteen years of age, he was elected a member of parliament for Midhurst, and his first speech was in favour of ministers, and against Mr. Wilkes and the Middlesex election. After sharing the favours of the minister as a lord of the admiralty, and afterwards as a lord of the treasury, he was dismissed from office by the following laconic epistle from the premier:—

“SIR—His majesty has thought proper to order a new commission of treasury to be made out, in which I do not see your name.

(Signed)

“NORTH.”

At the general election in 1780, the family borough of Midhurst having fallen into different hands, Mr. Fox, conscious of his own powers, became a candidate for the city of Westminster, in which, after a violent contest, he succeeded, though opposed by the formidable interest of the Newcastle family, and by the whole influence of the crown. Being now the representative of a great city, he appeared in parliament in a more dignified capacity, and acquired a considerable increase of consequence to his political character. During the American war he was a regular, consistent, and active antagonist of the ministry, and the powerful and frequent application of his superior talents to popular purposes, obtained him the title of “The man of the people.” On the removal of Lord North he was raised to a seat in the cabinet as secretary of state. The death of the Marquis of Rockingham soon after dissolved the new ministry, and Mr. Fox, after some time opposing the measures of Lord Shelburne, returned to power by his well known coalition with Lord North. This event is regarded as a stigma in the political life of Fox, who in the ardour of his zeal, had often declared, that he would not trust himself in the same room with Lord North, but would employ all his powers to bring him to the scaffold for the flagitiousness of his public crimes. An union bottomed in ambition, and deprecated by every

devolved, recommended to his majesty the appointment of Lord Howick to the foreign office, in the situation of his de-

class of his majesty's subjects, could not long be sustained. The memorable India bill proved fatal to the coalition ministry, and produced their downfall. Mr. Fox had ever shewn himself a friend to peace, and on two occasions his powerful eloquence proved of the last importance to the nation ; first, by preventing an unprofitable war with Russia, relative to the possession of Oczakow ; and secondly, by arresting an armament against Spain, which had no higher object than a participation in the fur trade of Nootka Sound. On the regency question during the king's illness, in 1788, Mr. Fox insisted upon the right of the prince to the regency, while his great political rival took the constitutional ground ; but the restoration of the sovereign's health settled the violent and protracted discussions of this momentous question.

No sooner had the French nation evinced a sincere desire to shake off the yoke of absolute power, than Mr. Fox hailed the auspicious dawn of rising liberty. At first, the two great rival chiefs, who agreed in nothing else, united cordially in this cause, and while one presaged a long and uninterrupted peace, the extinction of the national debt, and the prosperity of the British empire ; the other gloried in beholding a mighty people rescued from the most oppressive servitude, and augured the happiest results in favour of the human race. Soon they became opposed to each other, and the most serious conflicts were the result of their discussions. Mr. Fox experienced the dereliction of many of his associates, and among others of Mr. Burke, the man from whose lips he had imbibed the principles of freedom. War was commenced ; a war, to which Mr. Fox, in every stage of its progress, gave his decided negative ; but Mr. Pitt, who was supposed at first to engage in the contest with reluctance, left no means untried to secure the support of parliament. Titles, offices, and honours, were distributed with no sparing hand ; the opposition benches were nearly deserted, and Mr. Fox was left, almost alone, to contend with a host of foes. Finding his efforts without effect, he determined to secede from parliament, and evinced a wish to retire altogether from public life ; but the entreaties of his friends, and the occurrence of a new train of events, prevented the execution of that design. In 1803, he returned to his parliamentary duty, and the death of his great political rival, in the beginning of 1806, brought him, after an interval of two and twenty years, into his former office of secretary of state for foreign affairs. Aware that he had but a short space before him, he declared that he should die contented, if he could but previously obtain a peace—an honourable peace, for Britain ; remove all legal disabilities arising out of religion, in order to unite more closely the interests of Ireland with those of England ; and lastly, obtain a complete abolition of the slave trade. Scarcely had he commenced his career of public and official business, before the powers of his body sunk exhausted by the too vigorous exertion of his mind ; and the immense pressure of public concerns, broke down a constitution which had previously indicated symptoms of decay, before the mighty purposes revolving in his breast could be matured, and almost before any of his wise and salutary plans could be realized.

“ To an extraordinary natural capacity, improved and embellished by liberal education ; and to a quickness of apprehension, which instantly seized every object that was presented to it, this great man added a memory richly stored with science and literature, and well fraught with historical and political knowledge. He was profoundly versed in the history and constitution of his country. He was well acquainted with the history, the strength, the policy, the separate and relative interests

parted friend; Mr. Grenville to be first lord of the admiralty, in the place of Lord Howick; Mr. Tierney to be president of the board of control, in the place of Mr. Grenville, who had succeeded to that office, with a seat in the cabinet, on the appointment of Lord Minto to the government of Bengal; Lord Sidmouth to succeed to the presidency of the council, from which Earl Fitzwilliam, on account of bad health, was desirous to withdraw; and Lord Holland to succeed Lord Sidmouth, as lord privy seal. In all these arrangements his majesty was graciously pleased to acquiesce; and it is worthy of observation, that the only new member brought into the cabinet was Lord Holland, the nephew of Mr. Fox.

No sooner were these changes completed, than his majesty, conceiving that an increased portion of energy might be procured to the public councils and measures, by resorting to the elective power of the people, determined to dissolve the existing parliament. The returns to the new parliament were such as to add greatly to the weight and influence of the friends

and views of those states which once constituted what has not been improperly called the great republic of Europe. In a word, he was ignorant of nothing which was necessary to constitute the consummate statesman." As a public speaker, his manner was not graceful, but it was peculiarly animated and impressive. "His merit as a parliamentary debater, did not consist in the length, variety, or roundness of his periods; but in the truth and vigour of his conceptions; in the depth and extent of his information, in the retentive powers of his memory; in the faculty of spreading out his matter so clearly to the grasp of his own mind, as to render it impossible that he should ever fail in the utmost clearness and distinctness to others; and in the exuberant fertility of his invention, which spontaneously brought forth his ideas at the moment, in every possible shape by which the understanding might sit in the most accurate judgment upon them"* His eloquence was plain, nervous, energetic, and vehement: it simplified what was complicated, it unravelled what was entangled; it cast light on what was obscure, and through the understanding it forced its way to the heart. And to crown all, this powerful eloquence was uniformly exerted in the cause of liberty and justice; in defence of the oppressed and persecuted; and in vindicating the rights, the freedom, and the happiness of mankind. If, since the commencement of the Christian æra, peace ever had a steady, a disinterested advocate, it was in CHARLES JAMES FOX. Peace was his constant aim, his ardent hope, his living counsel, and his dying prayer. Resignation to providence was a marked feature in the character of Mr. Fox. His departure out of this life was unruffled by remorse; he had sacrificed every thing that was personal to his country's good; and his dying moments were blessed with the reflection that his last effort had been conformable to the divine religion he professed—to give peace to the world. Cheered by the approving smiles of heaven, he sunk into the arms of death, and "I die happy,"† was one of the last sentences that fell from the lips of the expiring patriot.

* Lord Erskine's Letter to the Editor of the Speeches of Mr. Fox.

† Memoirs of the latter years of Mr. Fox, by J. B. Trotter, his Private Secretary.

of administration in the house of commons. The whig party, which had been driven out of the representation in Yorkshire, in 1784, recovered one of the seats for that great and independent county, by the return of Walter Fawkes, Esq. In Norfolk, after a hard fought contest, both the members returned were of that party. Mr. Roscoe, distinguished as an author for his elegant literature, and as a man for his knowledge of business and respectability of character, came in for Liverpool, notwithstanding his direct avowal against the slave trade; or rather in consequence of that avowal, "No slavery," being the inscription on his banners. But on the other hand, Mr. Tierney, one of the king's ministers, was rejected by the electors of Southwark, and a member in the ranks of opposition was returned for the city of Norwich.

During the greater part of the present year, Ireland enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity, under the mild and conciliatory government of the Duke of Bedford; but towards its close, disturbances broke out in the north, occasioned by a banditti, who, assuming the name of "Thrashers," committed every species of crime and outrage, under the cover of night. Strong applications were made to the castle to quell these riotous proceedings by the insurrection law, the usual remedy in Ireland on such occasions; but the Duke of Bedford refused to resort to so violent a remedy, and by a proper use of the ordinary and regular authority of government, he succeeded effectually in repressing and putting a stop to these alarming excesses.

The British navy maintained during the present year its accustomed superiority. The shattered remains of the combined fleets of France and Spain were closely blockaded by Lord Collingwood, off Cadiz. Admiral Russel was at the same time employed in watching the Dutch ports; and fleets of British cruisers were exercising the most indefatigable vigilance and activity off the port of Brest. In the Downs the light squadrons employed on that station kept a scrutinizing eye over the port of Boulogne, from which the flotilla of the enemy did not venture to move beyond the batteries, under a well-founded apprehension of inevitable destruction. From the North Sea to the Straits of Gibraltar, the enemy were blockaded in their harbours, and had the mortification to see the British squadrons riding before them in perpetual triumph. With all the vigilance which it was possible to exercise in prosecuting the system of blockade, opportunities would inevitably occur, of which the enemy availed themselves, for sending out their remaining vessels of war, for the succour of their colonies, and the annoyance of the British trade. At

the close of the preceding year, Admiral Villaumez, accompanied by Jerome Bonaparte, the brother of the French Emperor, availed himself of one of these opportunities to escape from port with eleven sail of the line, and a number of frigates. After continuing in company for ten days, the fleet separated into two different squadrons, one of which, consisting of five ships of the line, two frigates, and a corvette, under the command of Admiral Le Seigle, steered for St. Domingo, and having arrived at that port, disembarked a body of troops, and a supply of ammunition for the use of the colony. On the 6th of February, Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, with a British fleet under his command, consisting of seven ships of the line, and four frigates, discovered the French squadron to windward of Ocoa bay. The enemy, sensible of his inferiority, endeavoured to effect his escape, but by the judicious manœuvres of the British admiral, this intention was frustrated. The French, notwithstanding their inferior strength, fought with great gallantry; but after an engagement of two hours, Admiral Le Seigle ran his ship, the Imperiale, on shore, and was followed by the captain of the Diomede. The other three ships of the line struck to his majesty's arms, and were immediately taken possession of by the conquerors, but the smaller vessels had sufficient good fortune to effect their escape.* The Imperiale and the Diomede were after the en-

* BRITISH LINE.

	<i>Guns.</i>
Superb, Vice-admiral Duckworth, - - - - -	74
Northumberland, Rear-admiral Cochrane, - - - - -	74
Spencer, - - - - -	74
Agamemnon, - - - - -	64
Canopus, Rear-admiral Louis, - - - - -	84
Donegal, - - - - -	74
Atlas, - - - - -	74
	<hr/>
	518

FRIGATES:—Acasta, Magicienne, Kingfisher, and Epervier.

FRENCH LINE.

	<i>Guns.</i>
L'Imperiale, Admiral Le Seigle, - - - - -	120 (<i>destroyed</i>)
L'Alexandre, Captain Garreau, - - - - -	84 (<i>taken</i>)
Le Diomede, ——— Henry, - - - - -	84 (<i>destroyed</i>)
Le Brave, ——— Conde, - - - - -	74 (<i>taken</i>)
Le Jupiter, ——— Laignel, - - - - -	74 (<i>taken</i>)
	<hr/>
	436

FRIGATES.—La Felicite, La Comete. } (*escaped*)
 CORVETTE La Diligence.

gement both destroyed by the British fleet; and the complete annihilation of this formidable force served "to add another sprig of laurel to our naval history,"* and procured for Admiral Duckworth, his officers and crews, the unanimous thanks of both houses of parliament.

The other squadron of Villaumez, amounting to six sail of the line, with three frigates, was originally destined for the Cape of Good Hope, but having been informed of the capture of that settlement by the English, they steered first to the coast of Brazil, and afterwards to the West Indies. In the month of June, Admiral Cochrane, the English admiral upon the windward station, who had at that time only four sail of the line and three frigates, discovered the enemy near Barbadoes, but contented himself with watching his motions, not considering it safe to hazard an engagement with such a disparity of force. Nor was it necessary; for the ruin of this hostile fleet was soon after accomplished by the fury of the elements. A gale of wind, one of the most tremendous ever experienced, separated the ships of the enemy, on the 18th of August, and the French admiral reached the Havannah with extreme difficulty. The *Impetueux* made for the coast of North America, and was followed into the Chesapeake by his majesty's ships the *Bellisle* and *Bellona*, where she was run ashore, and burnt by the crew of the *Melampus*. Of the remaining vessels, two were eventually destroyed by the English on the same coast; but the *Castor*, which was supposed to have foundered at sea, reached the port of Brest in the middle of October. Prince Jerome, whose appearance in a British port was anticipated with confidence, with the good fortune which appears characteristic to the voyages of his family, eluded the vigilance of his pursuers, and at length succeeded in gaining a French harbour.

The French admiral Linois had long carried on a predatory warfare in the Indian seas, unmolested and undismayed. His successes were a theme of exultation to the enemy, and excited feelings of depression and apprehension in this country, such as, in similar circumstances, will ever occur in a mercantile community. The isle of France had been the grand depot of the plunder he had collected, whence, in different bottoms it had been transferred to France. Thither the admiral's ship, the *Marengo*, of eighty guns, and seven hundred and forty-four men; and the *Belle Poule*, of forty eighteen-pounders, and three hundred and twenty men; were this year bending their course, having completed their levies on Bri-

* Sir J. T. Duckworth's Despatches, dated at Sea, Feb. 7th, 1806.

tish property, and looking forward to the splendid enjoyment of the produce of their toil. These hopes, however were fatally intercepted by Sir J. B. Warren, with one of the squadrons which had been despatched in pursuit of Jerome Bonaparte. On the morning of the 13th of March, at day-light, the French ships were seen to windward, when, after a running fight of about three hours, the *Marengo* was obliged to strike to the British flag, and her example was speedily followed by the *Belle Poule*. This event, so mortifying to the hopes of the French admiral, diffused general satisfaction throughout Great Britain, and the catastrophe of the French expedition to the east afforded some atonement for the depredations committed by Admiral Linois upon British commerce.

An action which requires honourable mention in the catalogue of illustrious exertions by sea, was performed by a part of the Jamaica fleet. Eleven of these merchant vessels being on their passage, and destitute of convoy, were attacked by a French privateer, which they twice beat off. Having received intelligence soon after, that three other privateers were in pursuit of them, they provided for their arrival by constituting Captain M'Farlan, the master of one of the ships, their commodore, and by sending detachments of men to enable him to perform the duties of his new appointment with effect. The privateers soon after arrived, but after an hour's warm fighting, they thought proper to retire from the conflict, leaving these heroic traders to pursue their voyage without further molestation.

Five large frigates and two corvettes, with troops on board, for the West Indies, having escaped from Rocheford, on the 24th of September, were on the following day met at sea by a British squadron under Commodore Sir Samuel Hood, and after a running fight of several hours, four of the five frigates were compelled to strike. The loss of the English in this action, amounted to only nine killed and thirty-two wounded, but their gallant commander unfortunately received a severe wound in the right arm, which rendered the amputation of the limb necessary.

But vain would be the attempt to enumerate all the instances of courage, enterprise, and skill, which distinguished the British navy during the present year. The capture of the *Pomona* frigate on the coast of Cuba, though defended by a strong castle and a formidable line of gun-boats, all of which were destroyed by two English frigates, the *Anson* and the *Arethusa*; the action between the French frigate, the *Salamander*, of forty-four guns, supported by batteries and troops, provided with musketry and field-pieces on the shore, and the

English ship the *Constance*, of twenty-four guns, assisted by a sloop of war and a gun-brig, in which both vessels were stranded and lost, though not till after the Frenchman had been compelled to strike his colours to the English; and the boldness and intrepidity displayed in numerous actions, in which vessels were cut out from under the protection of batteries, or in other circumstances unfavourable for attack, reflect the highest honour on those who succeeded in such hazardous enterprises, and add glory, if possible, to the achievements of the British navy.

An expedition to the Cape of Good Hope had sailed from England in the month of August, 1805, at the moment when hostilities were breaking out on the continent, and when, from the plan of operation concerted between the British government and its allies, it might have been expected that the whole of our disposable force would have been employed in some continental operation. The force destined for this conquest consisted of about five thousand land troops, under Sir David Baird, with a provisional naval force commanded by Sir Home Popham. Having touched at San Salvador for refreshment, the expedition sailed from that place on the 26th of November, and reached Table Bay on the 4th of January. After a general survey of the shore, it was found impossible to land the troops nearer to Cape Town than Saldanha and Lospard's Bay. The debarkation was conducted with perfect order, under the protection of the fleet, and although a few sharp-shooters appeared on the heights and presented some annoyance to the troops, only two persons were wounded by their fire, and the landing would have been effected without any other loss, had not one of the boats, in the ardour of the crew's zeal to be first on shore, upset, by which accident thirty-five soldiers, rank and file, were drowned. On the morning of the 8th, the army, consisting of the 25th, 59th, 71st, 72d, 83d, and 93d, regiments, was formed into two brigades, with two howitzers, and six light field-pieces, and moved forwards on the road towards Cape Town. Having ascended the summit of the Blaubeerg, or Blue Mountains, and dislodged the enemy's light troops, their main body, under the command of Lieutenant General Janssens, was discovered, drawn up in two lines, and in motion, to anticipate the approach of the British troops. The enemy's force was estimated at about five thousand men, principally cavalry, with twenty-three pieces of cannon. Perceiving it was their intention to turn the right flank of the British army, General Sir David Baird formed his force into two columns, the second brigade, under Brigadier-general Ferguson, keeping the road, while the first

struck to the right and took the defile of the mountains. Having effected these operations, the first line was formed with equal celerity and order, and the left wing, composed of the Highland brigade, was thrown forward, and advanced with the steadiest step, under a heavy fire of round shot, grape and musketry. Nothing could surpass or resist the determined bravery of the British troops, headed by their gallant leader, General Ferguson ; and the number of the enemy, who covered the plain, served only to augment their ardour and confirm their discipline. For some time they received the British force with firmness, and maintained their position without dismay, but in the moment of charging, the valour of the British troops bore down all opposition, and forced the Batavians to a precipitate retreat.

The first brigade, composed of the 24th, 59th, and 83d regiments, and commanded in the absence of Brigadier-general Beresford, by Lieutenant Colonel Baird, was unavoidably precluded, by its situation, from any considerable participation in the triumph of the British arms, though the flank companies of the 24th had an opportunity of distinguishing themselves, in dislodging a number of horse and riflemen from the heights on the right flank. It is scarcely possible to convey an adequate idea of the obstacles which opposed the advance and retarded the success of our army. A deep, heavy, and hard land, covered with shrubs, and scarcely pervious to light bodies of infantry ; and above all, the total privation of water, under the effects of a burning sun, had nearly exhausted the troops in the moment of victory, and it was with the utmost difficulty that they were enabled to reach the Reit Valley, where they took up their position for the night. A considerable portion of the provisions and necessaries, with which the army were supplied at their debarkation, was lost during the action, and they occupied their ground under an apprehension that even the great exertions of Sir Home Popham and the navy could not relieve them from starvation. In this engagement, so brilliant to the British arms, the loss of the vanquished exceeded seven hundred killed and wounded, while the loss of the victors amounted only to fifteen killed and one hundred and ninety-seven wounded and missing.*

On the 9th, the army under General Baird reached the Salt River, where they proposed to encamp, but a flag of truce having arrived from the commandant of the garrison of Cape Town, with offers to capitulate, the articles were agreed upon, and the following day the town was surrendered to the Bri-

* Sir David Baird's Despatches, dated Cape Town, January 12, 1806.

tish army. After the battle of the 8th, the governor-general, Janssens, retired with a body of forces to Hottentots Holland's Kloof, a pass leading to the district of Zwellendam, and seemed disposed to maintain himself in the interior. But General Beresford having been sent against him, he was prevailed upon to surrender, on terms by which the conquest of the colony was completed, and its internal tranquillity secured. By the articles of capitulation signed with General Beresford on the 18th of January, it was agreed, that the whole of the settlement of the Cape of Good Hope, with all its dependencies, and the rights and privileges held and exercised by the Batavian government, should be surrendered to his Britannic Majesty; and that in consideration of the gallant conduct of the army under General Janssens, they should be embarked, and sent straight to Holland, at the expense of the British government, and not considered prisoners of war.

Sir Home Popham, the naval commander employed against the Cape, had contributed materially to the expedition being undertaken, by the intelligence he had communicated to his majesty's government of the defenceless state of that important settlement, and of the probability that it would soon be reinforced from Europe. He had also, in common with other naval officers, been occasionally consulted by Mr. Pitt and Lord Melville about their designs on South America, and at their desire he had conferred with General Miranda, on that officer's views and projects in that quarter. The result of these communications had been his appointment to the command of the *Diadem*, of sixty-four guns, in December, 1804, for the purpose "of co-operating with General Miranda, to the extent of taking advantage of any of his proceedings, which might tend to secure to the British a position on the continent of South America."* But he had been afterwards given distinctly to understand that, from deference to Russia, all projects of that nature had been for the present abandoned; and when sent to reduce the Cape, no instruction, direct or implied, public or confidential, had been given to him, which could authorise his leaving that colony, and employing the force under his command in any service unconnected with its conquest or preservation. His mind, however, which had formerly been occupied about schemes of conquest in South America, was, sometime after the reduction of the Cape, again turned to such speculations, in consequence of information received of the weakness of the Spanish colonies on Rio Plata, and exaggerated reports of the disaffection of the peo-

* Lord Melville's Evidence in Sir H. Popham's Trial March, 9, 1807.

ple towards their government. He was so far influenced by these considerations, and by the prospect of public and private gain from the conquest of Buenos Ayres, that, forgetful of his duty as an officer, he determined on carrying off the whole of the naval force at the Cape, and attempting with it some exploit in the Rio Plata; and having persuaded Sir David Baird to acquiesce in his plans, he obtained from that officer a small body of troops under General Beresford, to co-operate in any enterprise he should attempt.

Thus assisted, he sailed from the Cape about the middle of April, leaving that settlement without an armed vessel to protect it from insult, and directed his course in the first place to St. Helena, where he had the address to procure from the governor a small reinforcement to his little army, which, after all, did not exceed one thousand six hundred men, including marines. With this very inadequate force for so great an enterprise, he steered for Rio Plata, and arrived at the mouth of that river in the beginning of June. It was now debated, whether an attack should be made on Buenos Ayres or Monte Video, and the former being preferred, the troops were removed from the line of battle ships into the transports and frigate that accompanied the expedition, in which, after surmounting with great skill and perseverance the difficulties of a most intricate navigation, they arrived before Buenos Ayres, on the 24th of June, and next day disembarked without resistance on Punta de Quilmes, about twelve miles from that city. A body of Spaniards, placed on a height, at two miles distance, witnessed the landing of the British army without opposing it, and General Beresford having marched against them on the following morning, they fled with precipitation at the first fire, leaving behind them their artillery. No other difficulty occurred after this success, except the passage of a river, which it was necessary to cross in the way to Buenos Ayres; but this being effected with the aid of rafts and boats, General Beresford entered the city on the 27th, the viceroy having previously abandoned it, and fled to Cordova, with the small body of troops under his command.

While the army was thus employed in the conquest of Buenos Ayres, the line of battle ships of the squadron made demonstrations before Monte Video and Maldonado, in order to alarm and occupy the garrisons of these places, in which, as it afterwards appeared, were stationed the regular troops of the colony, while the defence of Buenos Ayres, from its situation, supposed to be less liable to attack, had been committed to the militia. To this accident, and to the misconduct and timidity of the viceroy, who was quite inexperienced in mili-

tary affairs, the success of an expedition, undertaken, not more in defiance of the rules of discipline, than in opposition to the dictates of prudence, may in a great measure be attributed. In justice, however, to the British commanders, it must be added, that in the execution of their enterprise, they displayed great boldness and intrepidity, and that, after victory, they shewed a degree of forbearance and moderation to the vanquished. About 1,200,000 dollars of public money were found in the town, and sent to England ; besides which, public money, in quicksilver and jesuit's bark, to the value of near three millions of dollars, was seized for the benefit of the captors ; but, before it could be secured on board the ships, the place was re-taken by the enemy.

The capture of Buenos Ayres diffused through every part of the British empire the most extravagant joy, and delusive expectations. A circular manifesto from Sir Home Popham to the principal mercantile and manufacturing cities, announcing, and certainly not underrating the value of the market he had opened, spread widely and rapidly the most exaggerated notions of his conquest ; and led, as was naturally to be expected from so unusual and unprecedented an address, to many rash and improvident mercantile speculations, in which the adventurers had reason afterwards amply to lament their credulity. The delusion was universal, and allowing much for ignorance and want of reflection, incredibly and unaccountably great. It was forgotten, that Buenos Ayres, and other parts of South America, had been always supplied with English goods through Spanish or neutral bottoms ; and, though a direct trade, by affording our manufactures at a cheaper rate than a circuitous one, might increase the demand for them, it was not to be supposed that this could be in any proportion to the sanguine expectations and over speculations of the British merchants. Inexhaustible mines ; fertile, salubrious plains ; an innocent, unoffending population, cruelly oppressed by their former masters, and gratefully repaying with submission and obedience those that had rescued them from slavery ; were the false and flattering images that dazzled every eye, and banished sober and cool reflection from every bosom. It was not considered that our new acquisition was eighteen hundred miles distant from the mines of Potosi ; that the intermediate country was inhabited by a race, hardy and unsettled, expert in the management of their horses and spears, and as invincible in defensive war as the Arabs of the desert ; nor that Buenos Ayres itself owed its wealth and importance, not to its natural resources, derived from the fertile, but uncultivated country that surrounds it, but to its acciden-

tal and artificial pre-eminence, as the capital of an extensive government, and the emporium between the mother country and her more distant colonies.

When intelligence reached government of Sir Home Popham's unauthorised departure from the Cape, and meditated invasion of South America, orders were instantly despatched to recall him home, and put a stop to his expedition. These orders were too late to prevent his enterprise ; and when the news of his success arrived, the strong objections to his plan were drowned in the universal joy at the fortunate result of his operations. A conquest, which the government would not have made, it had not the resolution to abandon ; or possibly, deceived by the ease with which the victory had been gained, it gave in to the popular delusion, and supposed that South America required only to be attacked in order to be subdued.

Long before the system proper to be followed with Buenos Ayres came to be discussed in the British cabinet, that settlement was in the hands of the enemy. The Spaniards had been taken by surprise, and beaten by a handful of men, because attacked where they were unprepared for resistance ; but no sooner had they recovered from their panic, and discovered the smallness of the numbers of their opponents, than, ashamed of their defeat, they began to concert measures to expel their invaders. Emissaries from Buenos Ayres excited the country people to arms, and an insurrection was organized in the heart of the city, under the eye of the English commander-in-chief, which seems to have escaped his vigilance, till it had arrived at maturity, and was ripe for action. Liniers, a French colonel in the Spanish service, crossed the river in a fog, on the 4th of August, unobserved by the English cruisers, and landed at Conchas, above Buenos Ayres, bringing with him about one thousand men from Monte Video and Sacramento. Encouraged by this reinforcement, the armed levies from the country, which had been defeated by General Beresford in a sally, advanced again to the city, and summoned the castle to surrender. All the inhabitants of the town were now in arms, and the danger appeared so imminent, that the English had determined to evacuate the place, and retire to their ships ; but they were prevented by the state of the weather, and after a desperate action on the 12th, in the streets, and great square of the town, in which they were attacked with incredible fury, and severely annoyed by a destructive fire from the windows and balconies of the houses, they were compelled to lay down their arms. The terms on which they surrendered became afterwards the subject of dispute and recrimination between Generals Beresford and Liniers,

who acted as commander-in-chief of the Spaniards. Thus much only is certain, that, contrary to the articles of capitulation signed by Liniers, the English were detained prisoners of war, and marched up the country. The loss of the British army in the action of the 12th, amounted to one hundred and sixty-five killed, wounded, and missing, besides thirteen hundred made prisoners. Thus terminated the first expedition to Buenos Ayres, and such were the bitter fruits of an enterprise, undertaken without authority, and originating in a "breach of public duty," which, though alleviated by circumstances, was adjudged by a court-martial to be "highly censurable," and, for the general good of his majesty's service, deserving of a "severe reprimand."*

At the time when the city was taken, Sir Home Popham, the author of all these disasters, was riding in safety off the coast, but he continued to blockade the river with his squadron till the arrival of the troops from the Cape of Good Hope, in the month of October, enabled him to re-commence offensive operations. In renewing his efforts against South America, his first attempt was to make himself master of Monte Video, but finding it impossible for the ships to approach near enough to batter the walls, he was obliged to desist from the enterprise. On the 29th of October, a body of British troops was landed at Maldonado, under Colonel Vassal, and the Spaniards having been driven from that place, and from the isle of Gorriti, a sufficient space was gained for the encampment of the troops, and a tolerable safe anchorage procured for the ships. In this situation our army in South America remained at the end of the present year, receiving successive reinforcements from England and the Cape, and preparing for further, and still more disastrous enterprises.

While these events were taking place on the Spanish main, the negroes of St. Domingo rose against Dessalines, their chief, who, in imitation of Napoleon, had assumed the title of Emperor of Hayti, and having come upon him by surprise, put him to death—a catastrophe he had merited by the cruelty and injustice of his government, and provoked by the indulgence of a jealous and vindictive temper, against which no station or service afforded protection. His successor, Christophe, contented himself with the humbler title of chief of the government of Hayti, and in that capacity issued a proclamation, bearing date the 24th of October, 1806, opening to

* Sentence of the Court-martial for the Trial of Sir Home Popham, held March 11th, 1807.

neutral nations the commerce of his dominions on principles the most liberal and enlightened.

The United States of America continued to flourish under the pacific administration of Mr. Jefferson, and, protected by their neutrality, which in the midst of so many belligerent powers they were still able, though with some difficulty, to maintain, they extended their trade and navigation beyond all former example. In the year commencing on the 1st of October, 1805, and ending at the same period in 1806, their exports were valued at one hundred and one millions of dollars, of which forty-one millions were in native commodities, and the remainder in foreign goods re-exported. Their revenue, arising almost exclusively from the customs, which in 1805 had not exceeded thirteen millions, rose in 1806 to nearly fifteen millions.* The reduction of their public debt proceeded as rapidly as the conditions on which it had been contracted would permit, and at the close of the present year, the sum actually redeemed amounted to twenty-three millions of dollars, and was equal to more than two-thirds of what remained unpaid. The tranquillity of their Indian frontier was secured by the wise and just policy of the government towards the Indian tribes, whose esteem and confidence the republicans had gained by the unvarying rectitude of their conduct, in all their transactions with them, and by their unceasing attention to promote the happiness and welfare of their uncivilized neighbours.

But in the midst of all this prosperity, such is the chequered state of all human affairs, that even America was not without her evils and complaints. Differences had existed for a considerable time with Spain, arising out of the ill-defined boundaries of Louisiana, and the Spaniards had made inroads on the district of New Orleans, and the Mississippi, even in those parts that had been expressly and unequivocally ceded to the United States. Negotiations on these topics occupied the attention of the two governments for the remainder of the year, without arriving at any conclusion, and excited or kept alive that state of irritable feeling, which is ever the effect of long suspense, when interesting results are involved in the issue.

At the same time, the disputes of America with the English government had assumed an important character, and could not be viewed without alarm, particularly by those individuals whose interests were involved in the preservation of

* Message of the American President, dated Dec. 2, 1806.

peace between the two countries. The complaints of the United States against Great Britain involved three points :

First, The practice of impressing British seamen found on board of American merchant vessels on the high seas ;

Second, The violation of their rights as neutrals, by seizing and condemning their merchantmen, though engaged in what they considered a lawful commerce ;

And *Third*, The infringement of their maritime jurisdiction upon their own coasts. (56.)

The practice of impressing seamen on board American vessels, engaged in the peaceful pursuits of commerce, was, they contended, derogatory to the honour of their flag, inconsistent with their rights as an independent nation, and pregnant with outrages and abuses. It continually happened, as they asserted, that native Americans were impressed by our sea officers on pretence of their being Englishmen, and forced to serve in the English navy ; and such was the similarity of language and of external appearance between individuals of the two nations, that, with the purest intentions, these mistakes could not be avoided. That a practice, that necessarily led to such an intolerable abuse, however it might be justified in the abstract on the principles of public law, could not be endured by any independent state, unless from inability to resist the injury. It was, they held, the duty of the United States to protect their lawful trade from interruption and outrage, and to vindicate their citizens from compulsory services in the battles of a foreign power. They were ready to acquiesce in any measures that could be devised to prevent deserters from the British

(56.) Another and not less important point of controversy between the two countries, arose from the novel principles proclaimed by the British government in regard to blockades. The proclamation of the investment of an enemy's port was held by the latter to give notice of the fact to neutrals from the date on which it was issued, however distant the neutral might be, and consequently subjected to capture, not merely vessels attempting to enter, but such as might be found in any part of the ocean sailing for the blockaded port. This unjustifiable system, which was equally unwarranted by the law of nations and ruinous in its operation upon American commerce, was followed by another still more indefensible. The established law of war, which had been sanctioned by reason as well as precedent, required that to constitute a legal blockade there should be cruising before the enemy's port such a naval force as to render it dangerous for a neutral to attempt to enter. This salutary rule was now violated. By the mere effect of a proclamation, a long line of enemy's coast was declared to be in a state of blockade, and American vessels were captured and condemned on proof of their being bound to a port thus nominally blockaded. Against these measures the government of the United States remonstrated with energy and warmth, but without effect. The same injurious system of aggression was continued until the war of 1812, of which it was one of the leading causes.

navy from finding refuge in the American territory, or shelter on board American ships, but they could no longer permit the liberty of their citizens to depend on the interested or capricious sentence of a British officer.

To this it was answered on the part of Great Britain, that no power but her own could release her subjects from their duty of allegiance, and provided she infringed not the jurisdiction of other independent states, she had a right to enforce their services wherever she found them. That no state had such jurisdiction over its merchants' vessels upon the high seas, as to exclude a belligerent from searching them for contraband of war, or for the persons or property of enemies ; and if, in the exercise of that right, the belligerent should discover on board of a neutral vessel its subjects who had withdrawn from their lawful allegiance, upon what ground could the neutral refuse to surrender them ? It was further contended, that it was impossible to maintain, that the belligerent may lawfully seize what belongs to its enemy, without violating neutral rights, and yet not have the power to reclaim what is its own. And if the right to impress be clearly in favour of the belligerent, it was one too important to Great Britain, in her then situation, too essential to her safety in the war in which she was engaged, to be abandoned or relinquished for one instant, unless some unexceptionable plan could be devised, of attaining the same end, by means less violent and less liable to abuse. The difficulty of distinguishing between an Englishman and an American, though it might be a good reason for being cautious and reserved in the exercise of the right of impressing in neutral ships, formed, it was contended, no argument against the right itself.

With respect to the second ground of complaint, Great Britain had conceded to the Americans in the late war, permission to trade with the colonies of the enemy, for articles intended for their domestic consumption ; and in case no market was found in the United States for articles imported with that intention, permission had been given to them to re-export these articles to any port, in any part of the world, not invested by our blockading squadrons. But we had constantly refused them permission to trade directly between the colonies of the enemy and the mother country. " It is now distinctly understood," says Sir John Nicholl, his majesty's advocate-general, in a report* officially communicated by Lord Hawkesbury to

* Dated March 16, 1801, and officially communicated by Lord Hawkesbury, to Mr. Rufus King, the American plenipotentiary, on the 11th of April following.

the American government, and transmitted to all our vice-admiralty courts abroad, as a rule for their future guidance and direction, "that the produce of the colonies of the enemy may be imported by a neutral into his own country, and may be re-exported from thence even to the mother country of the same colony. The direct trade, however, between the mother country and its colonies, has not, I apprehend, been recognized as legal, either by his majesty's government, or by his tribunals. What is a direct trade? or what amounts to an intermediate importation into the mother country? may sometimes be a question of some difficulty. But the high court of admiralty has expressly decided,* that landing the goods, and paying the duties in the neutral country, breaks the continuity of the voyage, and is such an importation as legalizes the trade, although the goods be re-shipped in the same vessel, and on account of the same neutral proprietors, and be forwarded for sale to the mother country." From this communication it came to be universally understood in America, that the mere act of landing the goods, and "paying the duties in the neutral country, was sufficient to break the continuity of the voyage, and to legalize the trade in the eyes of the British courts of admiralty."

Soon after this correspondence, the peace of Amiens put an end for a short time to questions of this nature. When hostilities were recommenced between France and England, the merchants of America, recollecting the footing on which this trade had been placed at the conclusion of the former war, embarked in it without apprehension, as a commerce perfectly lawful, and carried it on to an immense extent, till the summer of 1805, when a new ground of decision was adopted by our admiralty courts, which suddenly, and without the smallest warning, exposed the whole of this trade to seizure and condemnation. It was now decided, that the proof of a payment of duties in America was no evidence of a *bona fide* importation into that country;† because payment of duties in America, does not mean that the duties have been actually paid in money, but that they have been secured by bonds; and from the peculiar system of revenue laws established in the United States, the merchant who re-exports goods previously imported, gets a profit by his transactions with the custom-house, instead of suffering any loss or deductions from his

* Decision of Sir William Scott, in the case of the *Polly*, July, 5, 1800.

† This point was first decided in the case of the *Essex*, in May, 1805; and after an elaborate discussion, a similar decision was pronounced in the case of the *William*, March, 1806.

gains. The importer, where the duties are ascertained, gives bonds for the amount of such duties ; but if, on the next day, he should enter the same goods for exportation, he is entitled to debentures from the custom-house, payable on the same days with the bonds, and made out for the same sums, with a deduction of only three and a half per centum, which is retained for the government. But such is the indulgent nature of the revenue laws of America, that the bonds lie unissued in the custody of the revenue officers, while the debentures are assignable and transferable securities, capable of being recovered by a summary process ; and, should the importer fail, enjoying a priority before all private demands. The result of the whole operation, therefore, is, that the government lends to the private credit of the merchant, the character of a public security ; and receives three and a half per centum on the amount of the bonds deposited at the custom-house, for the more valuable accommodation which the debentures afford.

When these facts were made known to our courts, they refused any longer to admit the payment of duties in America as a proof of a *bona fide* importation. But on the other hand, the merchants of America, without looking to the legal grounds of the former decisions, had trusted to Lord Hawkesbury's communication, announcing that "landing the goods, and paying the duty, legalized the trade," and had in consequence embarked their capital in a commerce, which they were taught on such high authority to consider as a legal and authorised trade. When the parties engaged in this species of commercial adventure saw their vessels captured by British cruisers, without any previous warning, and brought into port for adjudication, they naturally complained of the violence and inconsistency of that conduct which had subjected them to these ruinous proceedings, and accused the British government of robbery and injustice. Congress, in a short time, caught the flame with which it was surrounded, and after passing several resolutions that bore evident indications of irritation and precipitancy, a non-importation law was passed on the 18th of April against the manufactures of Great Britain, to take effect on the 15th of November following. In the mean time, the commissioners sent to negotiate with the English government, were instructed to obtain from ministers some clear and precise rule for regulating their trade with the colonies of the enemy, not liable to be changed by orders of council, or instructions to cruisers, and not exposed to the uncertainty of determinations respecting the intentions of parties.

The third ground of complaint urged by the Americans

was of much less importance than either of the other two, and their demand to have their maritime jurisdiction defined and respected, was so just and reasonable, as to be incapable of resistance. An unfortunate accident, in which an American seaman happened to be killed, on the waters of the United States, and within sight of New York, drew the attention of both countries to this subject, and rendered some regulations indispensable; but no difficulty could occur in settling a point that was already settled by the law of nations. In the exercise of the privilege of searching neutral vessels, several British ships had been cruising off the American harbours, and Captain Whitby, in the *Leander*, of fifty guns, was stationed off Sandy Hook, and appointed for this purpose. Many vessels were brought to by them and boarded, and some of the seamen were impressed, or recovered into the service of England. In addition to these causes of irritation, it was sworn by Joseph Pierce, the master of the sloop *Richard*, that about a quarter of a mile from the beach, off Sandy Hook, three shots were, on the 25th of April, fired from a British sloop of war, the last of which struck and killed a man at the helm of his sloop, the brother of the deponent, the *Leander* being at the same time only a mile distant. The affair of the *Leander* having taken place during the elections at New York, great use was made of it by the federal party, to excite odium against the president, and bring discredit upon his administration, on the pretence that foreigners were permitted to commit such outrages, by their knowledge of the weakness and timidity of the existing government. To counteract these designs, Mr. Jefferson issued a violent proclamation, accusing of murder the captain of the *Leander*, and prohibiting that sloop, and several other British vessels, from entering the harbours, or remaining within the jurisdictional limits of the United States. Captain Whitby was afterwards tried in England for the death of the American seaman, and acquitted.

The conferences, which were held in London, for the adjustment of these differences, by Mr. Monroe and Mr. Pinkney, on the part of the United States, and by Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, on the part of Great Britain, terminated in a treaty, from which the President of the United States thought proper to withhold his ratification. It appears, however, from the papers afterwards published, and laid before parliament, that the commissioners on both sides were animated by a sincere desire to establish a firm and lasting friendship between the two countries, on terms advantageous to both. After many fruitless conferences, held in the hope of

devising some adequate substitute for the practice of impressing on the high seas, the American plenipotentiaries consented, contrary, as it appears, to their instructions, to proceed in the other articles of the treaty, without any further satisfaction upon this head, than an official paper from Lord Holland and Lord Auckland, dated the 8th of November, pledging the government of Great Britain, "to issue instructions for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen, and of the greatest care to preserve citizens of the United States from any molestation or injury, and to afford immediate redress upon any representation of injury sustained by them;" and engaging besides, at any future period, "to entertain the discussion of any plan that should be devised to secure the interests of both states, without any injury to the rights to which they are respectively attached."

In the other questions between the two countries, the negotiators were more fortunate in bringing their labours to a successful issue. On the subject of the circuitous trade permitted to the United States, between the colonies of the enemy and other parts of the world, an article was framed,* which satisfied the American commissioners, by substituting a clear and precise rule for the regulation of that commerce, in place of the uncertain and changeable system by which it had hitherto been conducted. The principle of this article was taken from Lord Hawkesbury's communication to Mr. Rufus King, defining the difference between a continuous and an interrupted voyage; but besides requiring, as in that communication, that the goods should be landed, and the duties paid in the neutral country, that article expressly stipulated, that on re-exportation there should remain after the drawback a duty to be paid of one per cent. *ad valorem*, on all articles of the growth, produce, and manufacture of Europe; and on all articles of colonial produce a duty of not less than two per cent. *ad valorem*. The maritime jurisdiction of the United States was guaranteed by another article,† against the alleged encroachments and violations of his majesty's cruisers; and on account of the peculiar circumstances of the American coast, an extension of maritime jurisdiction, to the distance of five miles from shore, was mutually conceded by both parties in the American seas, on certain conditions, and with certain limitations expressed in the treaty. On the other articles of the treaty, it is only necessary to observe, that the commercial stipulations contained in them appear to have been framed on

* Article XI.

† Article XII.

the fairest and most liberal principles of reciprocal advantage and utility to the two countries. (57.)

The year 1806, with the domestic occurrences of which the third book of the history of our own times is concluded, will be rendered memorable by the death of two of the most distinguished statesmen this country ever produced. In the advantages of birth and fortune they were equal : in eloquence, dissimilar in their manner, but superior to all their contemporaries ; in influence upon the mind of their hearers unrivalled ; in talents and reputation, dividing the nation into two parties ; in probity, above suspicion ; in patriotism, as in all things else, rivals. Whatever the spirit of party, in the ardour of contention, may have suggested to the contrary, their opposition was a constitutional struggle for power, to which each had pretensions that must have borne the palm from any other man of his time.

At the commencement of Mr. Pitt's long administration, to which he succeeded by one of those court manœuvres which have obtained in all countries, Mr. Fox could rarely object any thing to his measures, except that the proposer of them obtained his power against the will of the majority of the house of commons. In the delicate and difficult affair of the proposed regency, the whig leader of opposition, the man of the people, endeavoured to check the limitation which the court minister, the champion of tory principles, through the two popular branches of the legislature, would have fixed upon the hereditary successor to the executive government, on a temporary demise of the crown. In opposition, each declaimed against the corruption of the commons, and proposed plans of reform. This was the *fulcrum* by which the one raised himself in early youth to popular favour, and gained the citadel of ministerial power. This too was the engine that the other employed to besiege him in his state, when he found it necessary to lead, and not impair parliamentary influence. How Mr. Fox, as minister, and the avowed patron of reform, would have encountered the difficulties of a similar situation, is doubtful : he died before the hour of trial arrived.

(57.) The convention signed by Messrs. Monroe and Pinkney, did not, as has been already observed, receive the sanction of the American government. It was returned by Mr. Jefferson without having been laid before the Senate. His objections to it were founded upon the want of a provision, on the subject of impressments, upon the limitation of the colonial trade by the 11th article, and upon other points of minor importance. The discussions on these subjects were renewed in England, but the change of ministry, and the orders in council which were issued shortly afterwards, removed still further the prospect of accommodation.

On the subject of the catholic claims, each of these statesmen gave them their avowed support, but neither of them was able to carry his views into effect, and the attempt was fatal to the power of those to whom Mr. Fox bequeathed his plans and his influence. In their efforts to effect the abolition of the slave trade, the result was different; Mr. Fox effected, in one session of parliament, that which the eloquence of Mr. Pitt had not been able in eighteen years to accomplish.

Upon the French revolution, and the coalition of the European powers against France, it is but candid to believe, that the difference between these great men was one of real political opinion. As far as it was a measure of mere foreign policy, the one was tempted to the course he pursued, by the flattering hope of increasing the military power of Britain, and extending her influence upon the continent. At the same time, this policy afforded a counteraction to the spirit of reform, which at that period so much embarrassed him at home, and which, had he not suppressed by occupying the public attention with foreign war, and by strong and unusual measures of domestic coercion, would certainly have effected a reform in the commons' house of parliament, by means which, in his opinion, would have endangered the due equipoise of our mixed form of government. The other was led to observe more profoundly the consequences of an attack upon the infant republic of France, and knowing that the coalition was composed, as indeed all coalitions are, of powers jealous of each other, and that England neither possessed a great military establishment, nor, at that time, a Marlborough to give an ascendancy to a small one, justly predicted that the conflict must tend to render France a nation of soldiers, who would become the masters of the continent.

Whether the minister, having quenched the flame of popular contention at home, might have chosen a happy moment for the cessation of war abroad, is a question which puts the political sagacity of Mr. Pitt to a test the most difficult for his reputation. But it must be considered, when, perhaps, he desired peace most, it was unattainable. Mr. Fox, on the contrary, in every stage of its progress, opposed the war with firmness, and no doubt with sincerity; for in support of his opinions, he employed his pen in the only composition which he ever avowed, and sacrificed even the friendship of Burke to his conviction of their truth.

To conclude the parallel, they were men of such transcendent talents and towering ambition, that had they lived in a republic, one or the other would probably have been dictator: in an absolute monarchy, either might have founded a dynas-

ty ; while, in a mixed government, they were rival statesmen, alternately ministers, and during their political lives leaders of the great councils of the nation, whose names may be fairly placed in competition with any of the ministers of modern empires, or the popular leaders of ancient republics.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Invasion of Naples by the French under Joseph Bonaparte—Battle of Maida—Policy of Prussia—She accepts Hanover from France, and shuts her ports against British Commerce—Measures of Retaliation adopted by England—Prussia involved in a War with both Great Britain and Sweden—Indications of approaching Hostility between France and Prussia—Confederation of the Rhine—Renunciation of the Title of Emperor of Germany by Francis II—French Expulse—Act of Aggrandizement—The United Provinces erected into a Monarchy under the Government of Louis Bonaparte—Seizure and Execution of M. Palm, the Bookseller, of Nuremburg—Convocation of the Jews—Traits in the Character of Bonaparte.*

THE events of the campaign of 1805, consummated by the treaty of Presburg, had drawn around the eastern frontier of France a cordon of feudatory sovereigns, indebted to the Emperor Napoleon for their recent elevation, and bound to his service by the combined operation of policy and gratitude. Possessing too much collision of interest to unite in opposition to his authority, they exhibited a mighty bulwark against the attacks of his enemies, and seemed to free the empire of France from all the dangers of future molestation. The kingdom of Italy derived also from this treaty advantages in territory and population of the highest importance; and the iron crown of the Lombards was strengthened and enriched on the field of Austerlitz. But triumphant as was the treaty of Presburg to Bonaparte, in the same proportion was it humiliating to the house of Austria. Her losses were deplorable, and her influence in the affairs of Germany was drawing fast to a termination. Her splendid dependents, her mitred ecclesiastics, and the long catalogue of princes who formed the minor stars in the imperial constellation, were many of them for ever extinguished; and with impaired influence in the west of Europe—influence which at that period it appeared scarcely possible she should ever regain, she seemed by this treaty retrograde from the world of civilization, and likely to be shut

out from those political concerns, in which she had borne so commanding and pre-eminent a part for a succession of ages.

The consequences of Bonaparte's successes against Austria were particularly unfortunate for the kingdom of Naples. A treaty of neutrality between France and that country had been concluded at Paris, on the 21st of September, 1805, and ratified at Portici, by the King of Naples, on the 8th of the following month. By this treaty, the Neapolitan court engaged to remain neutral in the war between France and the allied powers, and to repel by force every incroachment on her neutrality. But scarcely had six weeks elapsed after the ratification of this treaty, when a squadron of English and Russian vessels appeared in the bay of Naples, and were permitted, without opposition, to land a body of forces in that city and its vicinity. This gross violation of the stipulations of the treaty of Portici, was considered by the French emperor as an act of perfidy deserving of the severest punishment; and on the morning after the signature of the treaty of Presburg, Bonaparte issued a proclamation from his head-quarters at Vienna, in which he declared, "that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign." That no time might be lost in carrying this threat into execution, the French army under Joseph Bonaparte, marched, in three divisions, against the kingdom of Naples; the right, commanded by General Regnier, proceeding against Gaeta, and the centre, under Marshal Massena, through Capua, while the left advanced through Istria, under General Lacy. On the 12th of February, Capua was invested by the French troops, and on the 13th, a deputation from the city waited on Prince Joseph, and signed a capitulation, by which Capua, Gaeta, Peschieri, Naples, and the other fortresses of that kingdom, were surrendered into the hands of the enemy. But notwithstanding this capitulation, it afterwards appeared, that Gaeta was far from being conquered; and the Prince of Hesse Philipsthal, having been summoned by General Regnier to surrender, answered with heroic firmness, that it was his intention to justify the confidence reposed in him by his sovereign. The zeal and activity of the governor in defending the fortress committed to his charge was most distinguished. With slight intervals of rest and refreshment, he was occupied night and day in the fortifications, and by his exhortations and example he stimulated his troops to sustain the pressure of their situation with constancy, and to repel all attacks upon the garrison with heroism. The valour with which this place was defended, and the advantages obtained by the garrison over the besieging army, excited the attention and admiration of all Europe; and the spirit which animated the governor

and the troops at Gaeta, began to diffuse themselves over the whole kingdom. Even within the city of Naples, the apathy which had in the first instance paralyzed the exertions of the inhabitants, and induced them to open their gates without resistance to the legions of the conquerors, gave place to more patriotic feelings; and the population of Calabria became at length actuated by so decided a spirit of hostility towards their invaders, that large unorganized masses of peasantry were led to oppose the disciplined forces of the conquerors of Europe. The ardour of patriotism was mingled with the thirst of vengeance; the first instances of opposition from the insurgents had been punished with inexorable severity; and these violent inflictions animated the spirit of opposition in the Calabrians, and increased the deadliness of their hatred. Mutual exasperation gradually led to the establishment, by the French, of military commissions at Naples, and throughout the country; the constitution of which was intrusted to Massena, a man whose feelings never warred against his interests, and whose long acquaintance with the trade of war had steeled his heart against the voice of humanity. The triumphant entrance of Joseph Bonaparte into his capital, to take upon himself the sovereignty of his kingdom, to which he had been appointed by his brother, to the exclusion of the recent dynasty, was attended by those acclamations and addresses which can always be procured by power. But these external demonstrations of joy could not conceal the real situation of his newly acquired conquests. The invader and the patriot were still in determined and active hostility; and the feelings of the contending parties had attained the utmost paroxysm of rage. Military tyranny, mortified and incensed at the resistance of an enemy which it despised, gave free scope to its fury, in all those excesses which it has been the pride of modern warfare to mitigate. The brave Calabrians, maddened by the infliction of such horrors on men whose crime consisted only in the defence of their country, resolved, if possible, to out-do them in retaliation. The disposition to an exterminating contest seemed mutual. The excess of resentment seemed to destroy every feeling of humanity, and in the weaker party all regard to the chances against their success. Impulse superseded calculation; passion imparted energy to weakness; and the want of discipline often seemed supplied by the frenzy of revenge.

After the evacuation of Naples by the Russian and British troops, Sir James Craig had retired to Sicily with the English army, accompanied by the royal family of Naples, and had established his head-quarters at Messina. At this place he remained till the month of April, when bad health compelled

him to resign his command to Sir John Stuart, who was soon after intrusted by his Sicilian Majesty with the defence of the eastern coast from Melazzo to Cape Passaro. The army continued at Messina till the end of June, without attempting any offensive operation against the enemy; at which period the English general, at the urgent solicitations of the court of Palermo, consented to land with a part of his army in Calabria, and to make trial of the loyalty and affection of the people to their former sovereign. The troops destined to this expedition amounted to about four thousand eight hundred effective men; with this small force Sir John Stuart landed without any material opposition, on the morning of the 1st of July, in the gulf of St. Eufemia, near the northern frontier of Lower Calabria. The French general, Regnier, having been apprised of the debarkation of the English army, made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting his detached corps as he advanced, and anticipating, with his characteristic confidence, the defeat of the British troops. On the morning of the 3d, he advanced into the neighbourhood of Maida, about ten miles distant from the English army, and took up his position on a ridge of heights. His force at that moment consisted of about four thousand infantry, and three hundred cavalry, together with four pieces of artillery, and he was in daily expectation of being joined by three thousand more troops, who were marching after him in a second division, and who joined the French army on the night of the 3d. Perceiving that no time was to be lost, Sir John Stuart determined to advance towards the position of the enemy, and having left four companies of Watteville's regiment, under Major Fisher, to protect the stores, and occupy the works that had been thrown up at the place of landing, at three o'clock the next morning, the body of the British army commenced its march along the borders of the sea, across the plain of Eufemia.* Sir Sidney Smith at this time took up a position with a small squadron

* The following is the detail of the British force:—

<i>Advanced corps.</i>	{ Lieutenant-colonel Kempt, with 2 four-pounders. Light infantry battalion. Detached royal Corsican rangers. Detachment of the royal Sicilian volunteers.
<i>First brigade.</i>	{ Brigadier-general Cole, with 3 four-pounders. Grenadier battalion, 27th regiment.
<i>Second brigade.</i>	{ Brigadier-general Auckland, with 3 four-pounders. 78th regiment. 81st regiment.
<i>Third brigade.</i>	{ Colonel Oswald, with 2 four-pounders. 58th regiment. Watteville's regiment five companies. 20th regiment. Lieutenant-colonel Ross, landed during the action.

Reserve of artillery, Major Lemoine, 4 six-pounders, and two howitzers.
Total—rank and file, including the royal artillery, 4,795.

placed under his command, to act as circumstances might occur ; but from the situation of the two armies, no co-operation from the navy could take place, much to the regret of the gallant knight. A vast plain, extending from four to six miles in breadth, and flanked by chains of mountains, which ran nearly parallel from sea to sea, and which form the interior boundaries of the two Calabrias, seemed to favour the manœuvres of both armies, and afforded a fair opportunity for trying the skill and gallantry of the contending nations. Had General Regnier thought proper to remain upon his elevated ground, flanked as he was by a thick impervious underwood, no impression could have been made upon him ; but quitting this advantage, and crossing the river Amato with his entire force, he descended from the eminence, and met the British army upon the open plain. After some close firing of the flankers, to cover the deployments of the two armies, by nine o'clock in the morning the opposing fronts were warmly engaged, when the prowess of the rival nations seemed fairly at issue before the world. The corps which formed the right of the advanced line of the British, was the battalion of light infantry, commanded by Colonel Kempt, consisting of the light companies of the 20th, 27th, 35th, 61st, 81st, and Watteville's, together with one hundred and fifty chosen battalion-men, of the 35th regiment, under Major Robinson ; directly opposite to whom was the favourite French regiment, the 1st Legere. The two companies, at the distance of about one hundred yards, fired reciprocally a few rounds, when, as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and, in close compact order and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, till their bayonets began to cross. At this momentous crisis, the enemy became appalled. Their ranks were broken, and they endeavoured to fly, but it was too late, they were overtaken, and the most dreadful slaughter ensued. Brigadier-general Auckland, whose brigade was immediately on the left of the light infantry, availed himself of this favourable moment to press instantly forward upon the corps in front ; the brave 78th regiment, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, and the 81st regiment, under Major Plenderleath, both distinguished themselves on this occasion. Advancing with shouts of victory, the enemy fled with dismay and disorder before them. General Regnier, finding his army thus discomfited on the left, began to make a new effort with the right, in hopes of retrieving the disasters of the day. This operation was resisted most gallantly by the brigade under Brigadier-general Cole. Nothing could shake the undaunted firmness of the grenadiers under Lieutenant-colonel O'Callaghan, and

of the 27th regiment under Lieutenant-colonel Smith. The French cavalry, successively repelled from before the front of these regiments, made an effort to turn their left ; but at that moment Lieutenant-colonel Ross, who had the same morning landed from Messina, with the 20th regiment, and had come up to the army during the action, threw his regiment opportunely into a small cover over the enemy's flank, and by a heavy and well-concerted fire, rendered this attempt abortive. This was the last feeble struggle of the enemy, who, astonished and dismayed by the intrepidity with which they were assailed, began precipitately to retire, leaving the field covered with their dead. (58.)

About seven hundred Frenchmen were buried upon the ground ; the wounded and prisoners amounted to above a thousand men ; and about the same number were left in Monteleone, and the different posts between Maida and Reggio, who signified their readiness to surrender, whenever a British force could be sent to receive their submission, and to protect them from the fury of the inhabitants. Never was the pride of the enemy more severely humbled than in the events of this memorable day. The total loss of the French, occasioned by this conflict, amounted to at least four thousand men, while the loss of the English did not exceed three hundred and twenty-six, of which number two hundred and eighty-two were wounded, and forty-four slain.* This splendid victory was attended with no permanent advantage, with respect to the immediate object of the expedition ; but the im-

(58.) The French official account of this engagement, which is here represented to have terminated so favourably for the British arms, has never, we believe, reached the United States. Compared with the battles of Austerlitz and Jena, the skirmishes of a few thousand men in Calabria were not perhaps considered of sufficient moment to be made the subject of a bulletin. The English seem therefore to have been left to boast of this victory without interruption, while their opponents contented themselves with the conquest of the Peninsula, to prevent which the English had landed. If we may give credit, however, to the statements of an anonymous French writer, we shall be led to doubt the accuracy of the English narrative altogether, or at all events to reduce considerably the merit of the victory. The force which the English landed at St. Eufemia is represented to have amounted to six thousand men, who were soon afterwards joined by four thousand of the Neapolitan regular troops, and four thousand insurgents, making a total of 14,000 combatants. With this formidable army they advanced into the interior, and at a short distance from Cozenga were, it is said, met by General Verdien, and totally defeated, with the loss of 1800 prisoners.

Relation des Batailles, &c. vol. 3. p. 344.

* General Sir John Stuart's Despatches, dated from the Plains of Maida, July 6, 1806.

pression it was calculated to make in favour of the discipline and bravery of the British soldiers, was of incalculable importance. The pride of the enemy was mortified at seeing those of his troops most distinguished for high exploits, retiring before English bayonets ; and, with all their experience and reputation in arms, yielding an easy victory to greatly inferior numbers. The laurels gathered at Lodi, Marengo, and Austerlitz, drooped on the plain of Maida, from whence sprung another, and perhaps a more brilliant wreath, to adorn the brows of British valour, in addition to those which had so recently been acquired on the shores washed by the waters of the Nile.

The complete subjugation of the Neapolitan territory by the arms of France, followed not long after this illustrious victory, which might somewhat delay, but could not prevent its accomplishment. The support of the British arms being withdrawn, the enthusiasm of the Calabrians abated, and they finally yielded to a fate which they had nobly resisted, without the least hope of success attending their gallant and persevering endeavours. Gaeta had firmly withstood the effects of all that force and skill on the part of the enemy could effect ; but its garrison, originally small, was diminished by the fire of the enemy, and borne down by incessant exertions ; its heroic commander was severely wounded ; the works of the besiegers were completed ; two practical breaches were made in the walls ; and a signal was every moment expected for the assault. Under these circumstances, the commandant truly and wisely concluded that he had done enough for glory, and signed a capitulation, by which Gaeta was surrendered into the hands of the French general.

The conduct of Prussia, towards the close of the year 1805, had disappointed the hopes of all who wished to see a check imposed on the ambition and usurpations of France. The rivalry between Austria and Prussia, in ordinary circumstances, might be allowed to preclude cordial co-operation between the two powers ; but a participation of danger seemed calculated to banish mutual jealousies, and to produce an union sufficiently firm to unite the two rival states in a combined resistance against a common enemy. Such, it was hoped, might have been the case with regard to the two great powers, Austria and Prussia, but the progress of the French arms extinguished these expectations, while the versatility and equivocation, the odious rivalry and selfish rapacity of Prussian policy, became the theme of universal invective. On the 27th of January, a proclamation was published by the King of Prussia, addressed to the inhabitants of Hanover, in which

it was observed, that after the events which terminated in the peace of Presburg, the only means of preserving the country from the flames of war, consisted in forming a convention with the French Emperor, in virtue of which the states of his Britannic Majesty in Germany were to be wholly occupied and governed by Prussia till the return of peace ; and all the authorities of that country were called upon to conform to the dispositions made for that purpose, under the civil and military administration of Gen. Kecknert, and the commissioners chosen by him. The conduct of Prussia, in assuming to herself the civil and military administration of the electorate of Hanover, called forth an official note from Mr. Fox, under date of the 17th of March, addressed to Baron Jacobi, the Prussian minister in London, wherein he expressed " the great anxiety felt by his majesty at the manner in which possession had been taken of the electorate of Hanover," and desired him explicitly to inform his court, " that no convenience or political arrangement, much less any offer of equivalent or indemnity, would ever induce his majesty so far to forget what was due to his legitimate rights, as well as to the exemplary fidelity and attachment of his Hanoverian subjects, as to consent to the alienation of the electorate." Soon after the delivery of this note, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to drop the slight veil with which he had so ineffectually attempted the concealment of his real designs, by publishing, on the 1st of April, a proclamation, in which he stated the conclusion of a convention between himself and the French Emperor, for the exchange of Hanover in return for three provinces of his monarchy :* and as the Hanoverian states were possessed by France in right of conquest, he declared that the rightful possession of the electoral states of the house of Brunswick situated in Germany, had passed over to him, in return for the above cession on his part, that they were now subjected only to his power ; and that thenceforth their government would be administered in his name alone, and under his supreme authority. A proclamation, in the same spirit of injustice and aggression, was issued by the court of Berlin, on the 28th of March, in which it was declared, that in virtue of a treaty concluded between his Prussian Majesty, and the Emperor of France and King of Italy, the ports of the German Ocean (the North Sea) and the rivers which empty themselves into it, shall be shut against British shipping

* The three Prussian provinces ceded by this memorable treaty, were Anspach and Bayreuth, in Franconia ; Cleves, in Westphalia ; and Neufchatel and Valengin, in Switzerland.

and trade, in the same manner as was practised while Hanover was occupied by French troops.

No sooner had intelligence reached London of the actual exclusion of British shipping from the Elbe, and of the determination of Prussia to shut all the ports of the German Ocean against the British flag, than measures of retaliation were adopted.—Notice was given on the 8th of April to the ministers of the neutral powers, that the necessary means had been taken for the blockade of the rivers Ems, Weser, Elbe, and Trave. A general embargo was laid on all Prussian vessels in the harbours of Great Britain and Ireland; and this order was extended, on the 16th of the same month, to all vessels belonging to the rivers Elbe, Weser, and Ems, vessels under the Danish flag only excepted. The English mission at Berlin was recalled; and a message from his majesty was presented to both houses of parliament, on the 21st, stating “the necessity in which his majesty found himself, of withdrawing his minister from the court of Berlin, and of adopting provisionally measures of just retaliation against the commerce and navigation of Prussia,” on account of acts “of direct hostility, deliberately pursued against him, which left him no alternative.” After stating concisely the particulars of the conduct of Prussia, which called for these proceedings, the message concluded by saying, that his majesty “had no doubt of the full support of his parliament, in vindicating the honour of the British flag, and the freedom of the British navigation; and that he would look with anxious expectation to that moment, when a more dignified and enlightened policy on the part of Prussia, should remove every impediment to the renewal of peace and friendship with a power with whom his majesty had no other cause of difference than that now created by these hostile acts.” On the 20th of the same month, a declaration was issued by his Britannic Majesty, in his capacity of Elector of Hanover, recapitulating instances of perfidy, insincerity, and rapacity of the court of Berlin, and solemnly protesting, for himself and his heirs, against every encroachment on his rights in the electorate of Brunswick Lunenburg, and its dependencies.

In addition to her war with England, the subserviency of Prussia to France involved her in hostilities with Sweden. The Swedish troops, who occupied Luneburg on behalf of the King of England, having opposed the entrance of the Prussians into that duchy, were compelled, after a slight resistance, to retreat into Mecklenburg; upon which hostile proceeding, the King of Sweden laid an embargo upon all Prussian vessels in his harbours, and issued an order, bearing date the 27th

of April, for the blockade of all the Prussian ports in the Baltic. In order to counteract these hostile operations, Prussia commenced preparations for the expulsion of the Swedish troops from the states of Pomerania; but before this design could be carried into effect, a new revolution in her politics took place, which gave a totally different direction to her arms. A large proportion of the subjects of Prussia were well aware of the abject degradation in which the subserviency of their government to the mandates of France had involved them; and the disaffection and discontents which ensued flowed naturally from the occasion. Expressions of loyal and devout attachment were suspended; conversations in public assumed a tone of animated comment upon public measures which had rarely been employed; and men of rank and station deplored the shade which had been thrown upon the character of the country. The military entered into the general feeling with ardour: this feeling was in some instances almost roused to phrensy, and the attendants and relatives of majesty itself were bold enough to give intimations of their disgust in the royal presence. This spirit of high disdain, dangerous in any government, and peculiarly so in a military state, when those who are designed for the support of despotism, feel a stronger disposition to remonstrate than to obey, was thought not unworthy the notice of power. Several of the military officers of the staff were not only reprimanded, but cashiered, for the freedom with which they had expressed themselves on political topics; and a proclamation was published, prohibiting the discussion of the proceedings of government—measures which checked the ebullition of popular feeling, but confirmed rather than changed the public opinion. The queen, young, beautiful, and persuasive, listening to her indignation at the usurpations and insults of France, and jealous of her husband's honour and reputation, joined in the same cause. The ministers, weak and unprincipled, were unable to resist the torrent; after an ineffectual resistance to the popular voice, they united, or seemed to unite in the general feeling, and contributed to hurry the Prussian monarchy to its approaching humiliation.

Prussia has hitherto been contemplated, unsteady, and fluctuating in her policy, constant only in her duplicity; professing neutrality while she was meditating acts of hostility; and pretending to negotiate for the neutrality of Hanover, while she was appropriating that country to herself. We are now to behold her enraged at the disappointment of her ambitious projects, impatient of the contempt with which she was treated, and goaded on by the universal indignation of her subjects,

seeking to retrieve her honour and character by resistance to France, but without wisdom or foresight in her plans, and constant to the last in her dissimulation.

The first public act of the cabinet of St. Cloud which gave serious offence and alarm to the cabinet of Berlin, was the investiture of Murat, a soldier of fortune and a brother-in-law of Bonaparte, with the duchies of Berg and Cleves. But a deeper and more sensible injury awaited the Prussian government: while Laforest, the French resident at Berlin, was urging the ministers of that court to persist in the measures they had adopted for the retention of Hanover, Lucchesini, the Prussian minister at Paris, discovered that the French government had offered to the King of Great Britain the complete restitution of his electoral dominions. Thus, after the sacrifice of her honour and reputation, Prussia saw herself about to be deprived of the reward for which she had consented to act a part so mean, treacherous, and unworthy, without an opportunity of retrieving her character or of bettering her condition by resistance. Fortunately, as she then thought, the negociation for peace between France and Russia, after preliminaries had been signed at Paris, was broken off by the refusal of the court of St. Petersburg to ratify the treaty concluded by M. D'Oubril. But this event, while it opened to Prussia the prospect of assistance, in case she should be driven to a war with France, disclosed to her further proofs of the secret enmity of the cabinet of St. Cloud, and of its readiness to abandon her interests. She was now for the first time apprised, that during the negociations at Paris between France and Russia, distinct hints had been given to M. D'Oubril, that if his court was desirous of annexing any part of Polish Prussia to its dominions, no opposition would be interposed against such a project by France.

The peace of Presburg had left the forms of the Germanic constitution entire, and from some of the articles in that treaty it appears doubtful, whether the French Emperor entertained thoughts at that time of the speedy subversion to which this venerable empire was afterwards condemned. The residence of the French troops in Germany, in consequence of the procrastinated occupation of Cattaro by the Russians, matured a design suitable to the ambitious mind of the French Emperor, and seemed to suggest the establishment of a new confederation of princes, at the head of which he should himself be placed. This project, conceived in the early part of the month of June, was arranged in all its details with extraordinary promptitude; and on the 12th of July the act of confederation was executed at Paris, by princes and ministers who were

scarcely allowed time to read the deed to which they affixed their signatures.*

This portentous document, which by a few lines of the pen, supported, however, by the power of the sword, subverted the complicated establishment of ages, commences with observing, that their majesties the Emperor of the French, the Kings of Bavaria and Wirtemberg, the Archbishop of Ratisbon, the Elector of Baden, the Duke of Berg, the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt, the Princes of Nassau-Weilburg, and Nassau-Usingen, of Hohenzollern-Hechingen, and Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, Salm-Salm, and Salm-Kyrburg, Isenburg, Birchstein, and Lichstenstein, the Duke of Arensburg, and the Count of Leyen, being desirous to secure the peace of Southern Germany, which experience had long since proved could derive no guarantee from the existing constitution, had appointed certain plenipotentiaries to effect arrangements from which this guarantee would naturally and decidedly result. In consequence of the dispositions which had been agreed upon, and which were now ratified, the states of the contracting parties were to be for ever separated from the Germanic body, and united by an act called "the Confederated States of the Empire." The affairs of this confederation were to be discussed in a congress, which should sit at Frankfort, divided into two colleges of kings and princes, where all disputes should be settled that might arise amongst the members, who could in no case enter into the service of any other power than the confederation, nor alienate to any other power their sovereignty or territory. The elector arch-chancellor was to preside in the congress, under the title of prince primate, and on the demise of any prince primate, the right of naming a successor should attach to the Emperor of France, who was to be proclaimed protector of the confederation. In the event of a continental war, which should involve either the Emperor of France or any other individual of the union, all parties should make a common cause; and in case of preparation for war against any one of the parties, his minister should be authorised to demand of the congress a general arming of the confederation.† The congress were to regulate the proportion of assistance to the exigency of the case, and the summons of the emperor to the parties was to be the signal for taking the field.

* Despatch from Lord Yarmouth, dated Paris, July 19th.

† The contingent of troops to be furnished by each state was determined as follows:—France, 200,000; Bavaria, 30,000; Wirtemberg, 12,000; Baden, 3,000; Berg, 5,000; Darmstadt, 4,000; Nassau, Hohenzollern, and others, 4,000.

The house of Austria, thus stripped of its honours, was compelled to lay down the title of Emperor of Germany, and to yield the precedence to France; and by a formal deed of renunciation, bearing date the 6th of August, Francis II. resigned his office and title of Emperor of Germany, retaining only the more humble title of Emperor of Austria. The fallen fortunes of this august house, thus deprived of the brightest jewel in the imperial crown, presents an impressive picture to the imagination. It was a spectacle of no common interest, to observe the descendant of imperial chiefs through a long series of generations, degraded into a renunciation of his dignity in behalf of a man, who by his talents and his sword, was enabled to trample on the necks of sovereigns; and by whom family honours, and political establishments, which had endured for centuries, were swept away in promiscuous ruin.

When these arrangements were communicated to Prussia, her acquiescence was purchased by the delusive hope held out to her by France, that she would be permitted to form a confederation of states in the north of Germany, under the protection of Prussia, as the confederation of the Rhine was under the protection of France.* But no sooner had Austria submitted to the loss of her ancient imperial dignity, and deposited the sceptre of the Othos at the foot of the modern Charlemagne, than Prussia, whose meanness was despised, and whose assistance was no longer wanted by Bonaparte, found herself condemned to another disappointment, aggravated by the reflection that she was indebted for this mortification to the want of wisdom and probity in her councils. She was told that Bonaparte could not permit her to include the Hanseatic towns in her plan of a northern confederation, and that he was determined to take them under his own protection.† He professed not to be adverse to her plan of a confederacy, but his regard to justice, and the respect due to the law of nations, would not allow him to see any compulsion used to force independent princes into this measure.

The *expose* of the French empire was this year laid before the legislative body early in the month of March. In this document, which details the prominent events in the national politics from the period of the coronation of the emperor, it is observed, that each succeeding coalition formed by England, had only increased the power and territory of the French na-

* Prussian Manifesto, dated October 9, 1806.

† Letter from the Emperor of France to the King of Bavaria, dated September 27, 1806.

tion ; by the first, she had gained Belgium, the boundary of the Rhine ; the federation of Holland with France ; and the conquest of the states of the present kingdom of Italy. The second had procured Piedmont. The third had added to her grand federation Naples and Venice. But the *expose* considered what had been done for the glory of France as but little compared with what remained. The emperor had exhausted military glory, and wanted none of those blood-stained laurels which he had been compelled to gather. He wished now to perfect the public administration, to promote the permanent and increasing happiness of his people ; to render his acts a lesson and example of elevated morality, and to merit the blessings of the present and future generations.

On the 31st of March, the arch-chancellor of the empire was authorised to preside in the room of the emperor in the assembly of the senate, and presented for their sanction from his imperial majesty, an act, the first part of which was a code of regulations regarding the education of the princes of the imperial family. The city and territories of Venice were by the next section to be added to the kingdom of Italy. By the third, the pious affection of the emperor's brother Joseph for the head of his house, was to be remunerated by the throne of Naples, which in no case was to be connected with that of France. In consideration of the splendid services and virtues of Prince Murat, he was, by the fourth part of this act, to possess in full sovereignty the duchies of Cleves and Berg. The principality of Guastalla, with some others, were conferred on the Princess Pauline, and her husband, the Prince Borghese ; and by another part of this comprehensive act, the principality of Neufchatel was conferred on Marshal Berthier, whom the emperor was pleased to designate as an officer equally fearless and intelligent, his old companion in arms, whose elevation, while it gave peculiar gratification to the emperor, would excite the sensibilities of every virtuous heart. From the inability which the emperor experienced to provide adequately for many who had distinguished themselves by the importance or splendour of their services, Parma, Placentia, Venice, and several other states of Italy, were, by the last article of the act, to furnish more than twenty titles of distinction, accompanied by appropriate domains, to be transmitted by these heroic men to their descendants. A message to the senate announced, at the same time, the marriage of the emperor's niece, Stephanie, to the hereditary Prince of Baden ; and in another address to the same body, the emperor signified his wish to relieve his people of Italy from that suspense which they must feel about their future

destiny, by appointing to the hereditary throne of that kingdom, in case of failure of heirs to himself, his son, the existing viceroy. In connection with the establishment of the new Monarch of Italy, a new order of military knighthood was instituted by Bonaparte, to consist of two hundred knights of the *order of the Iron Crown*, which afforded an opportunity of rewarding many of his officers, and might be regarded as another evidence of his devotion to that class of merit from which he had derived such singular advantages.

A circumstance of gratification to the people of Paris was found this year in the arrival of an ambassador from the Grand Signior, expressly appointed to congratulate Bonaparte on his accession to the throne of France. The eastern style of hyperbolical address, which characterized his excellency's speech to Napoleon on his grand audience, was not so remote from the habits of the Parisians as to prevent their cordial sympathies: "The bright star of glory of the western nations; the greatest of the sovereigns in the christian faith; he, who graspeth in one hand the sword of valour, and in the other the sceptre of justice;" were designations which met with their complete concurrence, and served to keep in countenance the homage they were themselves accustomed to offer to the "resemblance of that invisible being who is known only by his power and benevolence."*

The embassy from Constantinople was followed by a deputation from their High Mightinesses of Holland. Bonaparte had no sooner abolished the name of republic in France, than he sought to extinguish that appellation in the other states of Europe. The Cisalpine republic he had transformed into the kingdom of Italy; the Ligurian commonwealth was absorbed in the great empire; the free cities of Germany were made over to the vassal kings, who approached the foot, or decorated the steps of his throne; and such was his thirst for harmony and regularity in the political edifice he was erecting, that even the people of the United Provinces, born and nurtured under republican institutions, were instructed to demand a king. Prince Louis, a younger brother of the Emperor Napoleon, and Constable of the French Empire, was selected to be the King of Holland, and unwillingly dragged from the gaities and delights of Paris, to rule over a laborious and impoverished people, who had yet to teach their lips the accents of loyalty.† The new constitution which accompanied the

* French Expose, March 12, 1806.

† Louis Napoleon was proclaimed King of Holland at the Hague, on the 5th of June, 1806.

king had no guarantee but the will of its author, nor was it attempted to be disguised, that Holland, though governed by a separate king, was to be considered as virtually a province of the great empire, and subject in all inter-national relations to the will of its chief.

While the Emperor Napoleon was carrying into effect his projects of aggrandizement in Germany, the pressure of the French armies upon that country was extreme, and a spirit of resistance on the part of the inhabitants was summoned to its noblest exertions in a variety of publications, which soon attracted the notice of the French government. Orders were in consequence given for the apprehension of various booksellers in Franconia, Bavaria, and Suabia, and the offenders were carried to Braunau. Among these persecuted men, the fate of John Palm, a resident of Nuremburg, an imperial town of Germany, possessing laws and tribunals of its own, attracted particular notice. This person was the publisher of a pamphlet, entitled "Germany in the lowest state of degradation," a work written with considerable ability, and which had been read with great avidity. M. Palm was in consequence arrested by order of the French government, and dragged to Braunau, charged with the publication of a work libellous against the French Emperor, and tending to mislead the people of the south of Germany. On his arrival at the fortress, a court-martial was immediately summoned, consisting of General Berthier, seven colonels of French regiments, and an adjutant, with a reporter. After sitting for three days, M. Palm, who had not been present during the delivery of the depositions, was brought into court, on the 25th of August, when the evidence was read to him, and his defence heard; he was then ordered to withdraw, and the court, after some consultation, ordered him to be shot within four and twenty hours; which sentence was carried into execution on the following day. This sanguinary proceeding, though affecting only an obscure individual, excited considerable attention and indignation throughout the different countries of Europe: and although the chief of the French government did not personally appear upon the bloody stage, and although, by his distance from the scene of action, he was precluded from being made acquainted with the sentence of the court-martial before it was carried into effect, yet he did not escape that odium and execration which might naturally attach to the sovereign under whose authority the tribunal acted, and who had ever displayed a decided enmity to that freedom of the press which is certainly the most formidable foe of tyranny, and will eventually effect its extermination.

The attention of the religious world was this year drawn to some events which occurred in France in relation to the Jews. The situation of this people has, during a long succession of ages, interested those who have adverted to their universal dispersion through barbarous and civilized nations, without mingling in their course into the common mass, and sinking their national manners, language, and religion, to which with inviolable fidelity they have adhered, amidst that scorn and persecution which have been their only inheritance. Complaints had been repeatedly communicated to the emperor from various departments of France, of the fraudulent and usurious conduct of this degraded race, and on the 30th of May, an edict was published, convening a convocation from the principal cities of the empire, to be opened at Paris, on Saturday, the 26th of July. In virtue of this summons, the assembly met at the appointed time, and their meeting was stated to be pregnant with the most important consequences. The race of Abraham were now, for the first time, to be judged by a christian prince with fairness and impartiality. The convocation, in answer to several questions proposed to them, stated, that their law permitted polygamy, divorce, and intermarriages with christians, which were, however, modified by usage. That they could, in perfect consistence with their laws, render obedience to the civil institutions of the states in which they resided ; and that their prohibition, and in other cases their permission of usury, related to charitable loans, and not to mercantile transactions. The answers of the convocation were so conformable to the wishes of Bonaparte, that a grand Sanhedrim was summoned to meet at Paris, for the purpose of considering the same questions and giving a solemn opinion with respect to them, which should be placed by the side of the Talmud, and considered obligatory on all persons professing the law of Moses. The time fixed for the meeting of the Sanhedrim was the 20th of October, but the discussions were prolonged to the following year. The results of this assembly's deliberations were satisfactory, and tended to shew that the Jews were not debarred, by the peculiarities of their religion, from the enjoyment of the same civil privileges as the members of other religious communities. The consequences anticipated from these events, respecting a nation, which, from its first bondage in Egypt, has been exposed to the perpetual abhorrence of the world, varied in different minds according to their respective habits of speculation or prejudice. Judicious observers, however, were gratified to behold evidences of that progressive reason, which, by slow but certain influences, ameliorates the affairs of the

world, and to witness an effort to elevate a degraded race of men to usefulness, to estimation, and to dignity.*

At this moment the French Emperor was at the zenith of his power, and in the enjoyment of the utmost vigour of his faculties. Nothing seemed too vast for his comprehension, or too minute for his observation. His exertions were without a parallel among sovereign princes ; he inspected every thing with his own eye ; he laboured with more industry than any secretary in office ; and his principal relaxation was in the variety of his business. He appointed to stations of distinction those only who, by experience or talents, were qualified to discharge the duties of them, and he superintended the discharge of those duties with a vigilance which would not permit the approach of delinquency or inattention. No formidable adversary to any nation or individual ever yet existed from whom something valuable might not be learned, and the most effectual way to counteract the projects of an enemy is to follow his example in those judicious regulations which have led to his success. The industry of Bonaparte may be copied by those who detest the ultimate object of his labours. In his bestowment of honours upon merit, and in his inspection into the abuses of administration, he may be resembled, not only without disgrace, but even with honour ; while that boundless thirst of power, which prevented the repose of Europe, and produced his final overthrow, receives all the reprobation which it merits. His temperance and energy, his steady vigilance, and his unwearied assiduity, may be praised and imitated, while he is justly condemned for his spoliation of peaceful states, his breach of the most solemn engagements, and the abject prostration to which he subjected his country's rights.

* The following return, shewing the number of persons of the Jewish persuasion in the different parts of the habitable globe, was made to Bonaparte by the Jewish Sanhedrim, assembled at Paris in 1807 :—

In the Turkish Empire,	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,000,000
In Persia, China, and India, on the east and west of the Ganges,							300,000
In the west of Europe, Africa, and America,	-	-	-				1,700,000

Constituting an aggregate population of 3,000,000

CHAPTER II.

FOREIGN HISTORY: *Continental Campaigns of 1806-7—Opening of the Campaign between France and Prussia—Disastrous to the latter—Battle of Jena—Death of the Duke of Brunswick—Memoir—Fall of the Prussian Garrisons—Surrender of the Army under Prince Hohenzollern—Triumphal Entry of the Emperor Napoleon into Berlin—Berlin Decree—Arrival of the Russian Divisions on the Vistula—Battles of Pulask and Golymin—The contending Armies take up their Winter Quarters in Poland—War in Silesia—War in Pomerania—Neutrality of Austria—Renewal of Hostilities in Poland—Battle of Eylau—Fall of Dantzic—War between the Porte and Russia—Situation of the Russian and French Forces previous to the Battle of Friedland—The Battle of Friedland—Armistice—Interview between the Emperor Alexander and the Emperor Napoleon on the River Niemen—Peace of Tilsit.*

THE discussions between France and Prussia had now advanced to a point which left no prospect of friendly arrangement. The court of Berlin, no longer influenced by a temporizing policy, had assumed a tone of firmness and decision: the troops were animated to a high degree of enthusiasm, by the expectation of hostilities, which they conceived the honour of the nation had long ago required; and the zeal of the people coincided with the sentiments of the army. The disposition manifested by the court, was equally approved by foreign powers, as by the subjects of Prussia. The King of Sweden was eager to cherish the prospect which seemed thus to be afforded of checking the power and aggrandizement of France; the Prussian vessels detained in the ports of Great Britain were speedily liberated, and Lord Morpeth was despatched to the court of Berlin, with proposals to afford her every assistance and co-operation in the fourth coalition that was at this time forming against France.

The preparations of Prussia were met with equal vigour on the part of the Emperor of France, who was never behind his enemies in vigilance and activity. On the 24th of September, Napoleon quitted his capital to join the armies, infusing energy as he passed into the various parts of the service, and settling arrangements, adapted to all the details of that complicated and formidable machine, whose operations he was about to direct. In the mean time discussions were still continued, and even so late as the 5th of October, when both monarchs were at the head-quarters of their respective troops, a despatch was delivered from the Prussian out-posts to the French army, which still afforded an opening for amicable ad-

justment.* Within a few days after, however, a declaration, stating the grounds of the war, was published by the Prussian cabinet. Both parties now conceived themselves ready for the conflict; and so confident was Prussia in her own strength, that on the 29th of September, just before the commencement of hostilities, she appears to have declined the offer of reinforcements made by other powers.

The French army had advanced in three divisions; the right, consisting of the corps of Marshals Ney and Soult, with a division of Bavarian troops, proceeded, by the route of Amberg and Nuremberg, to unite at Bayreuth, in Franconia, in their advance upon Hof, on the southern confines of Saxony: the centre, composed of the reserve, under the Grand Duke of Berg, with the corps of the Prince de Ponte Corvo (Bernadotte) and Marshal Davoust, and the imperial guards, marched by Bamberg, towards Culmbach, in Franconia, and by way of Saalbergh to Gerra, in Saxony: the left, consisting of the troops of Marshals Lannes and Augereau, took their route for Schweinfurth, towards Coburg, and advanced to Saalfeld, in Saxony. The veteran Prussian army, having its right under General Blucher, its centre under the Duke of Brunswick, and its left commanded by Prince Hohenlohe, had taken a very strong position along the north of Frankfort, on the Mayne. The campaign opened on the 9th of October, with the battle of Schleitz, seven miles to the north-west of Fulda. Here three Prussian regiments sustained, with great firmness, one of the most spirited charges of the enemy's cavalry; but the efforts of the French were finally successful, and the Prussians were obliged to retreat, with a loss of seven hundred men, killed, wounded, and prisoners; and five hundred waggons, containing military stores, fell into the hands of the victors. On the 10th the left wing of the French army, under Marshal Lannes, was equally successful at Saalfeld. After a tremendous cannonade, continued without intermission for upwards of two hours, the Prussian cavalry were cut off by the French hussars, and their infantry, being unable to effect an orderly retreat, were some of them obliged to take shelter in the adjoining woods, while others

* By this despatch it was required of France, that, as a preliminary to negociation, the whole of the French troops in Germany should immediately recross the Rhine; that no obstacles should be raised by France to the formation of a northern league, including all the states not mentioned in the fundamental act of the confederation of the Rhine; and that the basis of the negociation should be the separation of Wessel from the French empire, and the re-occupation of the three abbeys by the Prussian troops.

were involved inextricably in a marshy ground, where they were driven to the painful alternative of surrendering themselves prisoners of war. In this engagement Prince Louis of Prussia, brother of Frederick-William, was killed by Marshal De Logis, of the 10th regiment of the French hus-sars, with whom he was engaged in personal combat. The merits of this young prince rendered his death a great public calamity, and aggravated the other losses of this unfortunate battle, from which the French derived two thousand prisoners, and thirty pieces of cannon, while six hundred of the Prussian troops were left dead upon the field. This inauspicious opening of the campaign excited no slight sensation at the head-quarters of the Prussian army, the main body of which found itself placed on the 12th in a situation of considerable danger.

The object of Bonaparte had been to repeat the operation of the preceding campaign, and to interpose himself between the army of the enemy and their depots and resources. The main body of the Prussian army occupied Eysenach, Gotha, Erfurt, and Weimar, and it was the intention of the Duke of Brunswick, to whom the chief command was confided, to have commenced hostilities by bearing down with his right wing upon Frankfurt, with his centre on Wurtzburg, and his left wing on Bamberg. The arrangements for the execution of this plan had been prepared with great minuteness, and several columns had been pushed on to Cassel and other places, to act upon the offensive ; but the French army had by this time unexpectedly turned the extremity of the Prussian right wing, and obtained possession of the eastern bank of the Saal, occupying, within a very short period, Saalberg, Schleitz, and Gerra. Alarmed by these movements, the arrangements of the Prussian army were immediately changed. The detachments which had been precipitately urged forward, were recalled ; and the head-quarters were removed through Weimar to Auerstadt, in the vicinity of Jena, while General Ruchel occupied the position of Weimar. Such were the arrangements made by the Prussians previously to the 13th, in anticipation of the ensuing decisive struggle. On the same day, the Grand Duke of Berg and Marshal Davoust were with their corps at Naumberg, to which place the Prince of Ponte Corvo was in full march : Marshal Lannes proceeded to Jena, whither the Emperor Napoleon was also advancing, while his head-quarters were at Gerra. Marshal Ney was at Gotha, and Marshal Soult was proceeding on the straight road from Naumberg to Jena. In the afternoon of the 13th Bonaparte arrived at Jena, and from an elevated flat near the place, reconnoitred

the position of the enemy. The importance of this elevation for the play of the artillery was so great, that, notwithstanding the extreme difficulty, and indeed seeming impossibility of its accomplishment, the herculian labour was at length surmounted, and before morning the artillery was actually planted upon the eminence.

The night of the 13th was sublimely interesting. The sentinels were almost close to each other; and the lights of the two armies were within half a cannon shot, in one case illuminating the atmosphere through an extent of front of six hours march, and in the other concentrated to a comparatively small point. On both sides all was watchfulness and motion. The divisions of Ney and Soult were occupied the whole night in marching, and at break of day all the French troops were under arms. Suchet's division formed the right; the imperial guards occupied the summit of a height; and each of these corps had their artillery in the small spaces between them. The morning was obscured by a fog which continued to prevail for two hours, during which Bonaparte rode along the line, cautioning his officers to exhibit order and compactness against the Prussian cavalry, and reminding them of the similarity of the situation of the Prussian army to that of the Austrians in the preceding year at Ulm, when they were driven from their magazines, and compelled to surrender. The light troops began the action, by dislodging the Prussians from an apparently inaccessible position on the highway between Jena and Weimar: and the success of this operation enabled the French troops to stretch out without restraint on the plain, where they now formed in order of battle. An army of fifty thousand men had been detached by the Prussians from their left wing, to cover the defiles of Naumburg, and to possess themselves of the passage of Coesen, in which they were anticipated by Marshal Davoust. The two other armies, one of which amounted to eighty thousand men, placed themselves in front of the French army, which now opened out from the level height of Jena. At this crisis the mist which had hung over the combatants began to dissipate, and both armies beheld each other within the range of cannon shot. After the first action of the morning, by which the Prussians had been forced to quit their position, the village of Hollstedt became the point of attack, and the Prussians were in full motion to dislodge the French from this station, when Marshal Lannes was ordered to its support. Marshal Soult attacked a wood on the right. The right wing of the Prussians made a movement against the left of the French, which Marshal Augereau was ordered to oppose, and in less than an hour the action became general. Every manœuvre

on both sides was performed with as much precision as if it had been executed upon the parade, while two hundred and fifty thousand men, and seven hundred pieces of artillery, scattered death in every direction, and exhibited one of the most affecting scenes ever displayed on the theatre of the world. After a struggle of nearly two hours, Marshal Soult secured possession of the wood, from which he immediately moved forward, while, at the same instant, the division of the French cavalry in reserve, and two other divisions just arrived on the field of battle from the corps of Marshal Ney, were, by order of Bonaparte, brought into action, and so much strengthened the French line, as to throw the Prussians into great disorder. By a striking effort of skill and bravery, this disorder was speedily retrieved, and the battle was resumed, and continued for almost an hour. At this crisis "there was room for a moment's doubt;" the fate of the day hung in awful suspense; but the reserve, under the Duke of Berg, precipitated themselves into the midst of the fight, and threw the Prussian troops into extreme confusion.* In vain did the cavalry and infantry form themselves into a square, the shock was irresistible, and this most dreadful charge completed their overthrow. On the right, Marshal Davoust not only maintained his ground against the great body of Prussians sent to possess the defiles of Coesen, but, advancing into the plain, pursued them for three hours in their retreat to Weimar. In this retreat, the confusion in the Prussian army was extreme, and the king, finding it necessary to quit the road, was obliged to retire across the fields at the head of his regiment of cavalry. The loss of the Prussians in this battle is estimated by the French at twenty thousand killed, and from thirty to forty thousand prisoners, besides three hundred pieces of cannon, and immense magazines of military stores and provisions: among the prisoners were more than twenty generals; Marshal Mollendorf was wounded, and the Duke of Brunswick and General Ruchel were killed.† The French acknowledged a loss

* FRENCH BULLETIN. This document mentions a trait of character that should not be wholly omitted in a record of the battle of Jena. "The imperial foot guards," says the bulletin, "enraged at not being allowed to press on while every other corps was in motion, several voices among them cried out 'Forward:' 'What is this I hear?' said the Emperor: 'this can only proceed from some beardless boy that will give orders independent of me: let him wait till he has commanded in thirty battles, before he takes upon himself to advise me.'"

† CHARLES WILLIAM FREDERICK, DUKE OF BRUNSWICK, was born on the 9th of October, 1735, O. S. and his ancestry is traced up to Albert Azzoni, one of the richest marquisses in Italy, born in the year 996, and married to Cuniza, heiress of the ancient house of Guelphs, or

on their part of from four to five thousand men ; the victory, however, was complete, and the battle of Jena decided the fate of the campaign.

Welfes, in Germany. From this stock sprung the royal family of England, which having attained the electoral, soon added the regal crown to its arms. The Duke of Brunswick, like all the German princes of his time, was bred to the profession of arms from his cradle, and as he was descended from a house eminently warlike, he applied himself to war as a science with no common avidity. By the time he had attained the age of nineteen, the Hereditary Prince, for by this title he was called during the lifetime of his father, experienced many opportunities to distinguish his courage and conduct in arms. The first exploit undertaken by the hereditary prince as a commander, was the capture of Kaya, towards the end of the year 1758. Flushed with success, the young warrior next advanced against Minden, so celebrated afterwards, on account of the battle in that neighbourhood, and having invested the village on the 5th of March, the garrison surrendered at discretion at the end of nine days. To this prince England and her allies were not a little indebted for the victory of Minden. On that memorable day he encountered and overcame the Duke de Brissac, and by that achievement prevented the Marshal de Contades from making his retreat by the defiles of Wittenkendorfstein. At the close of the campaign, in 1759, the hereditary prince was detached, with 15,000 men, to serve under his relation, Frederick the Great, and was afterwards present at the battle of Corbach ; and although obliged on this occasion to retreat, yet he maintained all his former reputation. Prince Ferdinand and Marshal Broglie were at this period opposed to each other ; and the former having conceived the project of cutting off the communication with France by the Lower Rhine, the hereditary prince was detached for that purpose. On this occasion he was anticipated by the Marquis de Castries, and obliged to re-cross the Rhine, but he effected a brilliant retreat with his prisoners, among whom was Dumouriez, at that moment an obscure subaltern in the French service,* but who was destined afterwards to check his progress in the plains of Champagne, at the head of a numerous army, and thus to give a new turn to the destinies of France and of Europe. During the campaign of 1762, the hereditary prince resumed his usual activity. On the 31st of August, having seized on the heights of Joannenberg, he endeavoured to prevent the junction of the armies under the Marshal d'Etrees and the Prince of Conde, but in this attempt he failed of success, and his cannon, and a large body of prisoners, fell into the hands of the enemy. No sooner was a treaty concluded than his serene highness returned home to cultivate the arts of peace, and on the 12th of January, 1764, he married the Princess Augusta, sister of the present king of England. In 1780, the Duke of Brunswick died, and the hereditary prince, of course, succeeded to his titles and dominions. His first care was directed to the melioration of the affairs of his country, and so unremitting were his endeavours to promote the happiness and prosperity of his subjects, that he acquired, as he merited, the glorious title of the "Father of his people." On the death of the old King of Prussia, the title of Field-Marshal was conferred upon the duke by Frederick-William II. and being appointed to the command of the Prussian army, he succeeded in over-running Holland, and reinstating the stadtholder.

Soon after this event, when the successful revolt of a whole people from an oppression sanctioned by the practice of ages, had created the

* Life of General Dumouriez, vol. 1. p. 29.

The Duke of Berg, who, in his operations, had so frequently proved himself worthy of his great preceptor in the art of war, on the 15th of October invested Erfurth, and on the following day, that fine citadel, to which General Mollendorf had retreated, was surrendered, with fourteen thousand men, into the hands of the enemy. The blockade of Magdeburg, which, being supposed perfectly out of danger, had been made a depot for the most valuable effects from Munster, Cassel, and East Friesland, amounting to a very great accumulation, was entered on the 20th under the orders of the same com-

most serious alarm in all the courts of Europe, the Duke of Brunswick was looked up to as the only general capable of reducing the French nation within the pale of unlimited obedience. On this occasion the rival courts of Vienna and Berlin cordially united in the choice of the same leader, who, having, assumed the command of the combined forces, in July, 1792, advanced from Coblenz to the heights of Valmy, where an obscure officer of cavalry† foiled the tacticians who had studied the art of war in the school of the immortal Frederick;‡ and that army which had marched forward in all the pride of triumph, denouncing vengeance and desolation against the French capital, was obliged to withdraw, by forced marches, to their own frontier, destitute of provisions, encumbered with baggage, exposed to the ravages of a dreadful dysentery, and completely bereft of all its glory. In 1793, the duke, who in the interval had redeemed some portion of that glory which he had lost at Valmy, by the capture of Mentz, retired from the command of the Prussian army in disgust, and was succeeded by Mollendorf, the companion of his youth and the rival of his old age. On quitting the duties of the camp his highness immediately returned to Brunswick, and occupied himself as usual in promoting the prosperity of his own dominions. Happy had it been for him and for his family, had he confined his cares to his sovereignty; but he was addicted to war from habit, and from disposition, and he pined for active employment in the field and at the head of armies. On the breaking out of the war in 1806, the command of the Prussian army was again confided to the Duke of Brunswick. He was almost the only surviving general of the *old school*, and it remained to be determined on the plains of Jena, whether the ancient art of war or the modern system of tactics was doomed to prevail. On the 13th of October the fatal conflict took place, and victory, as we have seen, declared for the French, under the Emperor Napoleon. While reconnoitring the enemy at an advanced post, with a telescope in his hand, the duke was wounded in the face by a grape-shot; and he was obliged soon after to have recourse to a litter, in which he was conducted to the capital of his dominions. On the approach of the enemy he left his little metropolis for the last time, and retired by easy journeys to Altona. There, in an obscure lodging, attended by his consort, the sister of the King of England, he heard that the royal family was fled; that nearly all his troops had been intercepted in their retreat; and that he himself was stripped of his dominions. In this melancholy situation, bereft of sight, overwhelmed with pain, and surrounded by misery, died a sovereign prince, who, until eclipsed by a new race of warriors, had been considered as the greatest commander of his age, and to whose talents, at one critical period, all the sovereigns of Europe looked up for safety and protection. The duke breathed his last on the 10th of November, in the 71st year of his age.

† Dumouriez.

‡ Book I. Chap. III. p. 87.

mander, while he proceeded towards Spandau only three miles from Berlin. The garrison of this place surrendered on the 24th, and on the 8th of November, Magdeburg itself, with twenty-two thousand prisoners, was yielded up to the enemy, presenting a singular instance of the effect of that alarm which had been excited by the success of the French forces, and the influence of which pervaded the most numerous garrisons and the strongest fortifications. Another effect of this complete dismay was the capture, by this active and successful commander, of Stettin, a fortress well calculated for defence, and which contained a garrison of six thousand men and one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon. This achievement was accomplished by one of the wings of the Duke of Berg's corps, while the other attacked a column of six thousand Prussians, who immediately laid down their arms.

Stettin was the fortress to which, after the fatal day of Jena, the Prince of Hohenlohe directed his course with the principal wreck of the army, having under him about sixteen thousand infantry, principally guards and grenadiers, six regiments of cavalry, and sixty-four pieces of harnessed artillery. In his attempt, however, to reach this place, he was anticipated by the arrival at Templon of the Duke of Berg, who, not doubting that the prince would, in consequence of this failure, bend his course to Prentzlow, without a moment's loss of time set off for that place, and, by a well-concerted attack, overthrew, in its suburbs, the cavalry, infantry, and artillery of the prince, and forced him, with great loss, to withdraw within the town, where he was immediately summoned. The gates being speedily burst open by the enemy, and no chance of effectual opposition to the attack remaining, the prince engaged in a treaty of capitulation, and the same day defiled his whole army before the grand duke, as prisoners of war.

The retreat and resistance of the gallant General Blucher are deserving of particular mention. His intention, after the defeat of Jena, was to gain the Oder, to effect a junction with the army of Prince Hohenlohe, and by affording employment to different divisions of the French troops, to allow time for the supply of some important fortresses, and for the junction of the Russian and Prussian troops. The reserve of the army, which, under the Prince of Wurtemberg, had suffered very materially at Halle, was confided to him on the 24th of October, and appears afterwards to have met with a corps under the Duke of Weimar and the hereditary Duke of Brunswick. It consisted of ten thousand five hundred men. After various attempts to join Prince Hohenlohe, in which his little army

had several times separated, although they rejoined after a variety of difficulties, they were obliged to fight against very superior numbers, but often inflicting in these contests more injury than they experienced, he received the mortifying intelligence that the prince had capitulated. General Blucher had now no other alternative but either to take the direction to Hamburg or Lubeck, or to fight the next day, as the Duke of Berg was on his left flank, Marshal Soult on his right, and Bernadotte on his front, each of whose divisions was more than double the number of his own. His march to Lubeck was accordingly resolved upon. But here, to his unutterable regret and indignation, treachery combined against him, and afforded aid to the French troops, who soon filled the town. Here a contest took place, which in fierceness and horror has rarely been exceeded. The squares, streets, and even churches, were scenes of the most bloody conflict and carnage; war triumphed in this unfortunate place, in its full ravage; and the Prussian troops at length, obliged to yield to the superior forces of the enemy, withdrew from the town. In this extremity, suffering from want of ammunition, with reduced strength, and reduced numbers, effectual resistance seemed absolutely impossible. After three weeks constant retreat, in which, from the incessant fatigue of marching five or six German miles a day, with only the most miserable means of subsistence, fifty or sixty men being frequently obliged to be left behind, but notwithstanding which, the whole corps had displayed a fidelity and courage which could never be exceeded, he felt it his duty, at the moment the French were about to attack him, to yield to a capitulation. The conviction of having discharged his duty might well support him under this disaster, and he may be considered as having derived more glory from his well-conducted retreat, than has attached in many cases to the most decided and important successes.

Marshal Davoust had, on the 18th of October, taken possession of Leipzig, where immediate notice was given to the merchants and bankers, that all English property would be seized in this grand *entrepot* of British merchandise; and all persons were enjoined within twenty-four hours to send in a declaration regarding all such property in their possession, of whatever description; the non-compliance with this mandate to be punished by the summary process of military tribunals. Having ordered a bridge to be thrown over the Elbe at this place, Davoust proceeded to Wittenburg, and gained by surprise the bridges of that town, after which he moved forward to Berlin, which he entered at the head of his troops on the 25th, followed on the succeeding day by the corps of Marshal

Augereau. On the 24th, Bonaparte arrived at Potsdam; where he visited the palace, and the tomb of the great Frederick. The sword of that distinguished warrior, the ribbon of the black eagle, the colours taken by him in the seven years war, and the scarf which he used during that critical period of his vicissitude and glory, excited particular regard and emotion, and Napoleon, seizing these trophies, exclaimed with transport, "Twenty millions shall not purchase them. I will present them to my old soldiers, and the Hotel of Invalids at Paris shall be their future depository." Within three days after his arrival at Potsdam, he made his public entry into Berlin, attended by his principal generals, and his foot guards. Various ambassadors from the powers with which he was at peace were here presented to him at the palace. He afterwards received the deputies from the Lutheran and Reformed churches, mostly the descendants of the refugee French protestants, driven from their country by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, to whom he promised the continued enjoyment of their privileges and worship. Twelve hundred of the principal inhabitants were intrusted with the guardianship of the city; and to the management of eight of the highest reputation and consequence, was committed the superintendence of the police. The presence of the French scarcely discomposed the ordinary routine of business; and by the vigilance of the burghers, and the strict discipline of the army, the utmost tranquillity was secured. Berlin, at the time of its occupation, notwithstanding previous removals, abounded with military stores of every description, which the precipitate approach of the French, "the rapidity of whose march, outstripped that of their renown," had prevented them from removing. The supreme provisional government of the conquered country of Prussia was divided into four departments—Berlin, Custin, Stettin, and Magdeburg, and committed to the direction of General Clarke.

During the time in which the Emperor Napoleon was enjoying himself in comparative leisure and full tranquillity in the palace of Berlin, admiring the novelty of the scene, and the trophies of military greatness; the King of Prussia was experiencing all the horrors of exile, and the alarms natural to the loss of a kingdom, for the recovery of which he had reason to fear that he must be more indebted to the moderation of the conqueror, than to any remaining resources of his own.—In the course of a few days his army had been completely dissipated and ruined. The army of Westphalia, under General Blucher; the left division, under Prince Hohenlohe; the reserve, under the Prince of Wurtemberg; and the army under

his own immediate inspection ; had comprehended a mass of military power which he had represented to his imagination as almost irresistible : yet nearly all had now disappeared. Of one hundred and fifty thousand men, comprehended in these divisions, a large proportion had been destroyed, wounded, or made captive, in the fatal contest of Jena. Of the rest, various corps, after wandering amidst inextricable difficulties, and exhibiting an enterprise and perseverance worthy of a better fate, had been obliged to surrender to the superior force of the enemy, while others, as if struck with consternation, and imagining themselves to be assailed by an enemy of more than mortal powers, yielded up, in succession, positions of the first importance, and capable of long-continued defence. The fortresses appeared as if incapable of affording resistance to the enemy, or protection to their own garrisons. The armies, the garrisons, and the magazines, were lost to the Monarch of Prussia, with such rapidity of successive disaster, that he might doubt at certain moments the reality of his humiliation, and the testimony of his own senses. After the battle of Jena, his majesty retreated to Custin, but the approach of the enemy speedily produced the necessity of his further removal, and Koningsburg became the place of his residence, and the rallying point for the wreck of the Prussian forces. Here, the last regiments of the Prussian monarchy, amounting to about fifty thousand men, collected around Frederick William, and awaited the accession of reinforcements, and the arrival of whatever assistance might be afforded by the Emperor of Russia.

Bonaparte, well aware that the Elector of Saxony had been forced into the service of Prussia, dismissed six thousand of his troops on their parole, immediately after the battle of Jena. The Elector of Hesse was, on the contrary, deprived of his dominions ; as was also the Duke of Brunswick, because he had encouraged a war "which he ought to have used his influence to prevent."* Mecklenburg was also taken possession of by the French ; but its destiny was postponed, and left subject to be regulated by the conduct of Russia. Hanover was occupied by a detachment under the command of General Mortier. The siege of Hameln was intrusted to General Savary, who found a conference as efficacious as a grand assault. The desperate situation of the Prussian monarchy afforded no prospect of advantage from the protraction of a siege on the part of the commandant, who, under the influence of this persuasion, consented to sign a capitulation, by

* Declaration of Napoleon.

which this important fortress, with a garrison of nine thousand men, abundance of military stores, and provisions for six months, were delivered to the French general, whose troops amounted to only three regiments. In Hanover, the order and discipline of the French troops were strikingly observable; and a few days were sufficient to complete the conquest of that electorate. Fulda and Cassel were at the same time occupied by other corps of the French troops, and a perfect communication was opened and maintained with the grand army. The next object to be accomplished, and which was no sooner ordered than it was effected, was to take possession of Hamburg; and the transactions at this place, where all British merchandise and other property was placed under sequestration, flowed from a system of policy explained by a decree of the French Emperor, published at Berlin towards the close of the month of November. This edict, which afterwards became so memorable under the designation of the **BERLIN DECREE**, was introduced by a declaration, stating, that England had violated the laws of nations in considering every individual belonging to a hostile state as an actual enemy, whether found on board vessels of merchandise, or engaged otherwise in the tranquil occupations of commercial agents, or as members of commercial factories. She had moreover extended her right of blockade beyond all reasonable limits—to places before which she had not a single ship of war, and even to whole coasts and kingdoms, where, with all her naval superiority, it was impossible for her actually to maintain it. This monstrous abuse of the right of blockade, as it was styled by the French Emperor, had no other object but to impede the communication between nations, and to aggrandize the commerce and industry of England by the ruin of the commerce and industry of the continent. All those who dealt in English commodities upon the continent, might, therefore, be justly regarded, whether intentionally or not, as seconding those views, and rendering themselves her accomplices. And that, as it was a right, conferred by the laws of nature and of nations, to oppose to an enemy the weapons he employs against his adversary; it was therefore decreed, that till the English government should abandon this system, the British isles should be placed in a state of blockade, and all commerce and correspondence with her interdicted.

The idea of blockading the British islands was at first treated as the phantom of a disordered imagination, but the ridicule cast upon the project was speedily removed by illustrative facts. In all the countries under the direct power and influence of France, British property, and the persons of Bri-

tish citizens, were divested of all security, and recognized as fair subjects of sequestration and imprisonment. The means of continental communication were extremely impaired; and the grand *entrepot* of English commodities was completely cut off. The strictest orders were circulated through Holland, Switzerland, and all the other tributary governments of the French empire, to enforce these regulations, so as to effect, if possible, the utter exclusion of British intercourse with their dominions; and it was found, that although the French were inclosed by the British squadrons in their own ports, which they could quit only by the aid of storms and darkness, the idea of blockading the British isles was not altogether frivolous and illusory. Founded, as the system of commercial intercourse was, on the very basis of reciprocal wants and advantages, the British nation found that they were contending with an enemy whose grand object was to impair their resources, to harass their credit, to produce that failure of revenue which would operate most powerfully in support of his views of policy and vengeance; and for the accomplishment of which, the inconvenience attached to Europe, and even to France herself, from the influence of the "continental system," would be cheerfully endured. The suspension of the regular course of payments from abroad soon proved fatal to many mercantile houses of distinction; while others, who had enjoyed the good fortune, in anticipation of these events, to dispose of their property, and settle their accounts abroad, but whose warehouses at home were crowded with merchandise, for which they could now obtain no market, were in a state little less to be deplored. The West India merchants, so large a portion of whose importations had found their way through long established channels to the continent, from which they were now excluded, particularly suffered from this cause: and the columns of the London Gazette, no longer adorned with the records of victory, were swelled with the names of those who had recently imagined themselves in a state of comparative opulence, but who were doomed to fall into decay under the weight of this unmarketable and depreciated merchandise.

Immediately after the battle of Jena, the King of Prussia made applications to Bonaparte for an armistice, and though this request was refused, he was encouraged to send a plenipotentiary to the head-quarters of the French army, charged with instructions to negotiate a peace. Lucchesini, the Prussian negotiator, arrived at Berlin on the 22d of October, and found that Duroc was named by the French Emperor to discuss with him the terms of the proposed treaty. The situa-

tion of his Prussian Majesty became every day more desperate by the capture of his armies, and the surrender of his fortresses, and a very short time was sufficient to shew, that no terms of peace short of unconditional surrender, were to be obtained from the conqueror. An armistice was next proposed, and concluded on the 16th of November, but on terms so disadvantageous to Prussia, that the king refused to ratify the act of his minister, preferring rather to try still further the fortune of war, with the aid and under the banners of his Russian ally. Every exertion was made to give effect to this last effort, and considering the facility with which the slightest promise of favourable change is caught at by the unfortunate, it could not appear surprising that the approach of the Russian armies, and the expectation of a general rising among the Silesians, to whom the king addressed an energetic proclamation, should have inspired a hope of ultimate success, which was in reality the cause of the determination not to ratify the armistice.

The advanced guard of the Russian army, under General Benningsen, amounting to four thousand men, had at length crossed the Vistula, and arrived at Warsaw, on the 13th of November, from whence they pushed on by forced marches to the river Drzura. The reconnoitering parties, however, on advancing along the road towards Thorn and the Wartha, soon ascertained the great superiority and the rapid march of the enemy, on which General Benningsen speedily retired across the Vistula, and entirely destroyed the bridge over that river, with a view to impede the enemy in his pursuit. About the end of the month of November, the first division of the French army arrived at Warsaw, and one of their first objects was to substitute a bridge for that which the Russians had destroyed. From the eastern bank of the Vistula a corps of Marshal Davoust's division pushed on towards the Bug, where they strengthened their position by a *tete du pont*, and afterwards proceeded to the village of Pomikow. The general-in-chief of the Russian army, Kamenskoi, having at length arrived at the camp, seemed to consider the honour of the army as tarnished by the retrograde movements of General Benningsen, and in order to counteract the impression made by this retreat, he ordered his troops to advance, and to fix their head-quarters at Pultusk, on the Narew, at a distance of thirty miles from Warsaw. No sooner was Bonaparte acquainted with the first indications of this disposition in the Russian general for offensive operations, than he quitted Posen for Warsaw; but previously to his departure, he published a proclamation addressed to his soldiers, which may be con-

sidered as a summary of the Prussian campaign.* Marshal Ney had been for some time in possession of Thorn, from whence he united the different corps of his division at Gallup. Marshal Bessieres, with the second corps of the reserved cavalry, proceeded from Thorn to Biezun, which route was also pursued by Marshal Bernadotte, while Marshal Soult passed the Vistula opposite Plock, and Marshal Augereau, by indefatigable exertions, established a bridge over the Narew. These operations were succeeded by the battles of Maziesk and Lopackzin, fought on the 24th of December, in which the Russians lost sixteen hundred men, and twenty-five pieces of cannon. In the mean time a Prussian corps, consisting of six thousand infantry, and one thousand cavalry, sustained a signal defeat at Scoldaw, by a corps of French troops under Marshal Ney; while Marshal Bassieres routed another detachment of Prussian troops, breaking their line, and driving them into the morasses, near the village of Carmeden. These successes were only preliminary to a battle of more importance, fought on the 26th of December, in the vicinity of Pultusk, and which closed the military operations of the year. In the morning of that day, Marshal Lannes arrived opposite

* PROCLAMATION.

"Imperial Head-quarters at Posen, Dec. 2, 1806.

"SOLDIERS!

"A year ago, at the same hour, you were on the memorable field of Austerlitz. The sacred cohort of Russia fled, defeated, before you; or surrounded, laid down their arms at the feet of their conquerors. To the moderation, and, perhaps, blameable generosity, which overlooked the criminality of the third coalition, is the formation of a fourth to be ascribed. But the ally, on whose military skill their principal hope rested, is already no more. His principal towns, his fortresses, his forage and ammunition, magazines, two hundred and eighty standards, seven hundred pieces of cannon, are in our power. Neither the Oder nor Wartha, the deserts of Poland, nor the rude season of winter, have been capable of arresting, for a moment, our progress. You have braved all dangers—have surmounted them all, and every enemy has fled on your approach. In vain did the Russians wish to defend the capital of ancient and illustrious Poland. The French eagles hover over the Vistula. The unfortunate, but brave Poles, on contemplating you, fancy they behold the celebrated legions of the great Sobieski returning from a military expedition. Soldiers! we shall not lay down our arms until a general peace has confirmed and secured the power of our allies; until it has restored to our commerce its freedom, and given back to us our colonies: on the Elbe, and on the Oder, we have re-conquered Pondicherry, all our possessions in India, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Spanish colonies. What right has Russia to hope that she shall hold the balance of destiny in her hands? What right has she to expect she should be placed in so favourable a situation? Shall there be a comparison made between the Russians and us? Are we not the soldiers of Austerlitz?

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

to Pultusk, where the whole corps of General Benningsen had assembled during the night. About ten o'clock the next morning, the attack was commenced by the French, and received by the Russians with great firmness. The battle was fought with great obstinacy, and with various vicissitude, but at length French tactics triumphed over Russian courage, and General Benningsen, on whom the chief command of the Russian army had now devolved, was compelled to retreat. In the mean time, General Buxhoevden had assembled the different corps of his army at Golymin, to which place they were closely pursued by Davoust, who took up his position in an adjoining wood. About noon Augereau arrived, and took the Russians in flank, while another French corps deprived them of a point of support, derived from a neighbouring village, and at three o'clock the division of General Hendelet formed in line, and advanced against the Russians. The fire was conducted with great animation, and notwithstanding several impetuous and successful charges made by the cavalry of the Duke of Berg, the contest continued till eleven o'clock at night; when the Russian commander, finding himself unable any longer to resist the shock, ordered a retreat to Ostrolenka. General Buxhoevden was now placed in a situation of extreme danger, and had not the unfavourable state of the roads impeded the progress of the French troops under Marshal Soult, scarcely any portion of the Russian army could have escaped destruction. The loss in these actions, on the part of the French, was admitted by themselves to be little short of three thousand men; but that of the Russians was, on the same authority, stated to be twelve thousand killed, wounded, and taken; eighty pieces of cannon; and about twelve hundred baggage waggons. The retreat of the Russians was the signal for the French troops to enter into winter quarters, and the corps under Marshals Ney, Bernadotte, and Bessieres, were almost immediately cantoned on the left bank of the river Orege, while Marshal Soult, with the brigades of light horse, were stationed on the right bank of that river for their protection.

The King of Prussia, while all these disastrous events were taking place, was experiencing a state of suspense and embarrassment, which, although arising from his own culpable policy, could not but excite sentiments of commiseration. His queen and family, with a long train of attendants and nobility, sought an asylum, first at Dantzic, and afterwards at Memel, where the death of one of the young princes was combined with other circumstances of public and domestic affliction. In this brief, but decisive campaign, the successes of the French

are almost unprecedented in the records of history. It cannot appear surprising that these successes should have operated upon a people peculiarly susceptible of every thing calculated to excite exultation, and to gratify national vanity; nor that the "illustrious head of the great nation" should, at the contemplation of that superiority which he obtained in these conflicts, adopt frequently a style of decided prophecy and dictation, approaching to the most consummate arrogance. The forces of an immense empire were under his uncontrolled direction, and he was able to avail himself of them to their fullest extent. There was no opposition to his projects, no collision with his interests. The decisions of his cabinet, or rather of his closet, instead of being obliged to await the forms of slow deliberation, and the fluctuation of remote caprice, sprang with all the bloom and vigour of youth into immediate action. In the coalitions which he had had hitherto to encounter, this simplicity in the midst of complication administered in a great measure to his uninterrupted success. In the case of Prussia, indeed, concert had not been formed till ruin was almost absolutely incurred, and her folly was only the more apparent from these defective arrangements, which had depended solely upon herself.

A suspension of hostile operations existed for some time after the battles of Pultusk and Golymin, arising from the difficulty of procuring supplies, and the state of a northern region at this season of the year. Vigilance and preparations were on both sides connected with a state of comparative acquiescence; and no means were omitted by either army to qualify themselves for those approaching shocks, to which Europe now looked with painful suspense for the decision of its fate. A general armament was ordered by the Emperor of Russia to be raised, in a certain proportion to the existing population, according to which the force to be levied would amount to upwards of six hundred thousand men, who were, on any requisite emergency, to be ready to support the troops of the empire. Nor was the Emperor Napoleon by any means less attentive to the arrangements required by his situation. Levies were perpetually sent from the interior of France to the seat of war, and an anticipated conscription for the ensuing year was put in requisition, to be trained and disciplined, though not immediately to be marched to the theatre of war.

In the mean while Jerome Bonaparte was successfully conducting the operations of the army in Silesia. The proclamation of the King of Prussia to the brave inhabitants of this province, though by no means attended with those results that in the ardour of his mind he had expected, was not wholly

inefficient. By the exertions of the Prince of Pless, who had been appointed to the government of the province, a considerable corps was collected from the troops stationed in the various fortresses, which appear to have derived some increase of force from the zeal and attachment of the people at large. The troops of the King of Wurtemberg and Bavaria were employed, under Prince Jerome, to reduce them, and about the beginning of the year, inflicted upon them a severe defeat. After this event, the best mode of disposing of the remainder of the army appeared to the Prince of Pless to be their rapid dispersion, by detachments into different fortresses; a plan which was immediately adopted, and in consequence of which he was obliged to abandon to the enemy some of his artillery, and a considerable portion of his baggage. On the 8th of January, the city of Breslau, which had been for some time regularly besieged, surrendered to the enemy, who had begun to batter in breach; the magazines of this fortress were considerable, and its garrison, consisting of five thousand five hundred men, defiled before Prince Jerome as his prisoners of war. The other fortresses in Silesia were in succession rapidly invested; Brieg capitulated in a short time, and Schwiednitz soon followed her example. The Prince of Pless, driven from the positions of Frankenstein and Neurohde by General Lefebvre, took refuge in Glatz, and was soon after succeeded in the command by Baron Kleist. The activity and energy of the new commander kept all the troops under Jerome Bonaparte in sufficient employment; and an unsuccessful attempt was made under the baron to surprise and retake Breslaw. The siege of Niesse, before which the French Prince was encamped, occupied a considerable time; and although this and the other fortresses were at length forced to a capitulation, the bravery and perseverance of the troops and commanders employed in their defence, redounded to the credit of their firmness and loyalty. By the prolonged exertions in defence of these places, an object highly desirable was effected—the detention of a great body of forces from joining the French armies in Poland, a striking contrast was exhibited to that precipitation and baseness with which, in other provinces of the unfortunate Prussian monarchy, fortresses, impregnable for their situation, and furnished with every means of protracted defence, had been surrendered almost upon the first summons.

While Silesia was thus in a state that must insure its ultimate reduction, unless the fortune of war should exhibit a most important reverse on the great theatre of hostility, the French armies were employed in prosecuting the sieges of

Stralsund, Colberg, and Dantzic, the possession of the latter of which cities was justly deemed of extreme consequence. The idea of the restoration of the kingdom of Poland, if it had been ever seriously entertained, was now apparently abandoned. Whether it was, that, having been repeatedly deceived by sovereigns, their pledges were no longer received by the inhabitants of that country with any confidence; whether policy was speedily found to require the renunciation of a project by Bonaparte which he really had intended to accomplish; or whether the boasted constitution of Poland had no hold on the poor man's heart to nerve his arm for its recovery; it appears that few of the Poles contributed to swell the French armies; and that, for the restoration of Poland in its former integrity, was substituted a government of the Prussian districts of that country, accompanied with no specious pretensions to liberty and independence, though judiciously enough contrived as a provisional administration.

The representations of Austria, whose military establishments had been placed by the Archduke Charles on a footing of high respectability, could not, it may be presumed, be safely neglected. She had a formible army in Galicia, convertible to the emergency of circumstances, and capable of almost indefinite increase, from the existing regularity, economy, and resources of her establishments. In the situation of Bonaparte, the interposition of this force might be supposed capable, not merely of preventing the re-establishment of the monarchy of Poland, but of cutting off his retreat to France, and thus subverting for ever the fabric of ambition which he had been so many years in raising. But the perils and labours, the achievements and glories, of so long a period, were not thus rashly to be ventured for an enterprise, which to him was of trifling importance. On the subject of Austria it may be further observed, that the exertions of the Archduke Charles, in his chief military superintendence of the empire, were incessant and invaluable. Those whose conclusions were generally directed by their wishes, and whose wishes were ardent for the subversion of the colossal power which now threatened to bestride the continent, eagerly inferred that these exertions on the part of Austria, were intended for something more than to cause her neutrality to be respected, and every rumour of a reverse sustained by Bonaparte was followed by another, circulated with equal confidence, that the Emperor Francis was coming forward to complete the triumph of the allies. What might have been the result of those reverses, had they actually taken place, and how far they might have induced the Austrian government to deviate from its

neutrality, it is impossible to determine. The secrets of cabinets are explored with difficulty, and their mere professions of attachment are certainly little to be relied upon. Austria, however, had felt what it was to fall under the weight of the energies of France. She might, at the same time, not bear so strong a spirit of revenge and antipathy as was imagined, against an enemy, who, after over-running her provinces and capital, by no means inflicted the extremity of vengeance, and who, though he retained much of his conquest, also restored much which he could never have been compelled to abandon. In addition to all these considerations, the ancient disgusts between the Austrian and Prussian states and governments must have been still extremely operative; and to this feeling of almost inborn origin, was added, by Austria, that retrospect of events, in the course of which she had been sacrificed to the timid policy, or rather grovelling interest, of the King of Prussia. Bonaparte, whose knowledge of human nature appeared little inferior to his military skill, might feel himself tolerably easy, with respect to the designs of Austria, though providence required that her motions should be observed with that vigilance which is ever alive to contingencies; and in the course of this campaign, she adhered steadily to her system of neutrality, taking no measures that could reasonably excite offence or alarm.

From the battle of the 26th of December, nothing material occurred between the grand armies, till the 25th of January. The French troops were in cantonments, and the emperor was at Warsaw, regulating every process necessary for the supply of their magazines, and diffusing order and animation, from this point of his residence, through every department of his government. The Prince of Ponte Corvo had taken possession of Elbing, and the country situated on the borders of the Baltic. Being informed that a Russian column had advanced to Liebstadt, beyond the Passarge, and had made prisoners a party of the advanced posts of the cantonments, he immediately quitted Elbing, and arrived at Mohrungen on the 26th of January, just as the general of brigade, Picton, was attacked by the Russians. A village, defended by three Russian battalions, supported by three others, was immediately ordered by the marshal to be attacked, and the contest which ensued was extremely fierce and animated. The eagle of the ninth regiment of French infantry was taken by the Russians, who, in the early part of the day, had the prospect of obtaining a most brilliant victory. The sense of disgrace in which the final loss of their standard would have involved the French regiment, produced exertions which gave a turn to

the fortune of the day. They precipitated themselves with inconceivable ardour on the Russians, who were unable to resist the shock, and in the rout which ensued, were obliged to abandon the captured eagle. During this transaction in one part of the field, the French line was formed in another, and attacked that of the Russians, which was advantageously posted on an eminence. The fire of the musketry was at what in the language of war is called point blank distance, where every shot takes effect, and the firmness and vigour of the action rendered the result highly dubious; when General Dupont suddenly appeared, and took part in the engagement. The right wing of the Russians was turned by this corps, and the impetuosity of the attack made upon them by the 32d regiment was irresistible. The Russians were obliged to fly, and were followed till the advance of night put an end to the pursuit. Several howitzers were left by them upon the field of battle, with about twelve hundred killed and wounded; and thirteen hundred Russians were made prisoners of war.

About the close of the month of January, Bonaparte quitted Warsaw, and joined his army; the corps of Marshal Ney was formed in order of battle on the left, that of Soult on the right, and that of Augereau in the centre, the imperial guard constituting the reserve. Gutstadt was the centre of the Russian magazines, and orders were given to Marshal Soult to march towards it, and to make himself master of the bridge of Bergfried. General Guyot was accordingly despatched with the light cavalry to Gutstadt, where he succeeded in capturing a great part of the Russian baggage, with sixteen hundred prisoners, and after an obstinate conflict the bridge of Bergfried was taken. Marshal Ney, in the mean time, made himself master of a wood, which covered the right wing of the Russians. An important position was gained also by the division of St. Hilaire; and several squadrons of dragoons, under the Duke of Berg, cleared the plain of the Russians in front. On the ensuing morning, the different corps of the French army were early on their march towards Landsberg, Heilsburg, and Wormdit. In the course of this day, two regiments of Russian infantry were nearly all destroyed or taken, near Glandau, together with their cannon and colours; and Hoff, a place of such importance that ten battalions were appointed by the Russians to defend it, fell into the hands of the enemy.

These contests occurred early in the month of February, and the evening of the 6th came on while both armies were in presence of each other: during the night, the Russians resumed their retreat, and took up their position behind Ey-

lau. At a short distance from this place there is a flat, at the summit of an eminence, which, as it commands the entrance into the town, it was deemed necessary by the French Emperor to gain. The Russian troops, who were in possession of this commanding position, were thrown into considerable confusion, by an attack made upon them under the direction of Marshal Soult ; but, by a well-timed and admirably-conducted charge from a body of the Russian cavalry, some of the French battalions thus employed were completely thrown into disorder. During this vicissitude of fortune, the result of which was the continued possession of the eminence by the Russians, the troops came to action in Eylau. Several regiments had been posted in a church and church-yard, which were maintained by the Russians, with extraordinary pertinacity, and occasioned on both sides the most dreadful carnage till about ten o'clock at night, when they were abandoned to the French. The division of Le Grand passed the night in front of the village ; that of St. Hilaire was on the right ; Augereau was posted on the left ; the corps of Davoust began its march early on the ensuing morning of the 8th, with a view to fall on the left of the Russians ; while that of Ney was on its march to outflank them on the right. At day-break the attack commenced, on the part of the Russians, by a cannonade, directed against the division of St. Hilaire. Bonaparte commanded in person at Eylau, and stationed himself at the church, which had been so obstinately defended the preceding day, whence he gave orders for the corps of Augereau to advance with forty pieces of cannon, and to cannonade the eminence which had before been unsuccessfully attempted. The Russian army was formed in columns, and being only at the distance of half a cannon shot from the assailants, every ball took effect. To terminate the carnage occasioned by this dreadful cannonade, the Russians attempted to surround the left wing of the enemy. The corps under Davoust were at this moment perceived by the Russian commander to be in a situation highly favourable to an attack, and stood exposed to the danger of being assailed by the whole force of the Russian army ; to prevent the disaster that must inevitably have ensued, Augereau advanced in columns across the plain to attack the centre of the Russians, and thus to divide their attention. The division of St. Hilaire approached on the right, and was endeavouring to form a junction with Augereau : during the manœuvres necessary for effecting this object, a heavy fall of snow intercepted the view of the French divisions ; their point of direction was lost ; and the columns deviating to the left, were exposed for a considerable time to extreme uncertainty

and danger. On the conclusion of the storm, which lasted for more than half an hour, the Grand Duke of Berg, immediately perceiving the destruction to which the French columns were exposed, and from which nothing but the boldest manœuvres could rescue them, instantly advanced at the head of his cavalry, with Marshal Bessieres and the imperial guard, to the support of St. Hilaire's division, and attacked the main body of the Russians: by this vigorous and unexpected movement the Russians were thrown into disorder, and sustained the most dreadful slaughter; two of their lines were penetrated, and the third was preserved entire only by the support derived from an adjoining wood. This splendid and successful operation was, however, by no means decisive of the fate of the day; the Russian army still resisted, with a firmness and perseverance which rendered the contest long doubtful: for twelve hours, three hundred mouths of fire were scattering death in every direction on the scene of conflict and horror. The success of Marshal Davoust at length gave a preponderance to the scale on the side of the French army; his march had been retarded by several falls of snow, and the junction of his columns proved an affair of extreme difficulty, but at length he was enabled to out-flank the Russians, and to gain possession of the level on the summit of the eminence. This position was disputed with all the vigour and ardour of military combat; and after the Russians had been obliged in the first instance to abandon it, they attempted to recover their lost ground with a vehemence bordering upon rage, and a perseverance approaching to desperation; their reiterated attempts were, however, found to be ineffectual, and they were obliged finally to quit the field, and to secure as orderly a retreat as possible.

The battle of Eylau appears to have been one of the most vigorous and obstinately contested battles in the history of the war; it was celebrated at Warsaw and at Paris, with the usual accompaniments of triumph, and the loss of the Russians was stated in the French bulletin at seven thousand killed, twelve thousand prisoners, and an equal number put *hors de combat*. On the same authority it is asserted that the Russians lost forty-five pieces of cannon, and eighteen colours; and that the French Emperor, neither in this, nor in any other battle where he commanded, ever lost any cannon. The loss of the French was admitted in their own accounts to be very severe, and General Benningsen estimates that loss at thirty thousand killed, twelve thousand wounded, and two thousand prisoners!* That the victory rested with the French can

* Russian official account of the Battle of Eylau.

scarcely be doubted, as the possession of the town, and of the eminence which commanded it, remained indisputably with them, and they continued on the field of battle for some days after the Russians had found it expedient to retreat behind the river Pregel. That no considerable permanent or immediate advantages resulted from their success is equally clear, as, instead of passing the Pregel in pursuit of a routed army, and pushing on to Koningsberg, they were content to retrace their steps to their former cantonments.

The havoc resulting to both armies from this sanguinary contest, occasioned great exertions to be made for reinforcements. The Emperor Alexander and the Archduke Constantine not long after joined the Russian army with upwards of sixty thousand troops ; and the efforts of Napoleon to repair his loss, and accumulate a force equal to the great struggle which still remained, were unremitting. The greater part of the 8th corps of the grand army, which had been employed under General Mortier, in the north of Germany, was ordered to march to the more critical theatre of hostility ; and from the different recruiting stations throughout France, and the conquered countries, reinforcements were continually despatched to join the imperial standard on the Vistula.

The French army now bent its efforts with increased vigour against the fortress of Dantzic. This place had been for some time invested, but the siege was now urged with extreme pressure and perseverance. The garrison consisted of sixteen thousand men, under the command of the Prussian General Kalkreuth, an officer of tried loyalty and skill. The troops who surrounded the place consisted, in a great degree, of the auxiliaries of France, of different prejudices, habit, and languages, but whose efforts under the direction of Marshal Lefebvre, were effectually combined by a happy union of encouragement and discipline, and who, in repelling the sorties of the besieged, and in advancing the progress of the works, displayed astonishing skill and alacrity. The exertions of the commander of the fortress were, on the other hand, no less striking and meritorious ; and his vigilance and energy in this situation of high responsibility were in incessant operation. On the 24th of April the bombardment began. On the night of the 29th, Marshal Lefebvre, having conceived the garrison to be sufficiently weakened, and the fortifications so much impaired as to justify the attempt, ordered the storming of the fortress. The governor, however, was well prepared to resist the assailants, whose stratagems were unable to deceive him with regard to the real point of attack, and repelled the effort made by the enemy, with the most dreadful carnage. This

overthrow was far from preventing a renewal of the enterprise, and no less than three separate attempts were made on this fatal night, to get possession of the citadel. The skill of the commander, however, and the exertions of the garrison, completely defeated each: after the loss of an immense number of lives the attempt was abandoned, and the assailants were obliged to take shelter under cover of their works.—An armistice of four hours was soon after agreed upon between the hostile commanders, and the work of destruction was suspended by a solemn pause for the burial of the dead. The struggles of the garrison were not viewed with indifference by the commanders of the allied armies, and two attempts were made to throw succours into the fortress and to raise the siege, but both of them without success. The moment was now therefore rapidly approaching, in which all the valour and exertions of the garrison would be unavailing; nearly a thousand houses had been destroyed in the town, and the distress of the inhabitants was extreme. The troops, exhausted by a series of efforts, interrupted only by short periods of repose, were not only thinned in numbers, but scarcely able to support any longer those privations and difficulties which daily increased. The works of the enemy were, in the meantime, proceeding with rapidity; the covered way was now completed; the preparations for passing the fosse were finished, and on the 21st of May every thing was prepared for the assault—when General Kalkreuth intimated to the French commander that he was willing to capitulate, on the same conditions as he had himself formerly granted to the garrison of Mayence. This proposition was acceded to without hesitation; and on the 27th of May, the garrison, reduced from sixteen thousand to nine thousand men, with their general at their head, marched out of the fortifications with all the honours of war, and were permitted to go wherever their inclination and convenience dictated, engaging only not to serve against France for the ensuing twelve months. Dantzic, at the time of its surrender, possessed eight hundred pieces of artillery, and magazines and stores of every description. Its principal advantage, however, to the conqueror, lay in its constituting a place of the first order, for strength, on the left wing of the grand army, while the centre was supported by Thorne, and the right by Praga.

But it is time to advert to other incidents of the extended and destructive hostility in which Europe was now involved. The operations of the 8th corps of the grand French army in the north of Germany, under General Mortier, will be long remembered; their exactions and depredations on the devoted

towns and territories of this country, left indelible horror on the minds of the unresisting inhabitants. After a system of violence and rapine had been sufficiently organized to proceed with little military impulse in Hamburgh, Lubeck, and the various other places, which, in their turn, became the victims of imperial plunder, the corps of Mortier was ordered to proceed against Swedish Pomerania, and to co-operate with Lefebvre in the siege of Dantzic. The attempts of Bonaparte to detach the King of Sweden from the confederacy had been such as would have seduced or terrified to his purpose a man of less firmness and perseverance than were possessed by this young monarch, whose ardour, however, it will be admitted, arose on some occasions to something not very different from frenzy, and who occasionally appeared as intemperate as he had been persevering. The failure of the overtures of the French government was, in January, followed by the seizure of Anclam. Grissewald was soon taken by the French troops, and Stralsund itself was invested. The Swedish army at Stralsund consisted of thirteen thousand Swedes, and four thousand Prussians; these the king was almost in daily expectation of seeing joined by a very considerable British force, which might qualify him to take the field for active operations against the enemy, instead of confining himself within the walls of a fortress. A force was not long after landed in Rugen and Stralsund, consisting of several thousand foreign troops, under a British commander, and constituting the first division of the expected armament; but the arrival of these reinforcements gave no immediate interest to the affairs of the north, and circumstances very speedily occurred which materially changed the aspect of the continent.

Towards the close of the year 1806, war had been declared by the Porte against Russia. The conduct of the Russian government with respect to the Crimea and Georgia, its reiterated attempts to recruit its force in the seven islands from the Turkish provinces in the Adriatic, and the interference of Russia in the provincial administrations of Wallachia and Moldavia, were stated in a manifesto, published by the cabinet of Constantinople, as the grounds of this hostility. The troops of the Asiatic provinces now poured into the capital, the people were animated by the exhortations of the ulemas, and the forms and influence of an impressive superstition, to resort to the standard of Mahomet, which was displayed against its mortal enemies; and an army was ordered to be collected under the Grand Vizier, with all possible expedition. The straits of the Black Sea were closed against all neutrals, Tenedos was put in a respectable state of defence,

and the passage of the Dardanelles committed to the vigilance and guardianship of a Turkish squadron. In the meanwhile, the Russians were advancing in considerable strength, under General Michelson, through Moldavia and Wallachia. The arms of Russia met with little resistance in these provinces. Choczim, Jassey, Bucharest, and various other places, fell an easy prey, and magazines were established in them to facilitate operations, which might be required against the more vital parts of the Turkish empire. To promote the success of Russia, and oblige the Turks to accede to terms of accommodation, by which a force would be released from this southern warfare, and enabled to swell the Russian army in Poland, a British fleet, under the command of Sir John Duckworth, advanced through the Dardanelles, and on the 20th of March appeared off Constantinople. Instead of producing accommodation between Russia and the Porte, a new power only was added to the list of England's enemies; commercial relations with Turkey were, of course, immediately closed; the British agents and settlers in the Turkish territories were exposed to considerable annoyance, and the seizure and sequestration of English property at Smyrna, Salonica, and other places, were ordered by the Porte, with a promptitude which precluded all opportunity for precaution. The power of France over the divan became materially strengthened; Sebastiani, the French ambassador at Constantinople, was consulted on almost every emergency, and his influence in the Turkish capital became predominant and irresistible. In this war between Russia and the Porte, the former was generally successful, and to add to the disasters of the Turks, an insurrection arose during its progress, owing to some new regulations in the dress and discipline of the troops, which terminated in the deposition and violent death of the Grand Seignior Selim III. and the proclamation of Mustapha IV.

By sea, the Russians were equally successful as by land, and in an engagement between the Russian and Turkish fleets, fought on the 1st of July, near the entrance to the Dardanelles, the Turkish squadron, consisting of eleven sail of the line, was nearly annihilated. Circumstances, however, occurred, which speedily led to a termination of these hostilities.

After the battle of Eylau, and during the siege of Dantzic, no exertions were omitted by Bonaparte which could add security to his positions. The left wing of his army was stationed on the Nogat, a river branching from the Vistula near Marienberg, and its position reached over Elbing and Brunsberg, along the left bank of the Passarge, up to Wormdit.—

The centre was placed somewhat upon the rear, round Leibstadt and Morengen. From Gutstadt the army stretched itself above Allenstein; and the right wing preserved a communication with the left of Massena's army, whose right was on the Bug, and thence to the mouth of the Narew. The right wing of the allied army was stationed near the Pische Haff, and stretched along the right bank of the Passarge to Wormdit. This wing consisted of Prussian troops, admirable for their loyalty, experience, and discipline. At Wormdit the position of the Russian army commenced, and stretched over Heilsburg, Bartenstein, and Schippendall. Each wing, as well as the centre of the Russian army, had before it an advanced-guard, and the left wing was commanded by Hettman Platoff, whose activity often led him to push his parties to Ortelsburg, occasioning not unfrequent skirmishes, while, in every other part, there prevailed silent vigilance, and solemn preparation. A considerable corps of Russians was also stationed not far from the Narew. On the part of the French, there were also various distributions of force, in addition to the grand army, whose positions have been mentioned. The corps employed in the siege of Colberg were the German contingents and Italians, with a certain number of French. In Silesia, the troops of Bavaria and Wurtemberg were employed in reducing the fortresses of Neisse, Cosel, Glatz, and Silberberg.— Marshal Brune was collecting an army of observation, to consist of Spaniards, Frenchmen, and Dutch, near Magdeburg: another was formed on the borders of Italy and Germany, connected with a numerous force under Marmont, in Dalmatia. The surrender of Dantzic added considerably to the disposable force of the French, but did not appear to offer any immediate and effectual inducement to Bonaparte to quit his almost impregnable positions. Two mighty armies, however, when the season was favourable for their operations, could not be long, nearly in view of each other, without coming to the alternative of pacification, or sanguinary and destructive hostility; and as the confidence still entertained by each party prevented any successful attempts at negotiations, circumstances soon occurred which drew on an obstinate and decisive conflict.

On the 5th of June the grand French army was attacked by the allies at different points of the line. On the right of the allies, and the left of the French, twelve Russian and Prussian regiments, forming two divisions, attacked the *tete du pont* of Spanden, on the Passarge, which was defended by a regiment of light infantry, strongly covered by intrenchments and redoubts. Seven different times they were repulsed, and

as often renewed the attack. But immediately after the last assault, they were charged by a regiment of French dragoons, that had come up to the assistance of the regiment of infantry, and forced to abandon the field of battle, with a severe loss of killed and wounded. Two divisions, belonging to the centre of the allied army, attacked, at the same time, the *tete du pont* of Lomitten, which was defended by a brigade of a corps of Marshal Soult; and after a gallant struggle, the Russian general, with eleven hundred of his troops, fell in the action, which terminated in favour of the French. At the same time, General Benningsen, with the Grand Duke Constantine, the imperial guard, and three divisions of the other troops, attacked the French line at Aldkirken, Gudstadt, and Wolfsdorf, and after a severe contest, obliged the French general to fall back to Akendorf. On the following day, the allies attacked the 6th corps of the French army, under the command of Marshal Soult and General Marchand, at Deppen, on the Passarge. The Russians, in the action of this day, lost two thousand killed, and more than three thousand wounded, while the loss of the French, according to their own statement, was extremely trivial, with the exception of two hundred and fifty prisoners, taken by the Cossacks, who, in the morning of the attack, got into the rear of the French army.

Bonaparte, informed of the movements of the allies, left Finkenstein on the evening of the 5th of June to place himself at the head of the French army, and on the morning of the 8th advanced to Gutstadt, with the corps of Marshals Ney and Lannes, accompanied by this guard, and the cavalry of reserve. Part of the rear-guard of the Russian army, comprising ten thousand cavalry, and fifteen thousand infantry, took a position at Glattau, and attempted to dispute his passage; but the Grand Duke of Berg, after some skilful manœuvres, drove the Russians from all their positions; and the French, after taking a thousand prisoners, entered Gutstadt, sword in hand, at eight o'clock in the evening. On the 10th, the French army moved towards Heilsbergh, and on its advance to this place, came up with the rear-guard of the allied army, consisting of from fifteen to eighteen thousand cavalry, and several lines of infantry. An attack was immediately commenced by a division of the French dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry. The French were repulsed again and again, and as often renewed the attack. At two o'clock, the corps under Marshal Soult was formed, two divisions marched to the right, and a third to the left, to seize on the edge of a wood, the occupation of which was necessary in order to sup-

port the left of the cavalry. Reinforcements of both infantry and cavalry were sent to the rear-guard from the main body of the Russian army, which was posted at Heilsberg, and repeated efforts were made by the Russians, supported by more than sixty pieces of cannon, to maintain their position before that town ; but all their exertions proved unavailing, and at nine o'clock in the evening, the French troops found themselves under the Russian intrenchments. The fusileers of the French guard, commanded by General Savary, were put in motion to sustain the division of Verdier ; and some of the corps of infantry of the reserve, under Marshal Lannes, attacked the Russians at the close of the day, and succeeded in cutting off their communication with Lansberg. Bonaparte passed the 11th on the field, in front of Heilsberg. He there drew up the different corps and divisions of the army in order of battle, that the war might be terminated at once by a decisive engagement. The grand army of the Russians was assembled at this place, where the magazines were established, and where they occupied a position, strong by nature, and further strengthened by the labours of four months. At four in the afternoon, Bonaparte ordered Marshal Davoust to charge in front, and pushed forward the left wing of his corps—a movement which brought him upon the lower Alla, and blocked up the road from Eylau. To every corps of the army was assigned its proper station, and thus the Russians found themselves blockaded in their intrenched camp, and offered battle on the ground which they themselves had chosen. At the moment when the French were making their dispositions, the Russians shewed themselves ranged in columns in the midst of their intrenchments ; but at ten o'clock at night they began to pass the Alla, abandoning the whole of the country to their left, and leaving their magazines and wounded to the disposal of the enemy. In the different actions, from the 5th to the 12th, according to the French accounts, which afford the only official records on the subject of this short campaign, the Russian army was deprived of about thirty thousand fighting men ; the number of wounded, left prisoners in the hands of the enemy, amounted to between three and four thousand, while the loss of the French, as stated by themselves, amounted to no more than seven hundred killed, two thousand two hundred wounded, and three hundred prisoners. On the 12th, at four in the morning, the French army entered Heilsberg, where they found in the magazines several thousand quintals of grain, and an immense quantity of different kinds of provisions. A division of dragoons, and a brigade of light cavalry, pursued the Russians to the right bank of the Alla.

In the mean time, the light corps of the French army advanced in various directions, in order to pass the Russians, and, by cutting off their retreat to Koningsberg, to place themselves between the Russian army and their magazines. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day, the French army had advanced to Eylau, and taken up their head-quarters at that place. Here the fields were no longer covered with ice and snow, but on the contrary presented one of the most beautiful scenes in nature. The country was every where adorned with woods, intersected by lakes, and enlivened by handsome villages. On the 13th, while the Grand Duke of Berg, and the Marshals Soult and Davoust, had orders to manœuvre before Koningsberg, Bonaparte, with the corps of Ney, Lannes, Mortier, the imperial guard; and the first corps, commanded by General Victor, advanced to Friedland. On the same day, the 9th regiment of hussars entered that town, but was driven out of it again by three thousand Russian cavalry.

On the 14th, the anniversary of the battle of Marengo, a circumstance of which the French Emperor did not fail to remind his troops, and which naturally produced the most enthusiastic recollections and exertions, the grand struggle took place: Ney was on the right wing, supported by the dragoons of Latour Maubourg; Launes in the centre, with the dragoons of Lahousaye behind him, and the Saxon cuirassiers; Mortier was on the left wing, supported by the cavalry of Grouchy; and the grand reserve was formed of the corps of General Victor, and the imperial guard. The Russian army was fully deployed, the left wing extending to the town of Friedland, and its right reaching a mile and a half in the opposite direction. The position taken by General Benningsen on the left bank of the Alla, presented to the eye the appearance of one continued plain, but it was intersected by a deep ravine full of water, and almost impassable. This ravine ran in a line between Domnow and Friedland, where it formed a lake to the left of that place, and separated the right wing of the Russians from the centre. A thick wood, at the distance of about a mile and a half from Friedland, on more elevated ground, fringed the plain of the Alla, nearly in the form of a semicircle, except at its extremity at the left, where there was an open space between the wood and the river. In the front of the wood, about a mile from the town, and nearly opposite the centre of the army, was the small village of Heinrichdorff. The field of battle lay between the left of this village and the Alla, to the south of Friedland.* Bonaparte, having recon-

* Relation de la Campagne de Pologne, par un témoin oculaire.

noitred the position of the enemy, determined to attempt the town of Friedland; and having changed his front, ordered the extremity of the right wing, under Marshal Ney, to advance to the attack. At half past five in the morning the battle commenced; the firing of twenty cannon from a battery forming the signal of attack. At that moment, the division under General Marchand, co-operating with Marshal Ney, advanced sword in hand. When the Russians observed Ney to have quitted the wood by which he had been supported, they endeavoured to turn his left by several regiments of cavalry, preceded by a multitude of Cossacks, but owing to the firmness of the dragoons of Latour Maubourg, they were repulsed. At this period of the battle the Russian cavalry made an impetuous and successful attack upon the enemy's cuirassiers, and pursued them as far as Heinrichdorff.* In the mean time a battery was erected by General Victor, in his centre, and pushed on four hundred paces by General Lennermont, to the extreme annoyance of the Russians, and which, by attracting their attention to its destructive fire, deranged those manœuvres, which might otherwise have defeated the operations of Ney. The Russian troops which attacked the right wing of this general, were received upon the point of the bayonet, and driven into the river Alla, where thousands perished in the stream, while numbers escaped by swimming. When the left wing of Ney, however, had nearly reached the works which surrounded the town, it was exposed to the most imminent peril. The imperial Russian guard, which had been here concealed in ambuscade, suddenly advanced upon the French, with an impetuosity which threw them into disorder, and had nearly rendered the efforts of the marshal abortive. The division of Dupont, however, which formed the right of the reserve, marched against the Russian guard, who performed prodigies of firmness and valour, but they were unable to resist this effort of the enemy; several other bodies were sent from the centre of the Russian army for the defence of the position of Friedland; but the impetuosity, and the prompt and skilful operations of the assailants, supported by an immense artillery, triumphed over all opposition. Friedland was taken, and its streets filled with the bodies of the dead. The centre, under Marshal Lannes, was now engaged, and the Russians made several attempts against this corps, similar to those which had failed on the right wing; but the repeated efforts of Russian bravery were unavailing, and served only to continue for a longer period the work of carnage. The battle lasted from

* General Benningsen's Despatch, dated Wehlau, June 15th, 1807.

half past five in the morning till seven at night. Both sides fought with extreme intrepidity and obstinacy, and the superior number of the French, with an impetuous direction of nearly all their force, towards the close of the day, upon the centre of the Russians, decided the fate of the contest. The Russians estimated their own loss at not less than ten thousand men; and in the space of eleven days they appear to have lost, at least, twenty-seven generals, upwards of eighteen hundred officers killed and wounded, and forty thousand men.* On the part of the French, the loss did not exceed five hundred killed, and three thousand wounded. Eighty pieces of cannon, a great number of caissons, and several colours, fell into the hands of the conquerors.† Night did not prevent the pursuit of the Russians, who were followed till eleven o'clock, after which, those of the columns which were cut off endeavoured to avail themselves of the fords over the Alla to pass that river, which exhibited to the victors, on the ensuing day, marks of the total discomfiture of the allied army. On the 15th the Russians continued their retreat to Wehlau, at the confluence of the Alla and the Pregel, where the columns of the French speedily arrived, and obliged them to withdraw to the banks of the Niemen.

Near this river several newly formed divisions of the Russian troops had arrived; and General Benningsen still cherished the expectation that he should soon be again able to advance and to recover from the enemy the advantages which he had obtained.‡ This expectation was however previously disappointed, for on the 18th of June, the retreating army approached the town of Tilsit, and after transporting its heavy baggage across the Niemen, stationed itself on the great plain on the right of the town. All the bridges were destroyed immediately after the passage of the Russian troops, and all the magazines on the Alla were burnt or cast into the river. On the 16th Bonaparte threw a bridge over the Pregel, and took up a position on the eastern side of that river with his army. The defeat of Friedland served as a signal for the evacuation of Königsberg, and the garrison under General Lestock succeeded, with extreme difficulty, in joining the main body of the Russian army, while the fortress opened its gates on the 16th to the French corps under Marshal Soult. At this place were found several hundred

* Lord Hutchinson's Speech in the British Senate, February, 8, 1808.

† Seventy-ninth French Bulletin, dated Wehlau, June 17, 1807.

‡ General Benningsen's Letter to the Emperor of Russia, dated Schierupischken, June 17th, 1807.

thousand quintals of corn, more than twenty thousand wounded Russians and Prussians, and all the arms and ammunition that had been sent to the Russians by England, including a hundred and sixty thousand muskets that had not been landed.

On the 19th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, Bonaparte, with his guard, entered Tilsit. The Russians, pursued after the battle of Friedland by the Grand Duke of Berg, at the head of the greater part of the light cavalry, continued their retreat eastward. The Emperor of Russia, who had remained for three weeks with his Prussian Majesty at Tilsit, left that place along with the king in great haste; and on the same day a suspension of hostilities was proposed to the chiefs of the French army by the Russian Commander-in-chief. In consequence of this position an armistice was concluded at Tilsit, on the 22d, by which it was settled, that hostilities should not be resumed on either side without a month's previous notice; that a similar armistice should be concluded between the French and the Prussian armies, in the course of five days; that plenipotentiaries should be instantly appointed by the different parties, for the salutary work of pacification, and that there should be an immediate exchange of prisoners.

No sooner had the armistice received its ratification, than Bonaparte put forth a proclamation to his troops, congratulating them on their brilliant successes, and pronouncing them worthy of their emperor and of themselves.*

* PROCLAMATION

Of the Emperor and King to the Grand Army.

"Soldiers,—On the 5th of June we were attacked in our cantonments by the Russian army. The enemy mistook the causes of our inactivity. He found, too late, that our repose was that of the lion—he regrets having disturbed it.

"In the affairs of Gutstadt, Heilsburg, and the ever memorable one at Friedland—in ten days' campaign, in short, we took one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, seven standards; killed, wounded, or took sixty thousand Russians; and carried off all the enemy's magazines and hospitals. Königsberg, with the three hundred vessels that were there, laden with all sorts of ammunition, and one hundred and sixty thousand fusils, sent by England to arm our enemies, all fell into our hands.

"From the banks of the Vistula we have reached the borders of the Niemen, with the rapidity of the eagle. You celebrated at Austerlitz the anniversary of the Coronation—You celebrated this year, in an appropriate manner, the battle of Marengo, which put a period to the second coalition.

"Frenchmen, you have been worthy of yourselves and of me.—You will return to France covered with laurels, and after having obtained a glorious peace, which carries with it the guarantee of its duration. It is time that our country should live at rest, secure from the malignant influence of England. My benefits shall prove to you my gratitude, and the full extent of the love I bear you.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

Tilsit, June 22d, 1807.

On the 25th, an interview took place on the Niemen, between the Emperor Napoleon and the Emperor Alexander : at one o'clock, Bonaparte, accompanied by a number of his generals, embarked on the banks of the Niemen in a boat prepared for the purpose. They proceeded to the middle of the river, where General Lariboissiere, commanding the artillery of the guard, had caused a raft to be placed, and a pavilion erected upon it, close to which was another raft and pavilion for his majesty's suite. At the same moment the Emperor Alexander set out from the right bank, accompanied by the Grand Duke Constantine, General Benningsen, and a number of the principal officers of his staff. The two boats arrived at the same instant, and the two Emperors embraced each other as soon as they set foot on the raft. They entered the saloon together, and remained there during two hours. The conference having terminated with the happiest result, the two emperors embarked, each in his boat, and returned to the opposite shores. "The vast number of persons belonging to each army, who flocked to both banks of the river to view this scene, rendered it more interesting, as the spectators were brave men, who came from the extremities of the world.* While arrangements were making for the preliminaries, the town of Tilsit became the abode of these imperial personages, who, together with the King of Prussia, cultivated mutual intercourse and politeness. Entertainments were given in rapid succession. The troops of Marshal Davoust were reviewed by Bonaparte, in the presence of his bother sovereigns, and occasioned exchanges of compliments in the different parties, probably with feelings of a very opposite description. The guards of the respective monarchs, who occupied appropriate apartments in the town, vied with their sovereigns in marks of respectful attention. A magnificent dinner was given by the guards of Napoleon to those of Alexander and Frederick William ; at this entertainment they exchanged uniforms, and were seen in the streets in motley attire, partly Russian, partly Prussian, and partly French. During these interviews and attempts at conciliation, to which policy was presumed to be as much conducive as humanity, the arrangements of pacification were completed, and on the 9th of July a treaty of peace between Russia and France was ratified. The two emperors then separated with mutual expressions of attachment, and after exchanging the decorations of their respective orders. On the same day peace was signed between France and Prussia.

* Eighty-sixth French Bulletin, dated Tilsit, June 25th, 1807.

By the latter treaty Prussia was deprived of all her territories on the left bank of the Elbe, and of all her Polish provinces, except those situated betwixt Pomerania and the Newmarke, and ancient Prussia, to the north of the little river Netz. The elector, now become the King of Saxony, in virtue of a treaty entered into with the Emperor Napoleon, took also the title of Duke of Warsaw, and was to have free communication, by a military road, between Saxony and his new dominions, which were to consist of Thorn, Warsaw, and the rest of Prussian Poland, except that part which is to the north of the Bug, and which, under the idea of establishing natural boundaries between Russia and the duchy of Warsaw, was incorporated with the dominions of the Emperor Alexander. Dantzic was in future to be an independent town: east Friesland was added to the kingdom of Holland: a new kingdom, under the designation of the kingdom of Westphalia, was formed of the provinces ceded by the Prussian Monarch, and others in the possession of the French Emperor. The recognition of Jerome Bonaparte, as the sovereign of this new state, also of the Kings of Holland and Naples, and of all the present and future members of the confederation of the Rhine, was yielded to on the part of Prussia, with the consent to close her ports and become a party in the maritime war against England. By the publication of the treaty with Russia, which was for some time delayed, it appeared that the two emperors mutually guaranteed to each other the integrity of their possessions, and of those of the other powers included in the treaty. The Kings of Holland, Naples, and Westphalia, were to be recognized by Russia; the offer of a mediation to effect a peace between France and England was accepted, on the condition that, within one month from the ratification, England should admit this mediation. It was also stipulated that hostilities should immediately cease between Russia and the Ottoman Porte; and the Emperor of Russia agreed to accept the mediation of the Emperor of France, for the conclusion of a peace between the two powers. The independence of Dantzic; the military high-way between Saxony and the Duchy of Warsaw; the annexation of part of Prussian Poland to the empire of Russia; formed also articles in the Prussian treaty. The restoration of the Dukes of Saxe-Cobourg, Oldenburg, and Mecklenburg-Schwerin, to the quiet possession of their dominions, was acceded to by France. The confederation of the Rhine was explicitly acknowledged by the Emperor of Russia; who engaged equally to acknowledge the princes or states that might hereafter be added to

this union, on the communication of such change by the French government.

The great sacrifice to peace was of course made by the kingdom of Prussia, which was reduced at once from the rank of a primary to the situation of a secondary power of Europe ; and all that had been done for the augmentation and aggrandizement of the monarchy by the Great Frederick, in the course of twenty years, was resigned in one day. The King of Prussia, by the peace of Tilsit, together with an immense territory, lost nearly the half of his yearly revenues, and five millions of his subjects. On the whole, Prussia was brought back nearly to the state in which she stood on the 1st of January, 1772, before the balance of Europe had been destroyed by the infamous partition of Poland. It could not but be noticed that no provisions were introduced into the published treaty respecting Cattaro ; but by a secret treaty Russia agreed to cede Corfu, and the Seven Islands, to France, and became a party to that part of the treaty between France and Prussia, by which the vessels and trade of Great Britain were to be excluded from the ports of the Baltic. These circumstances render it clear, that at the time of the execution of the treaty of Tilsit, many of its provisions remained to be explored, and served to shew that the secret articles of treaties are not unfrequently of more importance than those exposed to public view.

The King of Sweden refused to accede to the treaty of Tilsit, and attempted the defence of Pomerania ; but being abandoned to his fate by his continental allies, his efforts were unavailing. Gustavus, however, succeeded in withdrawing his forces from Stralsund before the enemy was apprised of his intention, after which he crossed the Baltic and returned into Sweden.

